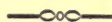






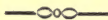
THE
ANTIQUARY:

*A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.*



*Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.*

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.



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The Antiquary.



JULY, 1884.

The Rules of the Carthusian Order, illustrated by the Priory of Mount Grace.

BY THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

NO monastic order has stamped its individuality on its buildings so completely as the Carthusian. In the case of the foundations of other orders, it may be difficult, not unfrequently impossible, to determine from the existing remains to which of the various monastic bodies the building belongs. In spite of marked differences of plan and arrangement, on which there will be an opportunity of speaking hereafter, it is not always possible to distinguish a Benedictine foundation from a Cistercian, or Cistercian from a Cluniac, or any of these from a house of the Austin Canons. But a Carthusian house is unmistakable. It never can be taken for anything but what it is. And the reason of this individuality of plan and arrangement lies in the individuality of the Carthusian rule. All the other chief monastic orders were by principle cœnobitic. The common life was the rule. Privacy was not in any way contemplated. The monk or canon was one of a brotherhood who slept together, who ate together, who worked together, who prayed together, and for whom the individual life was completely merged and lost in that of the community. The exact opposite of this form of religious life was that of the hermit, or solitary, occupying his single cell, apart from other human habitations, cultivating his own small patch of ground alone and unassisted, often with his separate small chapel or oratory for his daily devotions. This solitary anchoritic life was the earliest form of

monasticism; a term which originally signifying a religious life led in isolation, entirely apart from others, in process of time came to denote the cœnobitic system, where a number of religious persons retired from the world, its duties and its pursuits, and lived together under a common rule in a community.

The Carthusian system was a union of these two; the cœnobitic or common life, and the solitary life: the life of the hermit and that of the member of a religious community. St. Bruno's ideal was a combination of the virtues of each mode of life, with an avoidance of the evils which experience had proved each was liable to. He desired, by his rule, to unite the strict austerity of the solitary with the mutual charities of the member of a brotherhood.

The severity of his rule (in the words of Archbishop Trench)* exceeded that of all which had gone before, while it hardly left room for any that should come after to exceed it.

Each brother occupied a solitary dwelling, in which he lived alone, ate alone, worked alone, read and wrote and prayed alone, and slept alone, bound by an undeviating rule of the strictest austerity, and practising constant silence. "*Præcipue studium et propositum nostrum est silentio et solitudini cellæ vacare.*" (*Consuetud.*, c. 14.) But it was the endeavour of the founder to correct the self-centred spirit and the intense religious selfishness, which was the deadly peril of the solitary, by a union in a fraternity bound together by common ties of worship, of the charities of life, and the combined pursuit of a common object. This object was, first, the eternal salvation of their souls, and then the benefit of the world by the books, to the copying of which, by the rule of their founder, they were commanded to devote the chief part of their time, each new copy of a holy book being, in the words of their *Consuetudinarium*, a new herald of the truth, so that the scribes became preachers with their hands.

This union of two opposite monastic systems was stereotyped in the buildings of the Carthusian order. Some of the most characteristic portions of an ordinary monastery were wanting, since there was no use for them. There was no common dormitory, no

* *Lectures on Mediæval Church History*, p. 107.

common day-room, no common work-shop. The refectory, being only employed on special occasions, such as Sundays and Feast-days, became a comparatively subordinate building. Even the church never assumed the dimensions or stateliness of those of their brethren of the Benedictine or Cistercian order. The Guest-House, so large and important a department in the other monastic foundations, shrunk into a comparatively small and mean adjunct, known by the name of the "*Domus inferior*;" it was placed under the charge of a "*Procurator*," whose duty it was to receive strangers and to eat with them, giving them only such food and beds as the brethren had themselves. If they came mounted, a rule of the order forbade the reception of their horses. This rule was not to be laid down to harshness or avarice, but to hard necessity. How (exclaims the author of the *Consuetudinarium*) can they be expected to keep their guests' horses, when in the hard and barren desert in which they dwell, they have not grass or corn enough for their own stock, and are forced to send them away to pasture in the winter? If poor starving folks presented themselves at their gates, they supplied them with bread, but seldom gave them lodging, sending them on to the nearest inn. The object of their settling in such remote, rugged, and almost inaccessible spots being, not the care of other people's bodies, but the eternal salvation of their own souls.—*Consuetud.*, c. 20.

The chief feature of a Carthusian house, distinguishing it from all other monastic foundations, was a succession of small cells—cottages we may more properly call them—each of which was the separate residence of a single member of the confraternity. These *domunculae* were as a rule ranged about an inner court, and were connected under cover by a pence cloister. By the side of the door of each cell, an opening through the wall, so arranged that no one could see either in or out, formed the "hatch" for the introduction of food and other necessities. An outer court was devoted to the guest chambers, and the necessary domestic and economical offices. The church divided the two courts, with access from each.

Of this arrangement, unique among monastic foundations, the most remarkable

examples are those of the parent house, "*La Grande Chartreuse*," at Grenoble; that magnificent palace of mediæval art in its richest display, the Certosa at Pavia, and the smaller and plainer but most interesting Certosa near Florence. Spain also furnishes a good example in the monastery of Miraflores, near Burgos.

The Carthusian order never became popular in England. The severe discipline its rule enjoined of absolute silence and isolation with meagre diet and insufficient clothing of the coarsest texture, even though modified as it was with us, was as alien from the English character as it was unsuited to the English climate. Founded by St. Bruno, in 1084, the Carthusian rule was first introduced into England by Henry II., in 1181, at Witham, in Somersetshire, of which house the justly famous St. Hugh, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was the third prior, and the virtual founder. But not even his powerful influence could succeed in popularizing the order. It was planted as an exotic in a few isolated spots, but it never naturalized itself on English soil. The whole number of "*Charter Houses*," as they were called by an Anglicising of the word "*Chartreux*," founded in England, was but nine, scattered at widely distant intervals over two centuries and a half. Forty years after Henry of Anjou had introduced the order, his natural son, William Longsword, became the founder of the second Carthusian House, ultimately established by the Countess Ela, at Hinton Charter House, near Bath. More than a century elapsed before any addition was made to the houses of the order. In 1343 Sir Nicholas Cantilope founded the priory of Beauvoir, in Nottinghamshire, which was speedily followed by De la Pole's foundation at Kingston-on-Hull, c. 1369, and Sir Walter Manny's far more famous Charter House in London in 1371. The fashion, once set in high quarters, was speedily adopted. Ten years later, 1381, Richard II., at the instance of his Queen, laid the first stone of the church of Lord Zouch's Charter House at Coventry, dedicated in honour of his royal consort, to St. Anne. Fifteen years later saw the foundation of Epworth, in the Isle of Axholme, by Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and of that which is the subject of the present paper, Mount Grace, in Cleveland, in the parish of East Harlsey, in the North

Riding of Yorkshire, about eight miles from Northallerton. Its founder was the chivalrous but ill-fated Thomas, Duke of Surrey, son of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and the nephew of Richard II., on his mother's side. The year 1414 closed the list with Henry V.'s splendid foundation of Shene. These nearly contemporaneous foundations may be regarded as brilliant anachronisms. In the age, but not of it. They offered a noble but ineffectual protest against the growing spirit of secularism of the olden monastic houses, and the decay of piety consequent on the relaxation of discipline, which was converting the homes of devotion into nests of lazy sensualists, whose carelessness of their trust was fast growing into an intolerable scandal. In the words of Archdeacon Churton, they were monuments of the bounteous hand of chivalry, when the spirit of chivalry was departing, and the open faith of knighthood had given way to rancorous debate and civil treachery; and of the sad discipline of the cloister vainly rearing its silent cells at a time when religious fear and meek obedience had well-nigh expired. The evident decadence of the elder monasteries led the founder of Mount Grace, as not long after it did Henry V. in his foundation at Shene, to place the new house under the rigid rule of St. Bruno, "whose holy and singular observances," writes the youthful monarch, "we not only love, but greatly honour and admire."

Within four years of the foundation of Mount Grace, its high-spirited founder, the Duke of Surrey, perished in his gallant but hopelessly rash attempt to replace his royal uncle on the throne, and the infant priory was all but strangled at its birth. The buildings were suspended, and the church and monastery remained roofless for forty years. It was not till 1440 that Henry VI. confirmed Surrey's grants, and the works were resumed. The stoppage and commencement of the building is traceable in the straight joints of the masonry of the church, as well as in the changed style of its architecture. Of the nine English Carthusian houses, Mount Grace is the only one which exhibits the arrangements characteristic of the order. Nearly all the others have entirely perished, not even their ruins remaining. Witham preserves its "*Ecclesia Minor*," but all the other buildings are gone. At Hinton, some largish but rather puzzling fragments

remain, which may probably be identified with the chapter house and the refectory. But in neither of these are there any traces of the cells which form the distinctive feature of the Carthusian plan. Neither are they to be now seen at the London Charter House, though an existing ground plan shows that there too the typical arrangement was carried out. A quadrangular cloister, with a conduit in the centre of its garth, was set round with two-and-twenty "*domunculæ*" or cells, each with its little garden behind it, through which a stream of running water, for the purpose of drainage (a matter on which the builders of our religious houses always bestowed most particular care) passed, having its source in the central conduit. On the south side of the court stood the small aisleless church, of which the walls remain in the present chapel of the foundation, with the chapter house at its north-east corner. The *fratry*, or refectory, is somewhat abnormally placed on the west side of the cloisters, towards its southern corner, with the Prior's Lodge and petty cloister adjoining. But this only exists on paper. Mount Grace is the only place in England in which the Carthusian plan in its typical form can be studied in existing remains, and as such it deserves far more notice than it has usually received. This small but most interesting example consists of two courts, the outer court for the lay brethren and guests to the south; and the inner, divided from it by the church and Prior's house, containing the residences of the brethren. The buildings stand on the sunny western side of a steep wooded hill, into the pathless thickets of which the back gates of the little garden on the east side of the cloister opened directly. Below are broad green meadows watered by a swiftly-flowing stream, which supplied the large fishponds of the Priory.

The establishment was entered by a gate-house in the centre of the outer court. This gate-house was divided into an outer and inner compartment by a transverse arch from north to south, and had a roof of very flat groining. On entering, immediately to the right, a long narrow Guest Hall occupies the western side of the outer court. It was lighted with four square-headed windows, with the shouldered arch. This is succeeded

at the southern corner by several longish narrow apartments, of one story, occupying the south side of the enclosure. The eastern part of this range of building was of two stories, the tall gables of which are very conspicuous objects. Of these it is impossible accurately to assign the destination. But they probably afforded accommodation to the lay brethren and others who did not adopt the rule of the convent in its full strictness. The eastern wall of the court exhibits no distinct marks of buildings, though some possible traces of a hatch seem to indicate that one of the cells stood on the side of the outer enclosure.

But it is the inner court to which the visitor turns with the greatest interest. This was originally surrounded with a pentice cloister, still indicated by the hooked corbels of its roof. Out of this the "*domunculæ*" of the brethren, five on each side, opened by a small square-headed doorway. On the right-hand of the door is the small square opening—or hatch—through which the inmate received his daily supply of food from the general kitchen, and other necessities. These openings do not go through the wall in a straight line, but turn twice at a right-angle, to secure the perfect privacy of the cell. Each of these little houses was of two stories, the upper story being reached by a wooden stair just within the entrance. Each floor was divided by wooden partitions into a chamber or day room, with a fireplace and a closet below and the sleeping room above. One of the closets served the purposes of an oratory, the other contained the brother's stock of tools, and the humble service of crockery, and other necessary household chattels. This scanty store is thus enumerated in the *Consuetudinarium*:—two pots, two dishes, a third dish for bread, or in place of it a cloth, a fourth of somewhat larger size for washing, two spoons, a bread knife, a wine measure, a drinking vessel, a water-jug, a salt-cellar, a plate, a towel, and two sacks for pulse. To these were added, for kindling a fire, a flint, tinder, "*lapis ignitus*" (probably brimstone), wood, and a hatchet to cleave it, and for out-door work a pickaxe. The monk's wardrobe was equally austere. It consisted of two hair-shirts, two tunics, two woollen garments (one worse one bettermost), two hoods, three pairs of shoes,

four pairs of socks, four skins, a cloak, slippers for day and night-wear, grease for ointment, two loin cloths, a girdle; all of hemp and of coarse make. His bed was to be of straw, its covering of felt if he could get it, if not of coarse cloth not folded twice. The bolster and coverlet were to be of the coarsest sheepskins, covered with coarse cloth. No brother, whatever his rank, was to give a thought as to the colour or texture of his clothing or his bedding. For mending his clothes each brother was furnished with two needles, thread and scissors; he was also to have a comb, a razor for shaving his head, with a whetstone and a strap for sharpening it. The work of the scribe being that to which the brethren were specially directed to devote themselves, each was to be provided with a writing desk, pens, chalk, two pumice stones, two ink-horns, a knife to scrape the parchment, two razors, a pointer, an awl, a plumb line, a rule, "*postem ad regulandum tabulas*," and a pencil. If a brother happened not to be a scribe, which was a very unusual case, he was to be allowed to have with him the implements of his art or trade whatever it might be. They might borrow two books at the same time from the book cupboard, and were to take the utmost care that they were not discoloured with smoke or dust or any other filth. The object of giving so many different articles to each individual, which, the *Consuetudinarium* remarks, might provoke a smile, was to take away all excuse for a brother leaving his cell, which he was never permitted to do except to go to the church, or to the cloister for confession. Another exception was also made if, through the neglect of those whose duty it was to supply them, any brother was in absolute want of bread, wine, water or fire, or if he heard an unusual noise, or was in danger of being burnt from the woodwork of his cell catching fire. A little walled garden, to be cultivated by the inmate of the cell, lay to its rear. In accordance with the austere rule of the order, the strictest plainness reigned in every detail of these little dwellings. The doors and windows are mere holes in the wall, without the slightest architectural dressing. It were to be wished that the rubbish which now encumbers these interesting and unique little dwellings, and conceals their arrangements, were removed, and their plan made more

evident. If the window jambs and other bits of cut-stone found in the accumulations were simply replaced in their original positions, and the ruined walls made good from the old materials, the interest of the place would be very much increased. This, however, would be a work demanding the most careful oversight, and the most determined self-restraint in avoiding the temptation to go beyond the strict replacement of the old by the addition of new work, which could not safely be entrusted to any but the most rigidly conservative hands.

A distinct building, possibly the Prior's house, has stood on the south side of the court, in contiguity to the church. The base of a large projecting window may be traced in the same position as one marked in the plan of the London Charter House. There, however, along the walls of the corresponding building is called the Chapter House. To the west of this building the lavatories are distinctly visible. A two-storied building, lighted with segmental-headed windows, projects westward beyond the enclosure of the court in the south-west corner. It is difficult to assign its purpose.

The church dividing the two courts, with access from each, is a building of unusual plan. It consisted of a very short nave, and a long aisleless choir, a small central tower, and broad shallow transepts, opening not from the tower but from the nave. The customary place of the transepts is taken by very shallow projecting wings, making up the additional space by which the breadth of the chancel exceeds that of the tower. The whole thing is an evident botch, due to the interruption of the works on the fall of their founder, and their resumption with crippled means. The nave and tower, almost Decorated in design, are of the original foundation. The chancel and transept, where the masonry is much rougher, and the architecture inferior, are, as the straight joints plainly show, additions of a later period. The square tower rises very picturesquely on four tall well-proportioned arches, with rich suites of mouldings of Decorated character. The capitals show another awkward botch. They are octagonal in plan, and do not fit the triple clustered shafts of the pier. Indeed, every part of the church shows puzzling signs

of patching, natural enough in a building taken up again after a halt of some years, during which architectural taste, as well as the wishes of the builders, had changed, and they had to work with diminished resources. The nave, transepts, and tower are tolerably perfect. The chancel has been destroyed, with the exception of the north wall, but the foundations may be clearly traced. The west window has a nearly triangular head; the tracery is gone. The other windows are mostly of the later building, with segmental arches.

The church, in the complete absence of ornament, exhibits the austere plainness of the order, by which all internal hangings, "*pallia tapetiaque*," were prohibited, and the only utensils of gold or silver allowed were the chalice, and the "*calamus*" or tube for the Eucharist.

On the summit of the hill which rises steeply to the east of the priory, half hid by dense oak woods, are the small remains of a little way-side chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, bearing the date 1515. A paved pathway, known as "*the Lady's Steps*," formerly led to it, but the pavement has now been utilized for other more prosaic purposes. The reputation of this little chapel for sanctity long survived the fierce storm of the Reformation. As late as James I.'s reign it was still frequented by adherents of the old faith, who resorted thither, chiefly under cover of night, on the eves of the Festivals of Our Lady and other Saints, and "*observed and practised diverse superstitions and popish ceremonies*" in its precincts. To put down these pilgrimages and other "*popish, idle, and superstitious vanyties* not to be tolerated," an order was issued, September 5th, 1615, by Archbishop Toby Matthew and the other Lords of the High Commission at York, for the apprehension and trial of any persons found resorting to the site of their forefathers' devotions, which was still the home of their affections. It would be interesting to know the issue.

At the Dissolution the conventual body consisted of a prior, sixteen priests, three novices, six conversi or lay brethren, and one donatus, in all twenty-seven persons. The revenues of the house amounted to £343 2s. 10½d., of which the sum of £194 was ordered to be divided annually among the late members,

the prior, John Wilson, receiving £60, together with the little chapel just described, "called the Mount," and the house attached to it.



Field-Name and Toponymical Collections.

BY FREDERICK E. SAWYER, F.R. MET. SOC.

"UNWRITTEN History and How to Read it" formed the title of a popular lecture at the Southampton meeting of the British Association, and there is, perhaps, no branch of this important subject more profitable to the archæologist, than the collection of local names of fields, and physical features. The valuable work of Mr. Gomme, on *Primitive Folk Moots*, has directed attention to the historic reminiscences preserved by a mere name. It is now useless to say "What's in a name?" for it is clear, that a new and almost unworked mine of information can be opened, by systematic research under the heads mentioned, and, more especially, it will elucidate the extent and operation of early village communities.

As the work of collection, valuable though it be, does not require much special training, but rather care and accuracy, it is open to any local archæologist, and it may be well therefore to indicate briefly the sources of information, with illustrations of actual results, the latter being taken from the county of Sussex.

The collections can be made most conveniently for each parish separately, and the first step is to examine any old parish maps, including maps attached to tithe commutation awards, and old terriers. The names of fields, rivers, brooks, hills, streets, hamlets, seats, mansions, manors, villages, chapelries, hundreds, etc., then discovered, should be carefully noted, and in this the Ordnance maps (6-inch scale) will be found of great assistance. Old title-deeds and abstracts of title will yield many names, and auctioneers' catalogues and particulars of sale, especially on sales of farms and large estates, often supply lists of field-names.

County histories, and the proceedings of

local archæological societies, should of course be consulted, as also the volumes issued by the Public Record Commission, particularly Domesday, the Hundred Rolls, Valor Ecclesiasticus, etc. Enclosure awards (if any) and turnpike acts will furnish more names, and many can be traced through post-office directories. Names originating in the present century may be discarded (if desired) to save time, although it should be remembered that they may become a puzzle to future investigators, so as to render it a duty (if possible) to record their present or recent origin. The operations of railway companies and the postal telegraph authorities have also tended to bring into prominence many ancient names, and to suppress and vary others, and invent entirely new names.

It is very important to record all the varied spellings of different names, with the authority, and approximate date, as these will serve to show the fallacy of many suggested derivations based on recent, instead of older, forms of the names. In connection with this part of the subject due attention should be given to dialectal nomenclature, for it is a curious fact that in many cases the modern dialectal pronunciation perpetuates Domesday spellings, and explains them; thus we find in Sussex the following:—

<i>Domesday.</i>	<i>Modern dialectal.</i>	<i>Modern spelling.</i>
Harrundel.	Harndel.	Arundel.
Sifelle.	Izvull.	Isfield.
Hertevel.	Hartful.	I Hartfield.
Peteorde.	Pettuth.	Petworth.
Framelle.	Framful.	Framfield.
Salescome.	Selcum.	Seddlescombe.

When the name-lists for several parishes have been collected, they will be ready for collation and comparison, and the recurrence of a name frequently in a particular district will aid in demolishing suggested derivations based on the physical features of isolated spots. The intimate connection between place, and field-names, etc., and surname will be plainly seen, and can be studied with the assistance of Mr. Ferguson's works on, *Surnames as a Science*, and, *The Teutonic Name-System*. A modern directory will assist in tracing existing surnames derived from place-names, and subsidy-lists will supply older surnames, now extinct.

In Sussex we find,—*Hollingbury*, a hill-

fortress in the rear of Brighton; *Hollingdean*, a tract of land in the adjoining parish of Preston; *Hollington*, a parish near Hastings; and *Hollingham* and *Hollingdale*, modern surnames. There is no difficulty thus in showing these names to be derived from a tribe of *Hollingas*, having their *burh* on the hill, and their pasture, *denu*, on lower ground, and that they had two settlements at least in the county.

The general results to be derived from field-name and toponymical collections may be considered under the following heads: 1, Historical; 2, Legal and Governmental; 3, Ecclesiastical; 4, Agricultural; 5, Natural History; 6, Personal.

1. British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman influence can be successively traced. In Sussex we find the *trevs*, or villages of the Britons, in the names of the hundreds, as *Gostrewe* (now *Gostrow*), *Wandelmeistri*, *Estreu* (now *Street*), in Domesday.

Saxon names are perhaps the most frequent of any, and here it is necessary to mention the patronymic "ing," with the aid of which Kemble inferred so many tribal names, and established the existence of the Mark in England. The subject is much disputed, and may be studied in the works of Bishop Stubbs, Sir Henry Maine, Professor E. A. Freeman, Mr. Seebohm, and others. Danish names are traced by the syllables "thorpe" and "by." The Normans brought over many place-names which became domesticated in England. Thus, from *Cahagnes* in Normandy came the family of *De Cheisneto* or *Caisned*, whose name was afterwards modified into *Cheyne* or *Cheyney*, whence *Horsted Keynes* in Sussex. One of the best illustrations of the intimate relation between place-names and surnames is given by Mr. Ferguson (*The Teutonic Name-System*, p. 489) in the history of the name *Montgomery*. A man named *Gomerie* settled on a hill, whence *Mont-gomerie*. Roger de *Montgomerie* came to England with the Conqueror, and gave his name to a town in Wales. This in turn named persons *Montgomery*, who going to America have probably for the third time transferred a surname into a place-name.

2. The sites of the primitive folk-moots, the basis of our modern free institutions, can

be discovered almost entirely through place and field-names, as Mr. Gomme points out. In Sussex we find:—*Hundred Place* at the bottom of High Street, Hastings, *Hundred Steedle Farm* in East Wittering, and *Hundred House Farm*, in Framfield, all places where the Hundred Courts met. *No Man's Land* appears in the Ordnance Map, at the junction of Sompting, Bramber Steyning, and Finden parishes, evidently a neutral territory and meeting-place; whilst we have *Burghill* in Chiddingly, and *Four Lords' Burgh* at the junction of Falmer, Westmeston, Chailey, and St. John-sub-Castro parishes. The peculiar customs of village communities are shown in *Doles*, *Dools*, and *Lot Lands*, which were by lot assigned to the inhabitants for grass-cutting or cultivation, as the case might be. *Butts* in many cases recal the legislation of Edward IV. on the subject of archery, and are the sites of old archery grounds, although, as Mr. Seebohm (*The English Village Community*, p. 6) shows, they are in some cases strips of land meeting others at right angles. Manors and Manorial Courts are shown in the *Court Hills*, *Court Farms*, etc.; and Manor officers, as the *Hayward*, in *Hayward's Heath*, Sussex.

3. The sites of lost churches and religious houses are frequently preserved by means of field-names, and sometimes by street-names, as in Brighton *Bartholomeus*, which derives its name from a chantry, of which not a stone remains, and which once occupied the site of the present Town Hall. *Holybread Plotts*, or *Holybrades*, occurring in South Bersted and Rustington in Sussex, were no doubt pieces of land, the produce of which provided bread for the communion. Sacred wells, as *Ladywells*, *Holywells*, *Pinwells*, etc., are always worthy of note, and may elicit some scraps of folklore.

The names of Teutonic deities are retained in many places: In Sussex we find *Baldslow*, a hundred, and *Balsdean*, near Brighton, recal *Balder*, whilst *Wootton*, a farm in Westmeston, and *Wanbarow*, a farm in Hurstpierpoint, commemorate *Woden*, and *Friar's Oak* near Hurstpierpoint is perhaps named from *Freia*. The monstrous demon *Loki*, originated in Sussex the names of *Loxfeld*, a hundred, *Lock Barn* in Upper Beeding, *Locksash Farm* in Up-Marden, etc. A belief

in fairies is illustrated by *Puck* names, as *Pook's Field*, *Shermanbury*.

4. Some field-names perpetuate the memory of agricultural customs now abandoned, especially in reference to the village community, and also cultivations long extinct, as vineyards, orchards, hop gardens, flax pieces, etc. Thus, in Brighton, we find a large piece of land in the centre of the old town, named the *Hempshares*, whence *Hempshare Street*, now *Ship Street*. *Denshire* lands occur in some parishes, *i.e.*, land where the turf has been cut off, and when dry placed in heaps and burnt to ashes, as is done in Devonshire.

5. The due record of the names of the physical features is of great importance, and they will be found to illustrate geological and other changes, as the disappearance of rivers, lakes, meres, wells, and springs by drainage. The presence of birds, animals, reptiles, etc., is often shown by the names, as *Culverscroft* (culver=Pigeon, A.S.) in *Hurstpierpoint*, *Wolfsrag* in *West Chilmington* (said to be the spot where the last wolf was killed in the Weald), *Adder Bottom* in *Portslade*.

6. A very large proportion of place-names, etc., will be found to be derived from persons, and, as Mr. Ferguson remarks, "the map of England dotted over with the possessive case is a standing protest against communism." The list of names given by *Kemble* and *Ferguson* will prove of great assistance. Amongst the Anglo-Saxons, men's names were often associated with the boundaries of their property, as hedges, ditches, stones, trees, ridges, streams, etc.; or with their dwellings, or estates, or graves.



The Adelphi and its Site.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

II.



E will now return to the consideration of the vicissitudes of *Durham House*. Whether *Bishop Toby* *Matthew* got possession after the eviction of *Raleigh* I cannot say, but I suspect not. I find a reference among the *Earl of Jersey's* papers to the fact that the archduke's commissioners were lodged at *Durham House* on Friday, 10th August, 1604.* Among the

Salisbury papers there is a receipt for stone for some building operations stated to be done at *Durham House*, but probably connected with the *New Exchange*.*

On February 16th, 1612, *Bishop William James*, who had succeeded to the see in 1606, wrote to *Lord Salisbury* to thank him for his honourable dealings in the purchase of *Durham House*. About this time considerable changes were made on the site. Some houses were built on the portion of the Strand frontage not occupied by the *Exchange*, and others apparently not far from the chief house. *Thomas Wilson* of *Hertford* granted a lease "to *James Bory*, Serjeant of the Cellar of the *Sill House* in the Strand, near *Durham House*," on December 9th, 1614. This same *Wilson* (now *Sir Thomas*) sold, in October 1618, a dwelling-house, garden, etc., described as "between *Durham House*, *Britain's Burse*, *York House*, and the river," to *William Roo* for £374. This gives us some idea of the arrangement of the site. I imagine *Durham House* occupied what is now the middle of the south side of *John Street*. It extended to the river on the south, but there would be plenty of space between it and the *New Exchange* on the north, between it and *Salisbury House* on the east, and between it and *York House* on the west. Houses appear to have been built on these vacant spaces. The chief house continued to be called *Durham House*, but the locality of the other houses was distinguished as *Durham Yard*. *Sir Thomas Wilson*, writing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in December 1619, dates from "my house in *Duresme Yard*," and gives a list of ambassadors, etc., living there.†

Amongst the *State Papers* is preserved the examination of *Anne*, wife of *William Taylor*, of *Southwark*, who was sent for to *Durham House*, in December 1615, by a lady who offered to introduce her to the Countess of *Essex*, but she refused the offer. Who this lady was does not appear.‡ In December 1625 *Bishop Richard Neile*, who succeeded *Bishop James*, was dating his letters from *Durham House*, but in February of the following year the *French Ambassador* lived there. This we learn from "A true relation

* *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, iii., p. 175.

† *Ibid.*, iv., p. 284.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic, p. 339.

* *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, viii., p. 98.

of that which passed betwixt the king's officers and the French Ambassador's followers by occasion of apprehending English subjects, Papists that resorted daily to mass to the Ambassador lying in Durham House." * This matter attracted much attention, and the Council of State wrote to the Bishop of Durham respecting it. The Bishop gave a warrant to the Constable. Attached to these documents among the State Papers is a map of Durham House and the adjoining residences illustrative of them. The situations of Britain's Burse and the residences of Sir Thomas Wilson, Sir William Becher, and Sir Thomas Bond are indicated.

About this same date the inhabitants of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields looked with envying eyes upon the great hall of Durham House, which was used only as a passage, and which they thought would make a very good church. The parishioners petitioned for this favour. They pointed out that since the beginning of James's reign the number of parishioners had trebled. Although the old church had been enlarged, it would not hold half of those who wished to come to it. The petitioners asked to be allowed to convert the hall into a church at their own expense, and they proposed to pay a minister as well. Whether the prayer was granted I cannot say.

Lord Keeper Coventry lived at Durham House for several years; thus I find his letters dated from there in 1628, 1629, and in 1637, 1638, and 1639, but in March 1630 Bishop John Howson, who succeeded Bishop Neile, was dating from the same place.

The inhabitants of Durham Yard do not appear to have been altogether satisfied with their neighbours at the New Exchange, and they had to complain of the numbers who were crowded in that place; and of the sheds that had been built up against the wall separating the two places from each other. This is seen from the following

Order in Council (Inner Star Chamber), 1638, May 4th:—

The Lords being made acquainted that over the New Exchange, called Britain's Burse, there are divers families inhabiting as inmates, and that adjoining the wall of the court of Durham House, there are sheds employed as eating rooms and for other uses, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, and danger of in-

fection. It was ordered that the Lord Privy Seal and Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy, should call before them the inhabitants of the said places, and take order for their removal; and if they find any of the said persons obstinate should certify their names.—*Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1637-38, p. 402.*

There were other evils besides those of overcrowding to alarm and annoy the inhabitants of this place. Although near the Thames, the water supply was abominably bad, so bad indeed that an inquiry was instituted, and the polluted source was discovered in Covent Garden. The account is so instructive that I venture to transfer to these pages the full account from the *Calendar of State Papers*, which is as follows:—

1635-6, Jan. 6th. Lawrence Whitaker and Thomas Baldwin to the Council.

According to their order of 28th October last, the writers have viewed those places in "the Covent Garden" where the head of the spring is that brings the water to Durham House, and they report how the water may be brought to that house for the present and secured for the future. The head of the spring was then under a new-made cellar in an ill-built house in the skirts of "the Covent Garden," where a floor was made over it. The writers recommend a variety of practical arrangements by which the spring and a watercourse connected therewith might be kept free from contamination from its source to Durham House; they also recommend that the works by them suggested should be effected and maintained by the Earl of Bedford, but that the Bishop of Durham should be at the expense of the necessary legal instruments for securing the benefit of the same to the bishop and his successors.—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1635-36, p. 150.*

In 1640 Lord Keeper Finch died at Durham House, and we hear no more of the bishops. In 1645 the property had come into the possession of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who had rented it previously from the see of Durham at £200 per annum.

From the certificate of the collector of St. Martin's parish, dated Feb. 16th, 1645-6, we learn that the Earl of Salisbury was assessed forty shillings monthly for Salisbury House, the same amount as the assessment upon the Earl of Northumberland for his house, late Earl of Suffolk's, and upon the Earl of Pembroke for Durham House.* Soon after this, parliamentary soldiers were quartered at Durham House, as well as at Somerset

* *Cal. State Papers*, Feb. 26th, 1626.

* *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, vi., 98.

and Worcester Houses. On December 5th, 1649, the Council of State ordered the Lord-General to think of some place for quartering the soldiers now at Durham

to the Lord-General that he should continue the soldiers now at Durham House, as there were many disaffected persons about the town who might be encouraged by the

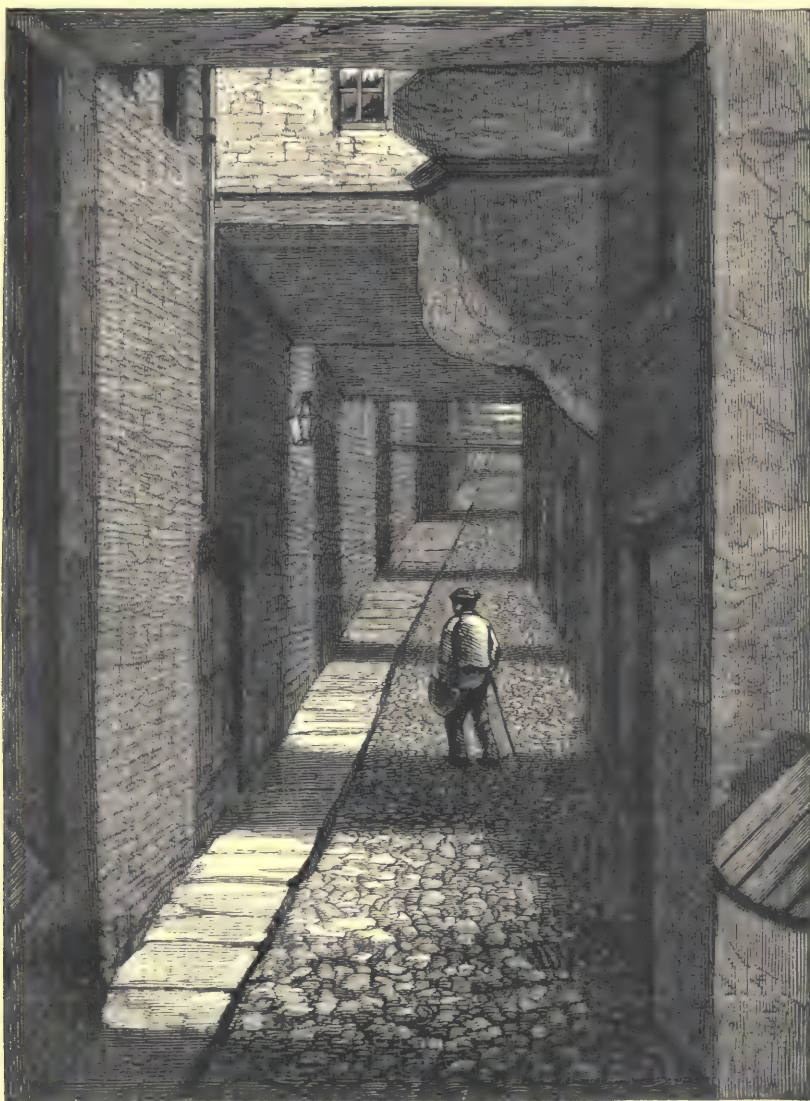


FIG. 1.—IVY LANE.

House, that the Earl of Pembroke might have the use of his own house. On January 24th, 1650, the Council of State, however, desired Sir William Constable to signify

removal of the troops. Two hundred pounds was voted to the Earl of Pembroke, so that he might provide himself with a house, as Durham House being his property was thus

made use of for quartering soldiers. Evidently the Earl began to get tired of being kept out of possession of his house, for on September 19th, 1651, Colonel Berkstead was ordered "to find some fit place for the quartering of his soldiers besides Durham House, the Council not being desirous to hold the house longer than the Earl of Pembroke has given his consent to."

Webb, the pupil and kinsman of Inigo Jones, designed a new mansion for Lord Pembroke, but this scheme was not carried into execution, and the elevation preserved in the collection of Jones's drawings, at Worcester College, Oxford, remains as the only record of what might have been. After the Restoration this nobleman's son pulled down the old house and built a street running from east to west, called Durham Yard, which communicated with the Strand by the street now called Durham Street.

Pepys went, on January 31st, 1667-68, to the office of the Commissioners of Accounts, which was then situated in Durham Yard, and on May 10th, 1668, he went in a boat to Vauxhall, and returning, set down an old lady at Durham Yard. This might have been Ivy bridge stairs, or Durham stairs, which he more often calls New Exchange Stairs. Ivy Lane, which forms the eastern boundary of the Adelphi, still remains, as is shown on the opposite page (fig. 1), and the view down it from the gate in the Strand is one of the oddest in London.

Some waterworks were established in Durham Yard by Sir Robert Vyner and various others, and on January 18th, 1667, the proprietors of the New River Works objected to the action of their new rival. These works do not appear to have been connected with the York Buildings Company, which was formed in 1675, and whose waterworks adjoined Durham Yard. Dean Crofts of Norwich lived in Durham Yard in 1667, and Justice Wareup, John Knight, Serjeant-surgeon, and Ringet, Surgeon-general, were there about the same time, but there is little more of interest attached to the place.

I will now return to the New Exchange and the Strand front. Besides the milliners and sempstresses who filled up much of the place, many other trades were represented, and the different stalls were distinguished by various

signs. Thomas Walkley at the Eagle and Child, published the first edition of *Othello*; Will Cademan, actor and publisher, lived at the sign of the Fop's Head, and Henry Herringman, the famous bookseller, had his shop at the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk. It is said that Dryden lodged with Herringman after the restoration for a time. Nan Clarges (then the wife of Thomas Radford, but afterwards Duchess of Albemarle) sold washballs, powder, gloves, etc., at the sign of the Three Spanish Gypsies. Here is the title of a tract by Henry Nevile—" *News from the New Exchange or the Commonwealth of Ladies drawn to the life in their severall characters and concernments*" (here follows a list of ladies and their gallants). "Printed in the yeere of Women without grace, 1650." On the 22nd November, 1653, there was a murderous attack made in the New Exchange by a party of Portuguese. It appears that some members of the Portuguese Ambassador's family felt themselves affronted by the remarks of certain Englishmen at this place, and so on the following day they gathered a company of armed followers, and attacked all they met in the Exchange, killing one, and wounding many others. They made preparations to escape by water, but were taken prisoners.* It was at the New Exchange that the famous White Milliner hired one of the stalls after the Revolution, when it was whispered that this mysterious personage was the unfortunate Duchess of Tyrconnell, then reduced to want.

The New Exchange was a large building, and was divided into the outward walk below stairs, the inner walk below stairs, the outward walk above stairs, and the inner walk above stairs. In course of time the stalls were deserted, and the lower walk, which had long been a place of assignation, became a nuisance, and the public voice called loudly for its abolishment. The building was pulled down in 1737, and new houses were erected on the site.

There was another Exchange close by, which had been built on part of old Salisbury House. This was called the Middle

* "A Relation of the Mutiny on Tuesday, the 22nd of November, 1653, in the New Exchange of the Portugal Ambassador's followers, etc." Reprinted in *Somers's Tracts*.

Exchange, and is sometimes confused with the New Exchange. Peter Cunningham says it was first rated in the year 1672, but there is a reference in Fairholt's *Lord Mayor's Pageants* to the following sentence, written as early as 1638,—“her suburbs being decorated with two several houses or exchanges.”

When the New Exchange was pulled down, eleven houses were built upon its site, and the middle house was occupied by Mr. Middleton's bank (now Coutts's). John Campbell, who died in 1712, and lies buried

James Coutts, who married a niece of George Campbell, was taken into partnership, and the firm became Campbell and Coutts. In 1760, James Coutts, the sole partner, took his brother Thomas into partnership. He died in 1778, and the sole charge of the bank devolved upon Thomas Coutts, and from that time to this the style of this famous house has been Coutts & Co.

Although the houses built on the site of the New Exchange were not old when the Adelphi was planned out, the brothers Adam, who were known to Coutts, were employed to build a



FIG. 2.—THE ADELPHI FROM THE RIVER, 1770.

with his wife in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, is supposed to have been the founder of the bank in St. Martin's Lane. It is not known when the business was removed to the Strand, or the exact locality to which it was so removed, but the house is described as The Three Crowns, next the Globe Tavern, and it is believed that John Campbell was there in 1692. Campbell was succeeded by Middleton, who was succeeded by George Campbell. The firm was then for a time Campbell and Bruce; from 1751 to 1755 George Campbell was sole partner. At the latter date

new house. This they did with a slightly architectural elevation, the symmetry of which has been somewhat injured by alterations of late years. In the house built by the Adams, Thomas Coutts lived for many years, and his dining-room and drawing-room, with their handsome marble chimney-pieces and fine mahogany doors, are still unoccupied. When Lord Macartney was on his embassy to China, he sent over some Chinese wall paper to Coutts, which was hung on the walls of one of these rooms, and there it still is. I shall have something further to say of Coutts in the notice of the Adelphi itself.

Durham Street remains unaltered, except that instead of leading to the chief street of the district, it leads down to the arches under the Adelphi. The Strand had now become an important thoroughfare, and the only valuable portion of the old Durham Yard was that portion which had been built on the stables and outhouses. The rest of the site was in a ruinous and disgraceful state. In 1766 John Gwynn,* who proposed some extensive changes in the arrangements of London streets, suggested that new streets leading to the Thames should be built on the site, or that it should be laid out as a square, where the market removed from Covent Garden could be held. At the very time, however, that this was written, four Scotchmen, patronised by the unpopular statesman Lord Bute, were contemplating the transformation of the site on a plan of the most brilliant originality.

Robert and John Adam only were architects, but James and William were associated with their brothers in the business part of the project. In 1768 the works were commenced. At this time the property of Durham Yard was in the possession of the Duke of St. Albans, and it may be presumed that he was not prepared to sell the place, as the Adams agreed to lease the ground for ninety-nine years, from Lady-day 1768, at a yearly ground rent of £1,200. It must be supposed that the brothers knew their own business, but it does seem strange that they should undertake enormous risks for so comparatively short a tenure. The agreement was not signed until the 23rd June, 1769, more than a year after building operations had commenced. The leases expired in 1867, and the whole property came into the possession of Messrs. Drummond, who obtained the estate from the trustees of the Duke of St. Albans. The conception of levelling a steep incline by building streets of houses on a vast area of solid arches, is one of considerable daring, and although the Adelphi has existed for more than a century the wonder of London, it has remained unimitated and unrivalled. But this was not the only merit of the scheme. The Terrace, standing high above the river, is still one of

the handsomest objects we see, as we pass along the silent highway, but when it was first built it stood alone, for Somerset House with its river front was not completed until some years afterwards. Then again the architectural elevation of the houses in the different streets is worthy of great praise. It is very elegant, although somewhat flat and wanting in power. Horace Walpole, writing to Mason in 1773, speaks of the Adelphi Buildings as "warehouses laced down the seams, like a soldier's trull in a regimental old coat." We must remember that at the time when Robert Adam commenced to adorn London, the streets were built in the most deplorably ugly manner, without any, even the most distant, attempt at beauty. It was he who first conceived the idea of grouping together a number of dwelling-houses to form one whole with centre and wings. Beauty was not however confined to the outside, for the interior was designed with an elegance worthy of great praise. To Robert Adam we owe Portland Place, still a noble street, although the effect of his design has been somewhat injured by the irregularity introduced by the vagaries of modern builders.

Soon after the works in the Adelphi had been commenced, a difficulty arose as to the frontage to the river. This was very different from what it is at present. In order to make the Terrace follow a straight line along the Thames, it was necessary to encroach upon the river, and for this purpose the undertakers had to obtain an Act of Parliament (2 Geo. III., cap. 34, 1771):—

An Act for enabling certain persons to enclose and embank part of the river Thames, adjoining to Durham Yard, Salisbury Street, Cecil Street, and Beaufort Buildings, in the County of Middlesex.

The preamble sets forth, that between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge the river is much wider than at either of those bridges, that this tended to weaken the rapidity of the stream, and that therefore it would be a benefit to make the river narrower. John Adam, Robert Adam, James Adam, and William Adam, and James Paine, architects; Dorothy Monk, widow, Clementina Pawson, widow, and William Kitchiner, coal merchant, were willing to make this improvement, and execute an embankment in front of their respective properties at their own expense.

* In *London and Westminster Improved* (London, 1766), 4to.

The Adams were supported by the Court, and before this Act was passed, and while it was only a Bill before Parliament, the City considered their rights as conservators of the river threatened, and they exerted the whole of their influence to crush it. They brought forward charters and grants in support of their case, and they were heard by counsel, but they failed. They imagined that their objection would be popular, but this was not so, for most people saw how great an improvement to London the new buildings would be. The satirists, however, took the opportunity to gird at the brothers. In a *jeu d'esprit*, written "on some encroachments on the river," we read :—

"Four Scotchmen by the name of Adams,
Who keep their coaches and their madams,"
Quoth John in sulky mood to Thomas,
"Have stole the very river from us."*

The east end of the terrace was built on piles, and the line of the bank was carried out some distance, making a considerable curtailment of the river. At the same time, Salisbury Street was lengthened by means of a somewhat pretentious crescent. I am informed that when the Adams planned the arches upon which their houses were to rest, they believed they had secured their occupation as warehouses for government stores, but they subsequently found that the authorities were not prepared to carry out the implied agreement. This disappointment greatly disarranged their plans, and the expenses they had gone to nearly ruined them. They then thought to extricate themselves from their difficulties by means of a lottery, and they had sufficient influence to obtain an Act of Parliament for the purpose, the story of which must be reserved for another paper.

(To be continued.)



The Coins of Venice.

By W. CAREW-HAZLITT.

PART III.



HE activity of the Mint may be said to have had its real commencement in the middle of the

* *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, ed. 1784, vol. iv., p. 189.

fifteenth century. The copper *quattrino* of 50 grains was published about this time, with a good characteristic portrait in profile of the Doge Cristoforo Moro (1462-71),—apparently the earliest attempt to transfer to the coinage the ducal effigy; and the following reign witnessed a development of the new idea in the *sesino*, and the silver *lira* and *mezza-lira*, all of silver, which were ushered into the world for the first time with a well-executed likeness, also in profile, of Nicolò Trono (1471-3). The *lira* and its half were important steps in the direction of making the silver coinage more comprehensive; they represented, approximately at least, the moiety and quarter of the *grossone*. But the usage of giving a portrait of the Doge in office on the money was soon superseded by another less obnoxious to the oligarchical taste. After the death of Trono, the second reign in which the experiment had been permitted, a decree of the Great Council forbade its further continuance. A silver piece coined during the government of Nicolò Marcello (1473-4) was christened the *marcella*; and, again, on its reissue by Pietro Mocenigo (1474-6) the *lira*, which had passed under the name of the *lira Tron*, became popularly known as the *moceniga*. The *marcella* presented on the obverse the Doge on his knees accepting the standard, and on the reverse Christ on a throne of a more richly decorated character than before. The legend was also changed. Schweitzer quotes four types. A somewhat later Doge, Marco Barbarigo (1485-6) issued a copper *sesino* of 25 grains, but without a portrait, and we soon meet (1486-1501) with a half-*marcella* struck for the Colonies.

Agostino Barbarigo (1486—1501) added the *bezzo* or *quattrino bianco* of silver, the moiety of the soldino (one of the most popular pieces current in Venice) and the fourth of the old *grosso* or *matapan*; and in the time of Leonardo Loredano (1501-21) the idea seems to have occurred of issuing the half of the gold sequin of 1284. The quarter did not come into use till 1577-8, and is a piece of the rarest character. The half and quarter sequin represented in modern English money about 4s. 9d. and the moiety. Under Andrea Gritti the Mint

produced a remarkable novelty in a scudo or crown of gold and its half, in addition to the sequin and half sequin already in existence. The new pieces were possibly suggested by the French écu and demi-écu; they were worth 6 lire, 10 soldi, and the moiety respectively. But they tallied too closely in value with the sequin to exist long concurrently, and we do not hear of them being recoiné, although after a long interval the doppia of gold, equal to two of these scudi, made its appearance (1618-23). The doppia was in fact a double crown, and was estimated at 12 lire. It was the highest denomination ever in regular use.

Since the launch of the grossone, a piece of eight grossi, in the time of the Doge Foscari (1423-57), the Republic had hitherto made little progress in the silver currency. A coin representing about three shillings in modern English money was still the largest piece known in this metal. But during the government of Hieronimo Priuli (1559-67) came into existence the Ducat of silver, worth 124 soldi, or 6 lire, 4 soldi, the half of it, and the quarter. The need of affording ampler facilities for commercial and other monetary transactions was at last finding a response. The Mint did not rest here, for a few years later (1578-85) it brought out the *giustina* of silver, valued at eight lire, or 160 soldi, and its divisions, and ere long (1585-95) succeeded the *giustina minore*, corresponding in value with the silver ducat, the half and the quarter. The Doge Marino Grimani (1595-1606) added to these mediums the *scudo di croce* of 140 soldi, and his two immediate successors (1606-12) completed this extensive series by a new variety of silver zecchino current for ten lire, with its divisions (1606-15). The sixteenth century may thus be regarded as the epoch at which, above all others, Venice provided herself with a metallic currency eclipsing in richness and capability anything of the kind achieved before or since. The only supplementary feature in the numismatic chronicle was the substitution (1606-12) of a gold ducat diverging in design and circumference from the original sequin of 1284. It was a broader and thinner piece of analogous type and identical weight; the size is precisely that of an English sovereign. The ground for

the change is not obvious, but the Venetian Zecca was evidently partial to new experiments, and besides the productions which were admitted into circulation, Schweitzer and others record numerous trial-pieces or patterns, which found their way into private cabinets, but were not adopted by the executive. Of these *essays* France has, in the same way, the honour of possessing a singularly large assemblage, submitted by her own Mint for approbation, and ultimately abandoned.

The silver ducat of 1559-67 exhibited St. Mark on the obverse, seated, and tendering the standard to the Doge, while on the reverse occurs the winged lion passant with the Gospel in his fore-claw. The silver *giustina* (1578-85) presented the patron saint and the Doge on the obverse, but on the other side for the first time in the annals of the coinage we meet with a complete novelty in the standing figure of St. Giustina and the lion reposing at her feet, with the legend MEMOR. ERO. TUI. IVSTINA. VIRGO, in grateful reference to the Battle of Lepanto, fought on St. Justina's Day (October 7), 1571. There was a certain unusual originality again in the treatment of the two other heavy silver pieces which have just been mentioned as belonging to the same period; the *giustina minore*, which was reckoned, like the silver ducat, at 124 soldi, and which bore on one side the erect figure of the saint from whom it derived its name, and the *scudo di croce*, which passed for 140 soldi. The latter, which balances in the scales about 5s. 6d. in modern English currency, bears on one side an elaborate cross with the name of the Doge in the legend, and on the opposite one the winged lion with the glory enclosed in a shield, and encircled by the title of the patron saint. The silver ducat, the two *giustine*, and the scudo of silver, with their fractions, seem to stand alone in expressing the value in soldi at the foot of the reverse; but a ducat of a later type, while it expresses the denomination, omits the value. In the lower left-hand corner occurs a small view of St. Mark's, for which space has been made by removing the Book of the Gospel from the lion's claw.

Subsequently to the commencement of the seventeenth century the Mint or Zecca of

Venice shared the languor and narrowness of her later political life. No new monetary issues of any consequence marked the interval between the date to which we have carried the history of the coinage and the Fall. The administration of Marc Antonio Memmo (1612-15) made further subdivisions of the silver currency by the issue of the *soldone*, and that of Antonio Priuli (1618-23) added the double and the half. These pieces were equal to twenty-four, twelve, and six soldi respectively, and were of base metal washed with silver. Of the soldo itself which with the lira formed the more modern Venetian money of account, we have failed to trace the original appearance, unless it was the old soldino with some modification of form and value. Schweitzer affords no assistance here. But where the multiple existed, the unit must surely have existed also.

The number of coins of all metals in contemporary circulation at Venice after a hundred years of unexampled activity at the Zecca exceeded the number concurrently in circulation in any other country in the world at that or any other time. Many of the types which answered the wants of the Republic in earlier years had silently vanished, including all the pieces of imperial or foreign origin and of dubious autonomy. Her rulers had no longer a motive for utilising the specie of their neighbours and allies, or for issuing money under the countenance of emperors. But what is apt to strike the student of Venetian numismatic art is the poverty of invention, and the servile and monotonous republication of the same design with the slightest possible pretence to variation or novelty. The first school of moneyers had their cross with its pelleted angles; the second, the tutelary Evangelist and the Doge in different positions, with the flag-pole. The grosso or matapan of the twelfth, and the ducat or zecchino of the thirteenth century were creditable performances for the time; but with one or two reservations the genius of the Mint appeared to be capable of nothing more. Except the two or three testoons with excellent portraits of the Doges Moro and Trono, and the two giustine, all the coins were unfruitful seedlings of the same germ.

Of the engravers, who were employed first

at the Ducal Palace itself, and subsequently at the Zecca, we seem to possess no specific or distinct knowledge, although the names of one or two early moneyers have come down to us. We cannot even be quite sure whether the differential token, which after a certain date is observable on the pieces, is a mint-mark or a moneyer's symbol. We are not acquainted with the artists to whom we owe the ancient Greek coins and medallions,—a circumstance far more unfortunate; and our converse with the ruder artificers who worked in some of the mediæval European mints arises from the occasional registration of their names on the money,—a practice, however, unknown to Venice.

A view of the Venetian coinage is, perhaps, chiefly striking by comparison; and by comparison it is very striking indeed. The Republic was, of course, a commercial country, and for purposes of trade the early introduction of as ample and complete a medium as possible was imperative as soon as the world emancipated itself from the primitive system of barter and exchange; and a survey of the numismatic economy of other peoples, even at a later period, will leave an advantage on the side of Venice. The English, prior to the reign of Edward III., had merely the silver penny. Till the time of Louis IX. (1226-70), who added the *gros tournois* and the gold florin, France possessed nothing but the Carolingian denier and its half. A similar or greater dearth of coin existed in Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, and Italy itself.

A volume* has been devoted by an enthusiastic inquirer to the provincial and colonial coinage of Venice alone. It appears that no separate currency for the territories of the Republic outside the original Dogado had been attempted prior to the commencement of the fourteenth century. In 1282 considerable dissatisfaction was felt at the systematic imitation of Venetian types by the King of Rascia,† more especially the *grosso*; and the inconvenience was aggravated by the wide circulation of these coins throughout the Venetian dominions, and their

* *Le Monete dei Possedimenti Veneziani*, da V. Lazari, 8vo, 1851.

† See Zanetti, *De Nummis Regum Rasciæ ad Venetos typos percussis*, 1750.

acceptance on an equal footing with the legitimate currency. The consequence was that on the 3rd March, 1282-3, the Great Council decreed that all holders of these pieces should bring them to the government and exchange them for lawful money, losing ten per cent., and that the counterfeits should be withdrawn and broken up; and the same regulation was made applicable to the provinces.*

Elsewhere another kind of anomaly had arisen by reason of the extension of the rule of Venice over portions of the Levant after the fourth crusade. For the Prince of Achaia and others, who owed their possessions to the operation of the same causes, coined *tornesi*, which not only served as currency within their regular limits, but were as much the ordinary circulating medium of the Venetian dependencies as the money struck by the Republic. In 1305 the government of the Doge at length found a remedy for this state of affairs by the issue of *otornesi* f a new type for colonial use.† But although it was the provincial neighbours of Venice who had set the example of intrusion and encroachment by pirating her numismatic models, another century elapsed before a special coinage for the trans-Adriatic districts was undertaken. In 1410, *tornesi* of base metal were struck for Zara and for Dalmatia generally,‡ with *MONETA DALMATIE* on one side, and *Santus Marcus* on the other, accompanied by a full-faced effigy of the saint with the nimbus. At a later date, the same pieces and others, such as the *gazzetta* (worth two soldi) were issued for Dalmatia and Albania; and in course of time a similar principle was applied to Candia and Cyprus. Thus the Signory, in its money, as well as in its principles of government and in its laws, aimed at spreading, wherever the sword or diplomacy had opened the way, its name and its influence.

The employment of Occasional Money by the Republic in early days was extremely rare; and it was limited to two objects—siege-pieces and largesse distributed at the investiture or coronation of a Doge. Only a single instance of the former usage has

been traced. In 1123 the want of some medium for paying the troops engaged in the Syrian war obliged, it is said, the Doge Domenico Michieli, who commanded there in person, to authorize the mintage of leathern money, impressed on one side with the figure of St. Mark, on the other with his own family arms. The incident of the loan to his allies, which had produced the drain on the Venetian finances, and the publication of this leathern siege-money, may be corroborated by the circumstance that the Michieli subsequently carried on their escutcheons, as a memorial of such a circumstance, a ducat of gold.* But the story belongs to a class which the judicious student always treats with reserve and distrust. Resort was had, doubtless, to some temporary expedient, and possibly it was this. A counterfeit *marcella* in lead, with the initials *D.M.* on one side, was long shown as a specimen of the identical coinage of 1123, although that was expressly stated to have been of leather and of a different type.†

The money struck at Venice on ceremonial occasions, though principally at the investiture of a Doge, forms the subject of an interesting monograph by Giovanelli. That writer‡ commences his series with a Doge who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century, and there very probably the known examples of such special currency may begin. Thenceforward the custom was followed at intervals down to the very fall of the Republic. The Venetians had perhaps borrowed the idea from the ancients, who commonly struck money in commemoration of particular events, and allowed it to be current; and the practice soon grew familiar throughout the continent of Europe.

But centuries prior to the *Oselle* engraved by Giovanelli, a case is known in which a Doge resorted to this practice.§ In 1173, before his coronation, it is averred that Sebastiano Ziani circulated among the people certain money stamped with his own name, and struck by his order for the express purpose on the preceding day. It is perhaps

* Dandolo, ix., 270.

† Compare Calogiera, *Spiegazione della Moneta del Doge Domenico Michieli in Soria*, with Lazari, *Le Monete dei Possedimenti Veneziani*, 1851, p. 3.

‡ *Illustrazione delle Medaglie denominate Oselle*, folio, 1834.

§ Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani*, p. 49.

* Lazari, p. 45.

† *Ib.*, p. 9.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 11.

singular that, among the many resuscitations of mediæval curiosities, the largesse scattered by the Doge in 1173 has not descended in the form of an unique specimen snatched from the ooze of the lagoons; but the circumstance itself is not unlikely.

The peculiar rarity of the earlier Venetian money, especially in all its varied types, arising from its flimsy character or from the practice of constantly calling in light and defaced pieces, renders it something like an impossibility to form a consecutive series; and the assemblage of carefully engraved facsimiles published by Schweitzer is scarcely capable of being overrated. The remarks

and descriptions found in the present Essay have been based partly on a personal inspection of originals, and partly on a comparative study of the pages of Schweitzer and others; but the labour of disentangling contradictory statements, and laying before the reader a narrative fairly lucid and intelligible, has been exceedingly irksome. Even such a man as Schweitzer needlessly perplexes us by admitting into the series coins which clearly form no part of it, and a second source of confusion comes from the occasional practice of multiplying one piece, christened at different times by different names, into two independent productions.

I. A TABULAR VIEW OF THE ANCIENT VENETIAN COINAGE, A.D. 800—A.D. 1200.

<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>First issue.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Denaro Grande	Billon ...	18 grains	About 800...	Halfpenny.
— Piccolo	— ...	8 to 10 „	Before 1156	The half.
Quartuarolo or Denarino	— ..	5 to 6 „	1173-1178 {	1/16th of a penny, 4th of denaro piccolo.
Grosso or Matapan... ..	Silver ...	44 „	1193-1205 {	About 5 <i>d.</i> or 16 denari grandi.
Soldo (old) or ½ Grosso	— ...	22 to 16 „	Uncertain ...	The half.
Quattrino	Copper ...	16 to 25 „	1193-1205...	The quarter.

FOREIGN MONEY CURRENT AT VENICE.

Denaro, Lombard and Frankish	{ Billon (or base silver) ...	28 to 18 „	700-1000 ...	Halfpenny.
Dirhem, Arabic	Silver ...	Double	Uncertain ...	Double.
Denaro, Henry III. or IV.	Billon ...	8 to 10 „	1040-1080...	The half.
Romanatus or Solidus	Gold ...		Before 800...	About 10/-
Besant	Gold and silver		900-1400 ...	
Perpero	— ...		— ...	

MONEY OF ACCOUNT.

Mark	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Lira di Grossi	£4 10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
— Piccoli	3 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
— Perperi... ..	Uncertain.

II. A TABULAR VIEW OF THE VENETIAN COINAGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE 17th CENTURY.

<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Metal.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>First known issue.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Marcuccio	Copper	5 to 6 grs. ...	1205-29	Fractional ...	
Grosso		40 grs. ...	1252-68		
Zecchino	Gold	17 carats, nearly 35 grains ...	About 1284	20 grossi ...	9/6.
Double Quattrino...	Copper	35 to 50 grs. ...	1289-1311	$\frac{1}{2}$ silver grosso	About 2d.
Soldino or Soldo ...	Base silver	16 to 22 grs. ...	1328-54		Various types.
Grossetto	Copper	38 grs. 9 carats	1383-1400		
Triple Grossetto ...		100 grs. ...	1400-13		Supposed to have been a pattern.
Bagattino	Billon		1400-13		
Half Bagattino ...					
Grossone	Silver		1423-57	8 grossi of silver	The largest silver piece yet struck The only coins ever issued with the portrait of the Doge, except the copper quattrino with that of the preceding Doge Moro (1462-71).
Sesino		50 grs. ...	1471-3		
Lira Tron		31 carats ...			
— Half		15 to 17 carats			
Double Bagattino...	Billon				
Marcella	Silver	15 carats ...	1473-4		Same type as the lira.
Moceniga		30 carats ...	1474-6		Same as the lira, but with a new design substituted for the portrait.
— Half		15 carats ...			Schweitzer distinguishes be- tween this and the old soldino; but I have one of the earlier period, which seems fair silver.
Soldino or Mezza- nino	Silver	$7\frac{1}{2}$ grs. ...	1474-6		Similar to the copper quattrino. Pieces of 4, 8, 12, and 16 bezzi, bezzini, or quattrini bianchi, were issued in silver.
Sesino	Copper	25 grs. ...	1485-6		Struck for the Colonies.
Bezzino or Bezzo, or Quattrino } Bianco	Plated		1486-1501		
Half-marcella ...	Silver	About $7\frac{1}{2}$ carats			
Octangular Bezzo...	Copper		1501-21		
Half-zecchino ...	Gold	$8\frac{1}{2}$ carats ...		10 silver grossi	
Scudo or Crown ...		About $17\frac{1}{2}$ carats	1523-38	6 lire 10 soldi	
— Half				The half ...	Not reissued.
Silver Ducat	Silver		1559-67	6 lire, 4 soldi or 124 soldi ...	
— Half				The half ...	Perhaps superseded the grossone.
— Quarter				The quarter ...	
Quarter-zecchino ...	Gold	$4\frac{1}{2}$ carats ...	1577-8	5 old grossi of silver ...	
Giustina Maggiore	Silver		1578-85	8 lire or 160 soldi	
— Half				80 soldi ...	
— Quarter				40 soldi ...	Minor divisions.
— Minore			1585-95	124 soldi or 6/4s.	Equivalent to the silver ducat.
— Half				62 soldi ...	
— Quarter			Uncertain	31 soldi ...	I possess one of a late reign.
— Eighth				$15\frac{1}{2}$ soldi ...	
Scudo di croce ...			1595-1606	140 soldi ...	Schweitzer engraved two dif- fering specimens, struck in 1595-1606 of 6 lire precisely, perhaps patterns.
— Half				6 lire 10 soldi...	Same type as the gold.
— Quarter					
New Ducat	Gold	17 carats ...	1606-12	6 lire 4 soldi ...	
Silver "	Silver			10 lire ...	
— Half				5 lire ...	
— Quarter			1612-15	$2\frac{1}{2}$ lire...	
Doppia	Gold	About 35 carats		12 lire, or 2 scudi of gold, or about 19s.	This coin does not seem to have been reissued.
Soldone	Plated or washed			12 soldi ...	About 5d. of modern English money.
Half-soldone			1618-23	6 soldi ...	
Double soldone ...				24 soldi ...	

consists of ten roses alternating with seven nondescript links; two shoulder links engraved with the old small seal; and a central link with star, from which hangs by a fleur-de-lis the pendant. Each rose has a small one on the reverse, and the pendant is engraved with the old great seal of the Borough, and the following inscription on the reverse:—

THE GIFT OF
JOHN WOODALL, ESQRE.,
TO THE WORSHIPFUL
THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION
OF SCARBOROUGH.
9 NOV., 1852.

The chain is 3' 8½" in circumference, and 1' 3" in diameter.

The pendant is three inches in diameter.

11. *Beadle's staff.* A wooden pole, 5 feet 11½ inches long, painted black, mounted at intervals with brass rings, and surmounted by an open brass crown, with red velvet cushion.



THE CORPORATION SEAL.

Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England.

I.

"Inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum."—VIRG., *Æneid*.



AME Laws, it has been said,* are an institution peculiar to the more northern parts of Europe. What is the date of the first legislation on the

* Hon. D. Barrington's *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 454 (ed. 5).

subject we do not pretend to know. In this country, at any rate, there is no trace of game laws in the earliest historical period; and one could hardly expect to find any such trace. When nine-tenths of the island was covered by heath or underwood or forest trees, or was impassable by reason of swamp and fen, there can have been no need for imposing any restrictive regulations on the pursuit and capture of wild birds or beasts. Hunting was, in fact, at once a necessity and a duty. The area available for pasturage being exceedingly limited in extent, the flesh of wild animals must have been required for food no less than their skins for clothing. And the flocks and the herds of the Britons, scanty as they were in proportion to the size of the country, would speedily have become altogether extinct had the ravages of wolves and other noxious animals been suffered to go unchecked. The sport-loving Saxon kings did, no doubt, gradually restrict the popular rights and liberties in respect of hunting. But they do not appear to have introduced anything like a rigid system of game or forest laws. In Alfred's day, as Mr. Freeman remarks,* the king's hunting is referred to not as a sport, but as a serious employment, along with the cares of war, government, and study. The genuine laws of Canute show, indeed, that while his subjects were at liberty to hunt as they pleased on their own lands, there were already certain lands over which none but the king himself was to enjoy the right of sporting.† But the best modern authorities are agreed that the so-called *Charta Canuti de Foresta*, upon which Kemble and others have thought fit to dilate at some length, and which contains a number of enactments concerning forest administration, is either altogether a forgery of a much later period, or at least so much interpolated as to be practically valueless. And though a writer of the fifteenth century‡ says of Harold that *de forestis suis . . . ferocitatem et severitatem erga adjacentes nobiliores exercuit*, Mr. Freeman assures us§ that there is no sort of contemporaneous evidence in support of this doubtless unfounded charge. It was not

* *History of the Norman Conquest*, iv. 609.

† Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, p. 146 (17).

‡ Knighton, *Chron.*, c. 16.

§ *Norman Conquest*, iii., 630.

until the era of the Norman kings that field sports became a royal prerogative, fenced in and sanctioned by a host of written and unwritten laws and restrictions.

The general character of the forest system which the Conqueror introduced, we have all been taught from our childhood. It was, no doubt, an exceedingly harsh and oppressive system. Unfortunately no genuine charter or ordinance upon the subject remains to us from William's day. As Mr. Freeman says,* we must rely for our information respecting that period on later notices and the rhetorical complaint of the national chronicler. From that chronicler † we learn that William

set mickle deer-frith, ‡ and laid laws therewith, that he who slew hart or hind that man should blind him. He forbade the harts and so eke the boars; so sooth he loved the high deer as though he were their father. Eke he set by the hares that they should fare free. His rich men moaned at it, and the poor men bewailed it; but he was so stiff that he recked not of their hatred.

But cruel and severe as the forest laws were under the Conqueror, they would seem to have reached their extreme of severity and cruelty under Henry I. Professor Stubbs tells us § that the fines exacted by the justices for breaches of these laws formed in Henry's reign a considerable item in the accounts. The area of land included within the forests went on increasing until the reign of Stephen, if not until the reign of John. Nor was it mere unappropriated waste land which thus fell within the jurisdiction of the forest system and outside the pale of the common law. On the contrary, as Mr. Justice Stephen points out, || the soil was private property, and the population living upon it might be considerable—circumstances which, above all others, rendered the forest laws so great a hardship. Thus, so long as land was included within the regard of a forest, no corn could be grown there without special licence from the king. An ecclesiastical versifier, referring to William II.'s doings in Beaulieu Forest,

thus tersely sums up the results of afforestation:—

*Templa adimit divisi, fora civibus, arva colonis
Rufus.*

No wonder that a writer of the twelfth century complained that it was by the forest laws safer to be a beast than a Christian man. The only wonder is that the Norman kings were strong enough to maintain and enforce those laws in all their rigour for so long a period.

The earliest forest code which has come down to us is of the reign of Henry II., and is known as the Assize of Woodstock, A.D. 1184.* Of its provisions Professor Stubbs says that, though very stringent, they are somewhat less inhuman than the customs of Henry I. Certainly they are stringent enough. For example, the following is the first clause or section of the Assize:—

Primum defendit [rex] quod nullus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis in ulla re: et non vult quod confidit in hoc quod habuerit misericordiam de illis propter eorum catalla huc usque qui ei forisfecerunt de venatione sua et de forestis suis. Nam si quis ei amodo forisfecerit et inde convictus fuerit, plenariam vult de illo habere iustitiam qualis fuit facta tempore regis Henrici avi sui.

The Great Charter of John contained three clauses (44, 47, 48) dealing with the forests; but these clauses were renewed and extended in the Forest Charter of 1217 (2 Henry III.), which effected several beneficial changes in the forest laws. The tenth clause was the most important:—

Nullus de cetero amittat vitam vel membra pro venatione nostra, sed si aliquis captus fuerit et convictus de captione venationis, graviter redimatur, si habeat unde redimi possit; et si non habeat unde redimi possit, jaceat in prisona nostra per unum annum et unum diem; et si post unum annum et unum diem plegios invenire possit exeat a prisona; sin autem, abjuret regnum Angliæ.†

This Charter may perhaps appear in some respects uninteresting, and even trivial, to the modern reader; but there can be no doubt that it was in its day a great measure of relief, and the number of subsequent Acts passed in joint confirmation of it and of the Great Charter—as 52 Hen. III., c. 5; 25 Edw. I., c. 1; 1 Edw. III., c. 1; 2 Edw. III., c. 1; 7 Hen. IV., c. 1; 4 Hen. V., c. 1—shows

* *Ibid.*, v. 401.

† *Chron. Petrib.*, 1087; *Saxon Chronicle*, 296 (Ed. Ingram).

‡ This expression, Mr. Freeman says, refers chiefly, but perhaps not exclusively, to the New Forest. —*Norman Conquest*, iv. 611, n.

§ *Const. Hist.*, i. 384.

|| *History of the Criminal Law*, i. 135

* See Stubbs's *Select Charters*, p. 150 foll.

† *Ibid.*, p. 341.

the esteem in which this Forest Charter continued to be held for at least a couple of centuries.

To discuss at length the various statutes relating to forests and forest law would be an unprofitable as well as a wearisome task. All or most of them had, no doubt, their meaning and their value once; but it is hard even for an antiquary to feel much interest in the petty details of an obsolete and highly artificial system. When and under what conditions foresters may use any violence they please in arresting an offender; whether persons whose woods have been disafforested shall continue to enjoy rights of common in the forest; how offences done in the forest shall be prevented; how officers surcharging the forest shall be punished; whether offenders shall be admitted to bail or not; what use persons may make of their woods within the forest; whether the justices of forests may appoint deputies to act for them,—these and many other like questions are dealt with in the various statutes relating to forests passed between the reign of Edward I. and that of Henry VIII.

At what precise period the forest law system ceased to be an intolerable national grievance, and became merely an occasional nuisance in particular districts, it is of course impossible for us or for any person to say. Afforestation, the most frequent and the gravest cause of complaint in early times, continued long after the grant of Henry III.'s Charter to oppress and annoy the freeholders living on the outskirts of the various forests. Thus, in 1328 a petition was presented in Parliament at the suit of John la Warre, the second baron of that name, complaining that the manor of Bristleton in the county of Somerset, which had always been without the bounds of the royal chase called Kingswood in the county of Gloucester and the chase of Filwood in the county of Somerset, had been included within the said chases by the wardens thereof.* In many cases, however, the rights of the subject were not materially interfered with, and afforestation assumed a less offensive form. Such a case was that of the annexation to Rockingham Forest in 1554 of certain woods and closes

situate just outside the perambulation of that forest. This afforestation was accomplished by means of a Proclamation of Philip and Mary addressed to the sheriff of Northants and the lieutenant of the forest in question, and, if we may trust the recitals with which the Proclamation begins, seems to have been justified by the facts of the case. From those recitals we learn that

the *Game* and *Deare* of the said Forest are nowe of late Yeres moche decayed and destroyed, in certen our Woodes, in our said Countie, called the *Grange Parke*, and the *Sart* . . . by certen ydell and evill disposed Persons dwelling neare to the same Forrest, which be moche more gyven to onreasonable Huntynge and other veyne Pastime, then to any other good or godlie Disposicion, and by meanes thereof to [do?] kill all kynde of unseasonable Deare belonging to the said Forrest, resortynge for their Feading Releyfe and Soucore into our said Woodes.

Under these circumstances their Majesties declared that the said woods and some small closes adjacent thereto should from Christmas of that year be annexed, united, and knit to Rockingham Forest, and form part thereof to all intents and purposes, and be within the rule and direction of the Justices of that Forest and the other Forests on this side of the Trent.* It is noteworthy that the afforestation in this comparatively late instance seems to have extended to none but Crown lands.

Nearly ninety years after the date of this Proclamation, the statute 16 Car. I., c. 16, which confined the areas of forests within the limits commonly known or reputed in the twentieth year of James I.'s reign, and declared that no place in which forest courts had not been held or forest officers appointed within sixty years before the king's accession should be regarded as a forest, bears witness to the recent extension of some forests, and even to endeavours "to set on foot forests" where forests had never been or, at least, had not been for a very long time. In point of fact it was Charles's desire to raise revenue without recourse to Parliament which at this period led to a sharp but brief revival of the forest laws. Blackstone in his *Commentaries*† refers to the "rigorous proceedings" of the Courts of Justice-Seat for the forests of Windsor

* *Rot. Parl.* 2 Edw. III.; Collinson's *Somerset*, i. 413.

* *Acta de Rymer*, xv. 408-9.

† Book III., chap. 6.

Waltham, and Deane,* held in 1632 and the following years by the Earl of Holland, Chief Justice in Eyre. These would appear to have been the last genuine *itineræ* of the successors and representatives of those justices whom Henry II. was the first to appoint. Another Court of Justice-Seat was, indeed, held after the Restoration, and most of the forests "on this side Trent" were then visited. But the real object of this *iter* was not so much the enforcement of the forest laws as the pecuniary advantage of Lord Oxford, the Chief Justice in Eyre. Roger North speaks of it† as an extraordinary event :—

Many Reigns pass before there is another ; For it is a great Charge to the Crown in Salaries, Expences and Rewards ; and the Profits redounded to the Lord Chief Justice in Eyre. And it was said, at that Time, that the King's Intent, in ordaining a Sessions of Eyre, was purely to gratify the Earl of *Oxford*, who was one that ever wanted Royal Boons.

It was as "royal boons," or sinecures, that the chief forest offices survived long after the performance of the duties once attached to those offices had become an absolute impossibility. In Manwood's *Treatise of the Forest Laws* ‡ we read that

the Negligence of putting these Laws in Execution hath induced a general Ignorance of them ; so that they are not only grown out of Use in most Places, but into Contempt by the Inhabitants of the Forests. I do not write this to have those Laws rigorously executed against Offenders ; but to have them so executed, that the Forests may still be known to be Forests, and that the Game may still be preserved for the King's Use : For otherwise it was much better to disafforest them all, and then the King will be discharged of those great Fees which he yearly pays out of his Exchequer to the Officers of the Forests.

In at least one instance, however, an excellent use was made of these great fees. The Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, who was Chief Justice in Eyre at the beginning of this century, received in that capacity the comfortable stipend of £3,466 13s. 4d. and three brace of bucks a year. This income,

* At the Court for this forest, held at Gloucester, the jury were induced to find the bounds as extensive as in the time of Henry II.—Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, p. 28.

† *Life of Lord Guilford*, p. 44.

‡ Fourth Edition (by Nelson), 1717, p. 152. The first edition was published in 1598.

easily earned and long enjoyed, supplied him with the means of accumulating that fine collection of books which at one time he intended should, after his death, be added to the already well-filled shelves at Stowe, but which upon further and better consideration he decided ought to find a secure and permanent resting-place in the British Museum. With this reference to the Grenville Library, the strangest and the most valuable offspring of the Conqueror's forest system, we may fitly conclude this portion of our subject.

F.



Notes on Some Rejected Bills in Parliament.

Very often happens that in some of the sidelights of history may be discovered a forgotten fact or an unknown event which may be of great importance to the right understanding of certain periods or events. Perhaps in no case is this more certain than in the case of bills which have been introduced into Parliament, and have then been allowed to drop, or have been thrown out. In some instances these have of course left their traces in parliamentary history by the debates which have arisen from them,—statesmen have fought for them and against them, and their doings have been chronicled. But in other instances, where the bill has related to some local need, or has brought forward some legislative proposals which were not popular enough, or not important enough, to make a great political stir, there is nothing recorded to tell of the history which is to be obtained from these rejected fragments of parliamentary records. On the present occasion we cannot go over the full extent of this vast field of curious inquiry, and particularly we shall not attempt to notice the great political examples which have left their traces on our history ; but at all events, there is ample material at hand in the calendar of the manuscripts of the House of Lords, given in the Reports of the Historical Manuscript Commission, to show the

chief characteristics and the value of a study of this interesting subject.

A few bills relating to the land holding and agricultural matters will perhaps not inappropriately commence our examples. In 1584 a bill "for the preservation of tillage," and against laying down in pasture land that had been heretofore arable, was "condemned by the Committees."

In 1597 the exact converse of this appears to have been occupying the attention of agriculturalists, for we have a bill brought from the Commons "to restrain the sowing of oade (oats) in meadows and cow pastures." Hay was scarce in some places, it is recorded, in consequence of pasture lands being sown with "oade," and it was sought by this bill to enact that no person should sow "oade" on land which within twenty years has been employed as pasture. The land question about this time was greatly unsettled. There were encroachments of landlords and the giving up of the old ways of agriculture both going on rapidly side by side. They were met, or attempted to be met, by the many acts which were passed about this time relating to the enclosing of common lands. But some of the bills that never found their way into the statute book contained principles of legislation that are adopted now in similar cases. In 1620 we have a rejected bill

for the improving and better ordering of commons, intercommons, and waste grounds for the good of the poor commoners and all interested therein:

a specimen of legislation frequently found in the statute book.

A curious bill, that passed through all its stages in the two Houses, but did not receive the royal assent, gives us some instruction about the making of glass in 1584. It is entitled

an act against the making of glass by strangers and outlandish men within the realm, and for the preservation of timber and woods spoiled by glass houses.

No alien is to carry on the trade of glass making unless he employ and instruct one Englishman for every two foreigners, and no one is to carry on the trade, or cut timber for the purpose of the trade, within twenty-two miles of London, seven of Guildford, and four of Winchelsea, Rye and Pevensey, "or the foot of the hills called the Downs of

Sussex." This is an interesting addition to the information got together by Mr. James Fowler, F.S.A., in *Archæologia* (vol. xlv.). Stow tells us that the first making of Venice glasses in England began at Crotchet Friars in London, about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by one Jacob Vessaline, an Italian.* In 1567 Anthony Dollyne and John Carye obtained a patent for making glass in England, and contracted with

Thomas and Ballhazar de Hamezel, esquires, dwelling at the glass-houses of Vosges, in the countrie of Lorraine,

to come and *teach the art* to Englishmen. So that, seventeen years later, we find by this bill in parliament that Englishmen were still unlearned in the art, though apparently foreigners carried on the trade in their midst.

Another industry of which we obtain some information is that of saltpetre making. In 1626 a bill was introduced

for the preservation of the mine of saltpetre, and increase of the means for making saltpetre, and for the ease of the subject from the grievances they now bear, by digging their houses and taking their carriages by petremen,

which grants certain privileges to Sir William Luckin and partners for the making of this article. The bill was allowed to drop. From an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1769 we gather some information on this subject. From the time of Edward III., it is said (p. 233), till 1696, England made saltpetre enough for its own consumption, but likewise supplied foreign parts, and saltpetre was always enumerated among the staple commodities of England. That injudicious duty, with other coinciding accidents, occasioned the laying down the saltpetre works. There was one near St. Giles's, one near Radcliffe Cross, and many others in different parts; but by a strange kind of idleness, we have depended upon the India Company for our only means of defence, which is gunpowder, of which saltpetre is the chief ingredient; and we can now have no saltpetre but from India.

We have often to lament the loss or destruction of important local records, and in 1614 an attempt was made to prevent the loss of the then current documents, which

* See Pennant's *London*, 5th ed., p. 377.

was even at this time going on. This we learn from the draft of an

act for the safe keeping of the records and books of the sessions of the peace and of inrolments taken before justices and clerks of the peace,

which sets forth that, in consequence of frequent changes in the office of Custos Rotulorum and Clerks of the Peace, records were constantly lost, and enacts that a house shall be provided in each county for their safe custody.

The want of international copyright occupied the attention of Parliament in 1614, for a bill was introduced, but rejected on the second reading, "concerning printing and binding books brought from beyond the seas," and imposing penalties upon both sellers and buyers of books, printed beyond the seas, which have been previously published by authority in this realm.

In 1593 we have the draft of a bill "for suppressing of pedlars and petty chapmen." By colour of licences, under the Act of 14 Eliz., pedlars and petty chapmen wander all over the country, carrying letters from one traitorous subject to another, and display their goods in church porches and churchyards on the Sabbath day; the bill enacts that they shall forfeit all their wares unless lawfully licensed in the open sessions within the county wherein they shall utter and sell their wares.

This leads us to enquire what there is of these instructive memorials of the past which would tell us something of the social habits and requirements of the day. In 1621 a bill passed both Houses of Parliament, but did not receive the royal assent, "for the better repressing of drunkenness and restraining the inordinate haunting of inns, alehouses, and other victualling houses," an evil which the present age has encountered by a different and more effectual remedy. A curious bill of 1601, "to restrain the excessive and superfluous use of coaches within this realm of England," gives an interesting piece of evidence on the petty interferences of legislation in these ages. In consequence of the great increase in the use of coaches, we learn from this bill, which was rejected on the second reading by the Lords, the saddlers' trade is like to be ruined, and not only so, but evil disposed persons who dare not show themselves openly for fear of correction,

shadow and securely convey themselves in coaches, and cannot be discerned from persons of honour; besides which the roads are cloyed and pestered, and horses lamed. In future, it was proposed, that no one under the degree of a knight or a privy councillor, queen's council, etc., or paying £50 to the subsidy assessment, shall ride or travel in coaches under penalty of £5 for every offence, and no person shall let coach or coach-horses to any but those hereby authorized to use them upon pain of forfeiting the same.

That this absurd attempt to limit private affairs failed is not to be wondered at, and we know well enough from the annals of coach driving that necessity proclaimed against such legislation.*

It would almost appear that the clergy of 1614 were rapidly getting into a state of life which the rebellion could not wipe out and which it remained for Macaulay to paint in such harsh colours; for in that year a bill was read a first time only, which provides for the punishment of ministers convicted of drunkenness or other immorality, and it goes further in adding that every living shall become void (*ipso facto*) upon the second conviction of the incumbent. It would almost appear as if the throwing off of the fearful trammels of Rome had left the clergy in a still worse plight.

An interesting bill relating to buildings in London, a subject that is as old certainly as Fitzalwyne's famous assize, printed in the *Liber Albus*, is that of 1621, "for the ordering and settling the manner of buildings, and for restraint of inmates and dividing of tenements in and near the cities of London and Westminster." The forefront and outer walls of all new buildings to be of brick or stone, and no tenement was to be divided into several habitations unless it be worth £20 per annum. Have we here a forerunner of the evils which modern statesmanship is called upon to ameliorate?

As an evidence of the age which witnessed the taste of John Evelyn and his compeers in gardening, many examples of which are given in his diary, it is interesting to notice

* See Macaulay, i., p. 179, for the use of coaches in 1685. See *Archæologia*, vol. xx., and *Gent. Mag.*, 1830, pt. i., p. 18.

the struggle of London gardeners to obtain an exclusive right to their occupation. A bill was rejected without "one negative" in 1620-1 for "confirmation of several letters patent granted by the King's Majesty for the incorporating the gardeners of the city of London, and of the franchises, liberties, powers, privileges, and jurisdictions of the said Corporation," for confirmation of letters patent, for incorporation of the gardeners of London and six miles round into a company, and for preventing any, except members of the company, from practising the mystery, which many ignorant and untrained persons have ventured to do, to the great injury of the subject. [See also *Remembrancia of the City of London*, p. 99.]

In 1614 it was thought necessary to introduce a bill "to prevent the elopement and wilful departure of wives from their husbands," which perhaps indicates a strange looseness of the marriage tie at this period; but it remains for a later age to indicate a still more startling state of affairs. Certainly the most remarkable bill introduced into Parliament, and rejected, is that mentioned in the Verney correspondence, in a letter dated Nov. 18th, 1675, which states that "a bill was brought into the Commons that a *man might have as many wives as he pleased, not exceeding twelve*, by Mr. Mallet."* This is the first attempt we have met with to legalise polygamy in this country, and perhaps it is the best example to show the curious and interesting phases of past social and political thought which is to be gained from these out-of-the-way sources of information, and it may fittingly conclude the examples we have here gathered together, and which we hope may be supplemented.

* See *Historical Manuscript Commission*, vii., p. 493.

Celebrated Birthplaces.

JOSEPH ADDISON, AT MILSTON, WILTSHIRE.



CATTERED over the fair surface of our land are many residences whose history is connected with the first days of our great men. Some of them are famous only, interesting only, as being the birthplace of a great man. Still they must always represent something of more than passing interest to the traveller. The very plainness or humbleness of a house thus associated has its influence upon the character of

the person who becomes linked with it in the memories of mankind, and thus it is that the traveller who approaches the village of Milston near Amesbury, in Wilts, looks upon it with considerable interest, because here Joseph Addison was born on the 1st of May, 1672. His father, Dr. Lancelot Addison, had been unfortunate, and obtained the living at Milston after having spent some



THE BIRTHPLACE OF JOSEPH ADDISON.

considerable time abroad. He was a man of some learning and a non-juror, and we get some interesting glimpses of him from Hearne's *Diaries*. The rectory-house as it stood about 1844 was a plain enough structure of no special interest, and the illustration conveys, perhaps, all that is necessary. When the present rector, the Rev. F. A. Radcliffe, went there in 1863, the old rectory was still standing, and he lived in it for about two years. It was, he says, a superior kind of cottage, containing only one large room, used as the drawing-room. The staircase was almost perpendicular. Just before the house was pulled down a photograph of the front and back of the house was taken by Dr. Southby, and these are in the possession of the rector.

A small piece of the old rectory wall is still standing as the only mark of Addison's birthplace. After the decease of Addison's father, the house passed away from the family, although it is on record that Addison was sued for dilapidations by the next incumbent. In the town there is the following tradition of a curious excursion made by Addison when a boy. Being at a country school, he committed some slight fault, when his fear of being corrected for it was so great that he ran away from his father's house and fled into the fields, where he lived upon fruits and took up his lodging in a hollow tree, till upon the publication of a reward to whoever should find him he was discovered and restored to his parents.

Milston is mentioned in Domesday Book amongst the lands of Earl Roger, and again as the land of Robert, son of Giroldus. It was forfeited by John, Lord Zouch, who fought for Richard III. at Bosworth, whereupon the manor was given to Jasper W., of Bedford. The church requires but little attention, being small and mean. Sir Richard Colt Hoare gives particulars of the inscriptions and epitaphs in his *Modern Wiltshire*.



Reviews.

Medieval Military Architecture in England. By GEO. T. CLARK. (London: Wyman & Sons, 1884.) 2 vols., 8vo.



It is a matter of complaint, and rightly so, that books are going out of fashion, and collected articles are taking their place. Mr. Clark's two handsome volumes, illustrated most copiously and with good artistic skill, are in reality nothing more than a collection of articles from various sources; but then it is the collection, the juxtaposition, that many of us have been desiring for some time past, and we are quite sure that not one word of objection will be raised against the plan of publication adopted by Mr. Clark. He has been a life-long student of his subject: he has studied on the spot, and in company with our best antiquaries; and he has seen his various printed articles used again and again to illustrate some great points in English history, and that too by such masters as Mr. Green and Mr. Freeman. We hasten therefore to accord our word of gratitude for the publication of these handsome volumes.

The history of English castles does not end with their architectural or military aspect. There are legal

and social aspects as well, and we are not quite sure whether these may not be reckoned as the most important results of Mr. Clark's studies. Almost all the most important of our English castles date, in some form or other, from remote antiquity, and their associations were of slow growth, and deeply rooted in many centuries of the national history. A castle built up by the Norman conquerors was altogether different. It had no national life, so to speak, and it was out of harmony with the surrounding country and people. Into all these matters Mr. Clark very ably enters, and we have before us by this means many a phase of past historic life which could not have been obtained from any other source or by any other means.

After giving a very succinct and graphic general introduction, every page of which teems with the knowledge of a master of the subject, Mr. Clark takes up each castle separately, and describes its architecture and its historical associations. He deals with the castles or defences of Alnwick, Arques (near Dieppe), Arundel, Barnard, Beaumaris, Bedford, Berkhamstead, Berkeley, Bodiam, Borthwick, Bôves, Bowes, Bramber, Bridgenorth, Bronllys, Brough, Brougham, Builth, Caernarvon, Caerphilly, Cardiff, Carlisle, Castel Coch, Castle Rising, Château-Gaillard (Normandy), Christchurch, Clifford, Clitheroe, Clun, Cockermouth, Colchester, Conisborough, Conway, Corfe, Covey-le-Château, Coyty, Dolforwyn, Dover, Dunster, Durham, Eaton-Socon, Ewias Harold, Exeter, Fillongley, Fommon, Fotheringay, Gosmont, Guildford, Harlech, Hastings, Hawarden, Helmsley, Hereford, Hertford, Hopton, Huntingdon, Huntington, Kenilworth, Kidwelly, Kelpeck, Knaresborough, Leeds (Kent), Leicester, Leybourne, Lincoln, Llanquian, London, Ludlow, St. Leonards, Middleham, Mitford, Montgomery, Morlais, Norham, Nottingham, Odiham, Oswestry, Penmark, Penrice, Penrith, Pevensey, Pickering, Pontefract, Porchester, Richard's Castle, Rochester, Rockingham, Old Sarum, Scarborough, Skenfirth, Southampton, Tamworth, Thurnham, Tickhill, Tretower, Blaen-Llyfni, Crickhowel, Tutbury, Urquhart, Wareham, White Castle, Whittington, Wigmore, and York. Thus whether we are studying the defences of Celtic Britain by means of her vast earthen mounds, Maiden Castles as they are sometimes called; or whether we are studying the remains of Roman stone military defences as at Porchester, the finest relic of all; or whether Saxon or Norman defences engage our attention, here are the means not only of ascertaining the details of the structure, but for the far more important work of comparing them with other relics, contemporary or otherwise. Mr. Clark deals at some length with that most important monument of Norman military skill, the Tower of London; and rising from a study of this paper, the question comes home to us with more than ordinary force, how was it that London, overawed by the Tower, was for so short time the seat of the governmental machinery of the land? how was it that the kings who built the Tower, knew its uses, understood its importance, went to Westminster for their palace of residence, and enabled Westminster to become the seat of government? There must be something in the history of old London not yet related, perhaps never to be related, which accounts for this; but the history of the Tower gives the other side of

the question, and tells us why the city should have retained these lost privileges.

We notice that Mr. Clark has reprinted his article on Colchester Castle without any allusion to the papers which have appeared in this journal illustrating the architecture as well as the political significance of this important fortress. We think this a pity, because it would have been an advantage to have had Mr. Clark's opinion either for or against these later studies. But we cannot quarrel with him for such a slight matter when we have to thank him for so much. It is impossible in the space of one review to do adequate justice to this important work, but we hope to be allowed to return to it again with reference to some special studies which the writer of this notice has prepared. Mr. Clark maps out before us the military position of England at various stages of her history, and no one dealing with early English subjects would think of completing his studies without a reference to these volumes.

Aungmyryle Society Publications, No. xxiv.-xxvii., Dec. 1883, to June 1884.

These numbers contain "Address to the People on the Death of Princess Charlotte" (concluded), "The Passionate Remonstrance made by his Holiness in the Conclave at Rome" (1641), "A Discovery of the Barmudas" (1610), "The Russian Invasion of Poland in 1583," "Kisses; being fragments and poetical pieces on the Kiss," and "A Marriage Triumphant solemnized in the Epithalamium" (1613). It will be seen that all these reprints are worth having, and in the handy form they are presented to us they can be bound up as the owner wishes.

Clarendon Historical Society Reprints, November and December 1883, January 1884.

The contents of this three-monthly part are "The Life of Henry Hudson" (concluded), "A Letter from an English Traveller at Rome to his Father (1721)," "A King and no King; or, The Best Argument for a just Title (1716)," "Consideration upon a printed sheet, entitled The Speech of the late Lord Russell to the Sheriffs (1683)." The letter from the English traveller at Rome (now printed for the first time), gives some extremely interesting details about the Chevalier de St. George and his wife. The princess is described as "of middle stature, well shaped, and has lovely features, while vivacity and mildness of temper are painted in her looks," and she "spoke the prettiest English I think I ever heard, and invited the Englishmen to her concert that evening, and the Pretender entertained them on the subject of their families as knowingly as if he had been all his life in England. They also saw the Pretender's son, a fine promising child." This bears out the reports brought to Hearne, and so quaintly described in his *Diaries*.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. New Series. Vol. i., part iv. (Longmans.)

We are glad to welcome the *Transactions* of this

Society in their new form, and congratulate the members upon having such good work, as the papers in this part show is being done. Sir R. Temple's "Personal Traits of Mahratta Brahman Princes;" "The Conquest of Norway by the Ynglings," by Mr. Howorth, and Mr. C. Walford's "Bridges: their Historical and Literary Associations," well repay studying by those interested in these subjects. There is also a paper on "The Keltic Church," by the Rev. W. Dawson.

Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society. Vol. ii., part iii. (Glasgow: James Maclehose.)

The contents of this part are of great and varied interest. Perhaps the most generally interesting is one by Mr. W. G. Black on the derivation of the word "Glasgow." The author suggests that Glasgow was known by two names, one Brythonic, one Goidelic; the site of Glasgow, originally known under a Brythonic name, may have in later times changed its name, and that the present form comes from the later name. In early Glasgow directories Mr. J. Wyllie Guild claims, as the possessor of a *Bailey's Northern Directory*, published at Warrington 1781, a Glasgow directory prior to the 1783 edition, an octavo of 103 pages, hitherto supposed to be the earliest. A most valuable paper is Part II. of Professor Ferguson's Notes on some books of receipts, so-called "secrets." Other papers are an account of the Kinninghouse Burn and the adjacent lands of the Gorbals, by Alex. M. Scott, the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire at Glasgow, and a reprint of an early Catalogue of Books for sale by auction at Glasgow, 1712. This latter is an example of useful work which we should like to see adopted elsewhere.

American Antiquarian, March 1884. (F. H. Revell, Chicago.)

In our contemporary for March is a goodly selection of antiquarian matter. There is a Lecture on Polytheism, by F. G. Fleay; "Song of Altabiscar," by Wentworth Webster; a translation of some Basque lines which appeared in the *Journal de l'Institut Historique*, Tome 1st, 1834, the authenticity of which was questioned at the time of publication; Mr. Webster effectually proves its modern origin; "Ruins in Mongolia," by J. Gilman; "Who were the Mound Builders?" by Cyrus Thomas, a lengthy review of Mr. Carr's *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley Historically considered*. Among the contributors to the "Correspondence" we see the names of F. Max Müller, O. D. Miller, W. S. Lach-Szymra, and other well-known names. An article on Picture Writing in various parts of prehistoric America, and illustrated, is well worth reading.

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries. Part xxii. Edited by REV. B. H. BLACKER. (London: Kent & Co.)

This part keeps up the good reputation this work has obtained for interesting records on matters of

antiquarian and historical interest in the county. Extracts from Parish Registers, Bristol in 1761, and List of Marriages in Hampnett, 1737-54, are, perhaps, the most valuable.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—May 1st.—Dr. Edwin Freshfield, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. Scarth exhibited tracings of some tiles discovered at Minchin Barrow Priory, in Somerset.—Dr. Perceval exhibited and described a few deeds belonging to Mr. Everitt.—Mr. Seaton exhibited a bronze arm from a colossal statue, which was found in Seething Lane while excavating for the Inner Circle Railway, about twenty-five feet below the present surface of the ground.

May 8th.—Dr. E. Freshfield, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. R. Brown, jun., exhibited the fragments of Samian pottery found at New Holland, near Barton-on-Humber, on one of which Mr. Brown considered he could detect traces of a representation of the constellation figures.—Colonel Fishwick communicated an account of a monstrous act of restoration which had been perpetrated on an ancient arch in Bispham Church, Lancashire.—Mr. W. M. Wylie communicated an account, which he had received from a relative, of the discovery in Lincolnshire of what the writer thought were traces of a prehistoric road in the second and lower stratum of peat separated from an upper stratum of peat by a stratum of silt. Mr. Wylie threw out a conjecture that the supposed road may have rather belonged to a *Pfahlbau*.

May 15th.—Dr. E. Freshfield, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. G. W. G. Leveson-Gower exhibited two Roman urns found in the parish of Crowhurst during the construction of the Croydon and East Grinstead Railway. Mr. Leveson-Gower also exhibited an interesting genealogical manuscript compiled and very beautifully illustrated by the Kentish antiquary the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild.—The Rev. H. J. Cheales exhibited a tracing of another wall painting from Friskney Church, which he had cleared of whitewash with his own hands.—Mr. O. Morgan exhibited, by the hand of the Director, the earliest known charter of the borough of Newport, Monmouthshire.

Philological.—May 2nd.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the chair.—The paper, read by Mr. H. Sweet, was "Observations on some Celtic Etymologies, with reference to Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary," by Prof. Powell.

May 16th.—Anniversary Meeting.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the chair.—The President delivered his annual address. After noticing the members who had died since the last anniversary, and reviewing the work of the Society during the last two years, he read reports by Mr. W. R. Morfill on the Slavonic languages; by M. Paul Hunfaevy and Mr. Patterson on Hungarian since 1873; by Mr. E. G. Browne on Turkish; and by Mr. R. N.

Cust on the Hamitic languages of North Africa.—Mr. H. Sweet read his own report "On the Practical Study of Language."—The President then gave an account of the progress of the Society's Dictionary.

British Archæological Association.—May 21st.—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—Mr. W. Myers rendered a description of many objects of antiquarian interest collected recently in Egypt.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew produced many articles of interest, especially to collectors of London antiquities, there being among them a handsome inlaid marquetry box, once probably the alms-box of the old church of St. Olave, Tooley Street, since it was found close to the site of the present building, below the surface of the ground. It bears the inscription, "The gift of R. Makepiece, 1692," and appears but little the worse for its rough usage. A carved bone knife of Roman date and some fine examples of glass of the same period were also exhibited.—Mr. L. Brock produced several antiquities found in London, the most curious being a spur of great length.—The first paper was by Signora Campion, "On the Antiquities of the Ancient City of Luni, in Italy."—The second paper was by Mr. W. de Gray Birch. It was descriptive of a fine stained-glass figure of a lady in Long Melford Church, Suffolk, shown in facsimile by a drawing by Mr. Watling. The figure is that of Lady Anne Percy, then wife of Sir Lawrence Rainsforth, Knt., and probably the youngest daughter of Hotspur, and not the first or second, as has been believed. The lady's third husband was Sir R. Vaughan. This is the earliest known portrait of any member of the Percy family.

Royal Archæological Institute.—May 1st.—The Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., in the chair.—Mr. Hellier Gosselin read a communication from Mr. J. Thompson Watkin on recent discoveries of Roman coins of the latter part of the third century near Preston, Lancashire, and of the base of a small Roman column at Thistleton, Rutlandshire.—The Rev. J. Hirst read a paper on "The Religious Symbolism of the Unicorn."—Mr. Hodgetts read a paper on "The Scandinavian Element in the English People," in which he pointed out that the early English were more closely allied to the Scandinavians than to the Low Germans.—The Rev. Precentor Venables exhibited a leaden impression of a seal belonging to some religious house. In the centre is an effigy of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, under a tabernacle of Gothic work. The legend is SIGILLVM CONVMNE STE MARIE DE . . . LCO. Also a parchment certificate, with a medal attached, professing to be a contemporary record of the landing of Cæsar; but it is needless to add that both certificate and medal are of a very different date to that assigned to them.

Asiatic.—May 19th.—Anniversary Meeting.—Sir H. C. Rawlinson in the chair.—Prof. Monier Williams gave an account of his recent visit to India and to the Jain and Buddhist temples there.

May 5th.—Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Director, in the chair.—Mr. C. Allen read a paper entitled "The 'She King' for English Readers," in which he showed that the work in question consisted of a collection of archaic poetry and verses such as are found in all nations in their primitive stages of civilization.

Royal Historical Society.—May 15th.—Dr. Zerffi in the chair.—Mr. Robert Leighton read a

paper on "Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his Influence on the French Revolution."

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—May 6th.—Dr. S. Birch, President, in the chair.—A paper was read by Mr. T. G. Pinches and Mr. E. A. Budge "On some New Texts in the Babylonian Character, relating principally to the Restoration of Temples."

Numismatic.—May 15th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a half-penny or farthing of Eadred, the original coin having been bisected for the purpose of creating two farthings in the same way as pennies were frequently halved and quartered.—Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a hammered sovereign of Charles II.'s first coinage with the numerals xx behind the head of the king; weight, 138 grains.—Mr. B. V. Head read a paper, by Mr. C. F. Keary, on a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Rome during some recent excavations on the site of the House of the Vestals at the foot of the Palatine.—Mr. N. Heywood communicated a notice of a find of Anglo-Saxon coins beneath the foundations of Waterloo Bridge.—Mr. Topley sent a list of forty varieties of seventeenth century tradesmen's tokens of Nottinghamshire not described in Boyne's work.

Hellenic.—May 8th.—Prof. C. T. Newton, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. T. Bent read a paper on a recent tour among the Cyclades. In these islands, at all times important as stepping-stones between Europe and Asia, might be studied, (1) the great prehistoric empire of which traces have been found at Santorin; (2) the great age of Greek history; (3) the times of the Crusades; and (4) the character, customs, and language of the modern Greeks, nowhere so pure as here. After touching in some detail upon the modern customs, Mr. Bent proceeded to give an account of the objects he had found belonging to the prehistoric period. He had visited all the twenty-two islands which are now sparsely inhabited. On Amorgos he had obtained some interesting vase handles with incised inscriptions. On Antiparos he had found several large cemeteries and opened some forty graves. These mostly contained pottery of the rudest description, not unlike that which is found in British barrows, but in some of the richer graves were found quaint marble figures, attempts of the most primitive kind to imitate the human form. Examples of these and of some few flint instruments and archaic jewellery were shown by Mr. Bent. The metals found were silver, copper, and bronze. The civilization indicated by the finds here and at Santorin could hardly belong, in Mr. Bent's opinion, to a period later than the sixteenth century B.C.—Mr. Monro, the Provost of Oriel, read a paper "On the Epic Cycle."

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.—May 2nd.—The members visited the churches of St. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall Street, and All Hallows, Barking, under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Birch. In the course of a paper which he read in the former church, Mr. Birch said that St. Katherine Christ, or Cree, Church was erected before the Great Fire in 1666, and to the minds of the ecclesiologist and architect it possessed a peculiar value far beyond even the beautiful conceptions of Sir Christopher Wren. When built in 1629, the church was small and insignificant, and stood in a cemetery of the once magnificent priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate. As it

became too small for the growing population, it was rebuilt with the exception of the tower. The most striking objects, architecturally, were the east and aisle windows, in which the old Gothic form of tracery was still retained. The east window was very curious, and the wheel form of the upper part of the tracery was evidently an allusion to the emblem of St. Katherine. That and All Hallows' Church were, with the exception of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, the only churches with which Archbishop Laud was connected. Having carefully inspected the interior of the church, the party proceeded to All Hallows, Barking, where Mr. Birch gave an account of its history. He pointed out that a portion of the church existed in 1150. One of the most interesting features of the edifice was its brasses, which were still in good preservation. He did not believe there was any other church so rich in them. Archbishop Laud's nephew was one of its famous vicars. Whilst he was preaching in the church he was dragged from the pulpit, and taken round the city with a prayer-book tied round his neck. He was then taken on board ship, where he was to have been sold as a slave, but his freedom was bought by his friends. The remains of Archbishop Laud were interred in the church.

PROVINCIAL.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—June 9th.—Sir William Fettes Douglas, President, in the chair.—The first paper read was one entitled "Notes on Early Christian Symbolism," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen.—The second paper was a notice by Mr. Charles Stewart, Tigh'n Duin, Killin, of several sepulchral mounds and cup-marked stones in the district of Fortingall, Glenlyon, Perthshire. In March last Mr. Stewart examined a cup-marked stone at Dalraoch, Fortingall, near the so-called "Roman Camp." Close beside it he found there was a sepulchral mound, on the top of which it may have stood. The mound was about thirty feet in diameter, and was surrounded by a fosse about nine feet wide, beyond which there was a slight earthen mound or enclosure. On being excavated, the central mound was found to cover a small cairn heaped over two flat stones, underneath which were the remains of a cremated interment. A large stone circle stands on the Haugh of Fortingall, about three-quarters of a mile from the Dalraoch stone, and two other cup-marked stones were found on the hillside above it—one near the Mill of Balnald, and one at a place called the Cuile, not far from Dalraoch.—In the third paper the Rev. Hugh Macmillan described two boulders, having rain-filled cavities, on the shores of Loch Tay, formerly associated with the cure of disease. One of these is at Fernan, on the north side of Loch Tay, about three miles from Kenmore. It is a large, rough boulder of clay-slate, shaped somewhat like a chair, in the middle of a field below the farmhouse of Borland. In the centre there is a deep square cavity, evidently artificial, and capable of holding about two quarts of water. The boulder is known in the locality as *Clach-na-Cruich*, or stone of the measles, and the rain-water contained in its cavity was believed to be a sovereign remedy for that disease. At one time it had a wide reputation, and people came to it from all parts of the

district. It is only within the lifetime of the present generation that it has ceased to be frequented. In its immediate neighbourhood, in a field called the Cromraor, there are tumuli and cup-marked stones; and not far off, under a sycamore tree on the top of the retaining wall of the road, is a square block of chlorite schist, with a shallow round basin scooped out in it, and marked on the bottom with a cross, probably the font of a primitive chapel. The other stone, of a kindred nature to that at Fernan, is in the woods of Auchmore at Killin. This stone is called "The Well of the Whooping-Cough," and was formerly famous for the cure of this malady. The boulder has a rain-filled cavity on one of its projecting sides. The cavity in this case consists of a deep basin penetrating through a kind of arched recess into the heart of the boulder, and this accounts for its being styled a "well." There is no indication of any sepulchral or religious site close by it, but there is a large stone circle of massive stones, with a few faint cup-markings on them, within a short distance, near Kinnoull House. There are people in the village of Killin who remember being taken to the stone to drink from its cavity for the cure of whooping-cough, but the practice has now died out, and the existence of the stone is known only to a few. Another spot in the neighbourhood—a dripping well near Mornish—had also a local reputation for the cure of whooping-cough. In a solitary graveyard below Mornish, called Cladh Davi, where only members of the M'Diarmid family have been buried for the last two hundred years, there is only one erect tombstone. It is of comparatively recent date. On the top of it there are two white quartz pebbles, one of which has a single cavity drilled in one of its flat sides, and the other a similar cavity in each of its opposite sides. They were believed to cure inflammation of the breasts when the holes were applied to the nipples; and not very long ago a woman who was thus afflicted came from the head of Glenlochay to try the remedy. These stones are evidently the socket stones for the spindle or vertical axle of a millstone, and thus probably belong to the series which is carefully preserved in the meal mill at Killin, still known as curing stones.—In the fourth paper Mr. George Sim, Curator of Coins, gave an account of recent finds of coins in Scotland. Only two finds have occurred during the session, one of 177 silver pennies, chiefly of the Edwards, at Arkleton, parish of Ewes, Dumfriesshire; and one of fifty-three silver coins, chiefly of Mary and Elizabeth, at Woodend, parish of Snizort, Skye. Neither of these hoards was of much numismatic interest.—The last paper was an elaborate descriptive notice of the stone circles of Strathnairn and neighbourhood of Inverness, by Mr. James Fraser. There were at one time no fewer than twenty-five of these circles within the drainage area of the river Nairn, and twelve or fourteen between the western watershed of the Nairn and the river Ness. Twenty-five of circles were described, and accurate plans of them, made to a uniform scale of ten feet to the inch, were exhibited, forming a body of materials for the comparative study of stone circles of unprecedented extent and value.—Five old Communion flagons and a chalice and paten of pewter, from Old St. Paul's Church, were exhibited by the Rev. R. Mitchell-Innes. Two of the flagons

show the Edinburgh Pewterers' stamp, and one has the maker's name, John Durand, 1688.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—May 26th.—Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A., President, in the chair.—Professor Hughes, in speaking of the so-called *Via Devana* running from the end of Worts' Causeway towards Horseheath, pointed out that there was little, if any, evidence of its Roman origin. So, too, in respect of the Castle Hill, he pointed out that the certainly Roman roads in the neighbourhood seem to converge to Grantchester rather than to Cambridge, and that the Roman pottery found here indicates rubbish-heaps rather than the site of a camp or permanent fortification, and from all available evidence drew the conclusion that the mound and all the earthworks about it are of Norman origin.—Mr. Browne showed outlined rubbings of two stones recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. W. Franks, acquired some years ago from persons who described them as coming from the City; also of the remarkable rune-bearing stone from St. Paul's Church Yard in the Guildhall Library, the case of which had been removed by the kindness of the librarian in order that the rubbing might be made. Mr. Browne showed similarities in design and execution which rendered it highly probable that the Guildhall stone and the stone of which the British Museum stones are fragments were respectively the headstone and the bodystone of a Scandinavian grave. The Yorkshire stones shown were those at Bilton and Kirkby Wharfe. At the former place, in addition to a unique cross-head previously described to the Society, there is a stone bearing three figures much resembling the frescoes in the Catacombs of the Three Jews, but with no indication of flames. The shaft of the cross at Kirkby Wharfe has a subject which frequently occurs on Northumbrian stones, two figures grasping an upright stem standing between them; in this case the whole is complete, and the head of the stem is found to be a large "Maltese" cross, the arms of which form canopies for the man and woman. The Deerhurst font is an unusual and very fine example of spiral ornament. There was a Saxon monastery at Deerhurst, and the font might possibly be a relic of its infancy. According to William of Malmesbury, Abbot Tica took to Glastonbury in the eighth century the relics of a large number of early Northumbrian Christians, Aidan, Bega, Hilda, etc., and his own tomb at Glastonbury was specially noted on account of the "art of its sculpture." Thus there was some evidence of a Northumbrian influence on the Christian art of the south-west. A fragment of an inscription in Roman capitals was found at Thornhill near Dewsbury several years ago. Two inscriptions in runes were found at the same place, and a third was found two or three years ago. The fragment in Roman capitals is as follows, the thicker type showing the letters which are certain, the thinner type those of which only a small portion has been preserved:—

E	A	E	F	T
O	S	B	E	R
T	A	E	B	E
T	B	E	R	

Mr. Browne preferred to follow the suggestion of the most recent discovery at Thornhill, + *Igilsuith araerde aefter Berchtsuihe becum at bergi gibiddaā daer saule*; and adopting Mr. Haigh's *Egbercht* or any name of similar length, and omitting the *c* throughout in accordance with local precedent, proposed the following alliterative couplet:—

+	E	c	g	b	e	
r	h	t	a	r	a	e
r	d	E	A	E	F	T
e	r	O	S	B	E	R
h	T	A	E	B	E	C
u	n	a	T	B	E	R
g	i	g	i	b	i	d
d	a	ā	d	a	e	r
s	a	u	l	e	+	

+ *Egbercht araerde aefter Osberhttae
Becum at bergi gibiddaā daer saule* +

Mr. Waldstein made remarks (1) on two stones from the Via Appia, lately given to the Fitzwilliam Museum; (2) on a red jasper intaglio from Smyrna in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—May 28th.—Dr. Bruce presided.—A communication, including a sketch, was received from Mr. W. Shand, describing earthworks at the Pottery Bank, near Messrs. Harison's tannery, Stepney, Newcastle. The works were described by Mr. Shand to be perhaps the oldest piece of human work in Newcastle; and he suggested that they might be the remains of the ditch which formerly accompanied the Roman Wall on the north side during the whole of its course.—A paper on the remains of the church and monastery at Jarrow was read by the Rev. J. R. Boyle.

Caradoc Field Club.—May 20th.—The party started for Conover, where they alighted to inspect the church, special attention being attracted to the fine monuments for which it is remarkable; the mosaic pavement of the chancel also claimed much notice. From Conover the expedition proceeded to Leeboothwood, where a curiously conjoined oak was pointed out. Time, however, would not permit of close inspection, and the party drove on to Cardington, where they examined the church, which contains a fine monument to Sir W. Leighton, the builder of Plaish Hall. From Cardington the members proceeded on foot to Plaish Hall. Here great admiration was elicited by the banquetting hall with its music gallery, the inlaid wainscot of the drawing-room and other old oak carving, as well as the curious arrangement of the attics and the chimneys, for which the building is especially remarkable. The Rev. T. Auden, the hon. sec., read a paper, which had been furnished by the Rev. W. Allport Leighton, on the history of the mansion and its architectural characteristics. From Plaish the walk was continued along the Roman Causeway, the paving

stones of which were plainly visible for a considerable distance, in some places extending the whole width of the present road, and then to Langley Chapel, now no longer used for public service, but remarkable for its interior fittings. These date from the time of the Puritans, and comprise the old pulpit and reading-pew, but the special feature is the arrangement of the holy table, which has seats between it and the east wall. The old gateway belonging to Langley Hall was also inspected. At Acton Burnell they inspected the old church, the ruins of the Parliament house, and other objects of interest.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—May 27th.—The club made the first excursion of the season to Avebury. The village of Avebury is surrounded by the immense vallum or rampart, within which is a graff (ditch or moat) enclosing those few of the great stones which remain. Traces can be found of the one great circle said to have been composed of one hundred stones, and of the two smaller ones, but only fifteen stones are now standing, and about twenty prostrate. These being unhewn are much older than the fashioned blocks standing at Stonehenge, and are certainly of much older date than the earthworks, neither of which, however, appear to have been described before the year 1648. The church, dedicated to St. James, and consisting of nave, aisles, chancel, and tower, was inspected by some of the club, the vicar, the Rev. Bryan King, explaining it. It is a very fine stone Saxon building, but the Norman aisles were added in 1120 to 1150. The frescoes on the walls having been covered up with most substantial mortar for many years, were only discovered at the restoration of the church a few years ago. The font is Saxon, with Norman ornament, the bowl being carved with the figure of a bishop, holding a Bible, and piercing with his crozier a fallen serpent. The three circular windows in the north aisle are remarkable, and so is the "squint" leading from the chancel to the north aisle. Over the chancel arch is a beautifully preserved painted rood screen, and within the chancel a monumental tablet to John Truslow (1593), whose family owned the manor, and whose descendants, now in America, have assisted in the restoration of the church. The visitors walked to Silbury Hill, distant about a mile, and ascended it. Considerable discussion ensued as to the probability of its having been raised by former inhabitants of the place, but its height (170 feet) and the angle of its formation appear to be not in accordance with this theory, and it was believed by some to have been a natural hill whose height has been increased for some purpose, possibly sepulchral. On returning to Devizes, a short visit was paid to the museum, and the Church of St. John was shown by the Rev. G. A. Cowan. It is a fine edifice, and as restored and enlarged will hold 1,000 persons. Some decorations, supposed to be Norman, have been removed from the exterior of the north wall to make way for a large transept window, but generally the church appears to have been well restored.

Clifton Antiquarian Club.—May 28th.—About thirty members gathered round the president, Bishop Clifford, and proceeded to the new gateway of Ashton Court. Arriving at the Court, they were met by Mr. Dykes, and after inspecting the older portions of the exterior,

were taken inside to see the paintings, which include some very fine portraits. Ashton Church was visited. Here the handsome chancel screen was admired, and Mr. Price gave some information regarding Sir John Choke, whose tomb and effigy are in the church. A pleasant drive then brought the archaeologists to Barrow Gurney Court. The present house is Elizabethan. The church presents no feature of interest beyond two seventeenth-century monuments. The steep, long hill to Dundry was then climbed. With a glance at the church tower and at the churchyard cross, which, after some discussion upon the statement of Rutter, a competent witness declared to be original except the small spire, which is a modern addition, the brakes were remounted, and they drove to Chew Magna. The fine church of St. Andrew was then inspected, under the courteous guidance of the vicar (the Rev. J. Galbraith) and Messrs. Colthurst. It was pointed out that the handsome figure of Sir John Hautville has been coloured by modern, though very good, taste, as there were no indications of mediæval colouring to follow. Inquiry elicited the fact that a handsome hammered iron screen which enclosed the Baber monument had been removed in the "restoration" and sold for old iron! Careful inspection of the effigy of Sir John St. Loe, by Bishop Clifford and others, discovered that it has been very extensively repaired, the head and the legs being new, and the latter not being crossed as the original is described. The interesting old church house and the manor house, on the invitation of Mr. J. Colthurst, were inspected. At Stanton Drew the church, a remarkably interesting building, was examined, under the guidance of the vicar (Rev. H. T. Perfect), who afterwards descended on the wonderful stone circles.

St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society.—May 27th.—The places specified in the programme were Royston, Therfield, Barkway, Anstey, and Little Hormead, all of which, with the exception of the last-named place, were visited during the day. The Royston cave was of course a place of considerable interest to the visitors. The Rev. Dr. Griffith (of Sandridge) gave an interesting summary of what is known of the cave, and of the opinions and conjectures which have at different times and by different authorities been formed concerning it. The accidental discovery of the cave in the year 1742, and the active interest at once shown in it by the Society of Antiquaries, who sent down especially to report upon it, were referred to, and Dr. Griffith added that the best opinion formed of the place was that of Mr. Beldam, of Royston, who read a paper on the subject for the Society of Antiquaries, and who said the cave was filled up about the time of the Reformation with refuse from the old Priory buildings. But he (Dr. Griffith) did not think the question had ever been properly answered how this particular place was formed, and it was difficult to account exactly for the shape and make of it, and whether used as a prison or a hermitage. The figures were probably carved by someone who had been in Palestine, and the most probable account of the carving was that it was done by William de Magnaville, a son of one of the Lady Roosesies, who had been in Palestine as a helper of King Richard, but whether made by him, or some prisoner or hermit,

no one could now tell. He (Dr. Griffith) thought it pretty clear that the name of Royston came from Lady Roësie. It ought to be mentioned that this cave had been the cause of the publication of a great amount of literature by Dr. Stukeley, the Rev. Charles Parkin, Mr. Beldam, and others, and he could not do better than give them the summing up in Mr. Beldam's book, which was as follows:—(1) That the cave was first found by means of shafts, either of British or Roman-British construction, and at a period anterior to Christianity. (2) That at a somewhat later period the cave was used as a Roman sepulchre. (3) That about the period of the Crusades it received the greater part of its present decorations, and was then, if not before, converted into a Christian oratory, to which a hermitage was probably attached. (4) That it remained open until the Reformation, when it was finally filled up, closed, and forgotten. He (Dr. Griffith) might remind them that the present passage into the cave was made one winter when the people were out of work, by a person named Watson, who claimed the right of showing the cave. The party then proceeded to the parish church. Here a very interesting paper on the history of this Priory Church was read by the Rev. Henry Fowler (St. Albans). The history of the Church of St. John the Baptist, he remarked, dated from the dissolution of religious houses. The building had undergone successive alterations, alterations which were very puzzling even to an experienced archaeologist, but were all the more interesting on that account. He must express his obligations to the vicar of the parish (Rev. J. Harrison), and also to Mr. H. J. Thurnall, to whom he was indebted for some information. In 1539 the site of the Priory with all its remains, constituting the present manor of Royston, was granted to Sir Robert Chester, of Barkway, for the sum of £1,761, equivalent to about £14,000, and in speaking of the connection of the Chester and the Scales families with the neighbourhood, he mentioned the recumbent monument in the church as being supposed to be one of the latter family. This Sir Robert Chester built a large priory house, of which the outer wall is still standing, enclosing the beautiful grounds and the modern house owned by Lord Dacre. It was in the old Priory House that King James stayed on his journey in 1603, when he was so delighted with Royston Heath as a place for sport—for shooting the dotterel and hunting the hare—that he determined to build the hunting-box at Royston which they had that morning seen. This Chester family appeared to have been prominent persons in the county for centuries, and as they held the advowson of the vicarage that brought him back to the church. It appeared that in monastic times the inhabitants had the right and privilege of worshipping in the western portion of the church, and it was clearly established that the church then consisted of an eastern portion for the canons, and a western portion for the laity; a not uncommon thing in conventual churches, as they had seen at St. Albans and Dunstable. At the time of the Dissolution, the fabric of the church was reserved to the king, and to the honour of the inhabitants it was placed on record that they purchased it at considerable cost for their parish church. In 1650 the annual value of the vicarage was put at only £5, and it was not therefore surprising to hear that it was

destitute of a minister for want of maintenance. The burial of the dead necessitated the curtailment of the fabric, and there could be little doubt that the church once had a nave, a central tower and transepts, and that the church extended westward. A priory church without a nave was an anomaly, and there was only room on the eastern side for the choir. With regard to the dedication of the church, the oldest charter extant, given in Dugdale's *Monasticon* in November 1189, spoke of it as St. Thomas the Martyr, but a seal of Henry III. showed that there was also a dedication to St. John the Baptist. Mr. Cussans gave the date of the foundation of the Monastery as 1180, shortly after the canonization of the martyred archbishop (Thomas à Becket), when great enthusiasm doubtless was manifested in his honour. The earliest architectural features of the building now existing were the beautiful remains of lancet windows, the period of which he gave at about 1225. The party then proceeded in the conveyances to Therfield, missing a glance at King James's Stables at the end of the Heath for want of time. At Therfield they were received by the Rev. J. G. Hale, the vicar, who proceeded to give an extremely interesting account of the early history of the village, with its system of dividing land culture farms into strips of land intermixed all over the parish; a system which had been superseded now by an enclosure Act. Of the old church, which, being in a dangerous condition, has been superseded by a new one, or at least by an entire rebuilding, he exhibited photographs. It was a fourteenth-century church, the north aisle of which was founded by Sir William Paston, 1418. In 1667 Francis Turner, one of the bishops who were sent to the Tower, rebuilt the chancel in memory of his wife, and in his zeal for her memory did not pay much regard to the antiquities of the place. The old registers dated from 1538, in one of which was a recipe for curing the bite of a mad dog, and also a record of the deaths of twenty-eight persons from the Plague in 1545. He invited them to visit the rectory, which had been held by many distinguished men—bishops who held the living with their sees; deans and archdeacons, and canons residentiary, from Durham to Exeter. At Anstey they were met by the Rev. T. T. Sale, the rector, and Mr. Bates, of Anstey Hall. Castle Hill is an extremely interesting circular mound, completely surrounded by a moat, and in an admirable state of preservation, situate close at the back of Anstey Hall. Rev. Canon Davys gave a very interesting account of the ancient castle, built in the eleventh century on the mound on which they were standing. A portion of the castle Henry III. afterwards ordered to be taken down. In the year 1400 the castle and the manor went to the Duke of York, and after an alienation came back to the Crown, when Henry VIII. granted it successively to his wives Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. After other vicissitudes it came into the hands of the Lytton family, and now the manor is held by Alexander Bathurst, Esq. The manor is still known by the name of Anstey ad Castrum. Nothing is known of the building which stood on this mound. The mound itself was in a marvellous state of preservation. It is thirty feet high, and a quarter of an acre in extent on the surface. Hardly less interesting than the Castle Hill is the church itself, with its old lich gate and its

central tower and cruciform structure. Its ground plan was almost like the sister church at Wheathampstead—a miniature minster, perfect in its nave, its aisles, chapels, transepts, and its ancient choir. Anstey was noted for the ancient castle, an important stronghold of the barons, which appeared to have given King John some trouble, and afterwards caused Henry III. to order the proprietor to destroy a large portion. There was a tradition that the materials thus set at liberty were used in rebuilding portions of the church, and the characteristics and date of some parts of the work confirmed the tradition in a remarkable manner. They rarely saw such a striking example as the one before them, and would not have had the chance if the massive stones of the huge baronial castle had not been thus placed at the disposal of the ecclesiastical architect of the period. He then called attention to some structural peculiarities, such as that of the form of the chancel walls and the hagioscopes, which afforded those in the transepts a view of the altar. The Rev. T. Sale showed an old altar cloth of the time of Charles I., and a bottle, containing liquid, found near the chancel wall on restoring the church, and which, on sending to the British Museum, was analysed and reported to contain what was believed to be human blood. It was now suggested that it might be the blood of a saint, or of a lord of Anstey castle slain in battle. The old registers, dating back to 1541, were inspected.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Archæology and Superstitions from Corea.—

In spite of the early civilization of the country, the only subject of historical interest which we saw in our travels was a curious structure resembling a rude altar, consisting of one massive slab, placed horizontally on small blocks of granite, which supported it on three sides, leaving the other side open and a hollow space some 16 feet by 10 feet beneath. Of these quasi-altars several were standing in the valleys; but though it must have cost immense labour to place these stones in position, no legend was current to account for their existence, except one which connected them with the Japanese invasion at the end of the sixteenth century, when the invaders were said to have erected them to suppress the influences of the earth (*ti chi*). Whatever their origin, they have been left undisturbed.

Of the influence of superstition over the people constant evidence is seen, in offerings to the spirits of the mountains in the shape of rags tied to branches of shrubs, heaps of stones at the top of mountain ridges, long ropes hanging from trees, shrines two or three feet high placed by the roadside, and, most quaint of all, in thick planks set in the ground, with one face rudely hewn and painted to represent a human head, with teeth fiercely prominent. These figures are said to be intended to keep foxes out of the villages, and thus protect the people from their spells and witchery. Beyond these few objects and a Buddhist temple, near a fine figure of Buddha cut in the rock not far from

the north gate of Söul, there was no trace of any religious feeling having any hold upon the people. Had we gone a few miles farther north we were assured we should have found at Chin Kang Shan not only the most beautiful scenery in Corea, but mountains thickly studded with temples, to which pilgrims throng in summer; but we neither saw any such nor any trace of religious observances among the people even at the new or full moon. We were told, however, of sacrifices being offered to the mountain spirits before a mine was opened. Graves as a rule are placed close together on the slope of a hill, without any stone or mark to identify them; but occasionally a horseshoe clearing is seen in the woods, where some distinguished person lies buried, whose name and birthplace are given on a rough slab of stone. The funerals that we met were of the simplest character, and at one village the remains of the body of an old woman, who had been eaten by a tiger, were being burnt on a fire of brushwood, lighted on the spot.—*Report by Mr. Carles on a journey in two of the central provinces of Corea, in October 1883. C.—3932.*

Anecdote of Dr. Plot.—Mr. Pullen, of Magdalen Hall, last night told me that there was once a very remarkable stone in the Magdalen Hall Library, which was afterwards lent to Dr. Plot, who never returned it, replying, when he was asked for it, *that 'twas a rule amongst antiquaries to receive and never restore.*—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, p. 50.

Origin of Personal Rights.—Mr. Story, in his work on the *Conflict of Laws*, has the following passage: "When the northern nations, by their irruptions, finally succeeded in establishing themselves in the Roman empire and the dependent nations subjected to its sway, they seem to have adopted, either by design or from accident or necessity, the policy of allowing the different races to live together, and to be governed by and to preserve their own separate manners, laws, and institutions in their mutual intercourse. While the conquerors, the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, maintained their own laws and usages and customs over their own race, they silently or expressly allowed each of the races over whom they had obtained an absolute sovereignty to regulate their own private rights and affairs according to their own municipal jurisprudence. It has accordingly been remarked, by a most learned and eminent jurist, that from this state of society arose that condition of civil rights denominated *personal rights* or *personal laws* in opposition to territorial laws." The eminent jurist here referred to is Savigny, who, in his *History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, speaking of the state of things which existed between the conquering Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, and the races conquered by them, says: "Both races lived together, and preserved their separate manners and laws. From this state of society arose that condition of civil rights, denominated *personal rights* or *personal laws*, in opposition to *territorial laws*. . . . In the same country, and often indeed in the same city, the Lombard lived under the Lombardic, and the Roman under the Roman law. The same distinction of laws was also applicable to the different races of Germans. The Frank, Burgundian, and Goth resided in the same place, each under his own law, as is forcibly stated by the Bishop

Agobardus in an epistle to Louis le Debonnaire. 'It often happens,' says he, 'that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting together.'" The same thing happened in India, and the Bishop Agobardus might have written the same account from Calcutta or Bombay or Madras.—*Papers on East India, c. 3952.*

Fortune Teller at Court.—A little before King James II. came to the throne, there happened to be a fortune teller in the Court. Several had their fortunes told them, and amongst the rest the Duke desired his might be told. The fortune teller said he should come to be king, but that he should reign but a little while, for he should be betrayed by one that walked in the next room. The gentleman there walking was John Churchill (now Duke of Marlborough), and great notice was taken of the thing. "But," says the Duke, "I desire to reign no longer than till I am betrayed by Churchill;" he reposing, it seems, great confidence in him, tho' it happened according to the fortune teller's prediction.—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. i., pp. 245-246.



Antiquarian News.

A Roman villa has been discovered at Woolstone, in the Vale of the White Horse, Berkshire, and some fine tessellated pavements have been disclosed. Several interments have also been disclosed, apparently of the Anglo-Saxon period. The seax, or knife dagger, is, strange to say, still attached to the girdle of two of the bodies, presumed to be those of Anglo-Saxon ladies.

It is reported from Athens that while the foundations of the new theatre at Piræus were being laid the workmen came across indications of an antique structure, which, it is expected, will turn out to be a temple of Dionysius.

There has recently been fixed in Haworth Church a window in memory of Charlotte Brontë, bearing the inscription: "To the Glory of God. In memory of Charlotte Brontë. By an American citizen."

The widow of the late George Cruikshank has made an interesting gift to the nation. She is about to present upwards of 3,000 selected works of her late husband, ranging over a period of about 70 years, to the South Kensington Museum.

The *Commendatore de Rossi* has printed a list of 829 Saxon coins discovered within the ruins of the Atrium of Vesta at Rome, and among them are three of King Alfred, 217 of Edward the Confessor, and 393 of Athelstan. Seven of the coins of the last-named king, Athelstan, were minted in Shrewsbury, and bear the names of the *monetarii*, or licensed coiners, by whom they were struck.

The admirers of Thomas Carlyle will be pleased to learn that the interior of the plain little house in Ecclefechan, in which Carlyle was born, has just been

overhauled, and several interesting relics placed within it. Mrs. Alexander Aitken Carlyle, who recently purchased the house, was careful in executing the alterations to have the old doors, etc., retained. In the room, "the umbrageous man's nest," in which the "stranger of reverend aspect" appeared to old Andreas Futteral and his wife, and left them a present to take charge of under penalties, as described in the chapter on "Genesis" in *Sartor Resartus*, the place where the little Carlyle "wore drivel-bibs and lived on spoon-meat," there have been placed the easy chair of the sage, a mahogany table, which any one can imagine from the numerous ink spots it bears must have seen a good deal of service, and an old-fashioned book-case, consisting of a series of shelves (now filled with Carlyle's works), supported by turned pillars at the side, and hung against the wall.

A rare old relic of historic France has been sold in the Hôtel du Grand Cerf at Les Andelys-on-the-Seine, Normandy. This old inn is almost a museum in itself, with its antique cabinet, old crockery ware, enormous wrought-iron kitchen fire-dogs, and innumerable curiosities. The house formerly gave frequent hospitality to the primates of Normandy. Antoine de Bourbon, father of Henri IV., died there in 1562 of wounds received at the siege of Rouen. In the last century the house bore the sign of the Fleur-de-Lys, which was changed at the time of the Revolution for that of Le Grand Cerf. The front of the building dates from the fifteenth century, and the interior has some splendid examples of sculpture and of old French decorative work.

During the progress of the drainage scheme being carried out in Pontefract, some interesting discoveries have been brought to light. Human remains have been discovered within the Castle precincts in a good state of preservation, although buried no doubt during the sieges of the Castle (1645 to 1648). A well has also been discovered near the Booths, which in all probability was used by the inmates of St. Nicholas' Hospital, at one time the oldest foundation in Pontefract. In crossing Grange Field, where stood the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, founded by Robert de Lacey in the time of William Rufus (1090), some vestiges of the Monastery have been brought to light, and it is believed by some antiquaries that the foundations of the structure still remain intact, buried at no great depth. Remains have often been found in the Priory Field, no doubt of Cluniac monks. It was at the right of the altar of the Priory that Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, after being beheaded close by, was buried. Whether this be so or not, a stone coffin, containing a decapitated body, was found on the estate of Lord Houghton in 1822, and this is supposed to be the remains of the Earl of Lancaster. The coffin and remains are now in possession of Lord Houghton, of Fryston. During the excavations other interesting relics have been brought to light, in the shape of pottery ware, bullets, etc. A museum is in course of preparation, where many objects of interest connected with the past history of Pontefract are to be preserved.

Some workmen engaged by Mr. Bullin, of Chester, in digging out the foundations for a cottage in Whitefriars, Chester, struck into two columns, which there

is reason to believe formed portions of a Roman temple. The workmen have now unearthed a platform composed of blocks of sandstone some 4 ft. 6 in. square, upon which, at intervals of 14 ft., are square pedestals of the same size, which bore columns some 2 ft. in diameter. Thus there are clearly the foundations laid bare of what was once a large Roman temple. Portions of the Corinthian capitals, carved in the sandstone, and much worn by the weather, have also been found. The pavement outside the temple was composed of a mixture of broken Roman tiles and other materials, and while the pillars and platform have been left as they were found, the tiles have been removed, but Mr. Bullin has generously placed all the ancient remains found on the spot at the disposal of the Chester Archaeological Society. The base of the temple, it is found, was seven feet below the present street level. Over the fallen pillars, but at a depth of three feet only, is now disclosed the second portion of this extraordinary "find," in the shape of the mediæval tiles which formed part of the flooring of the Carmelite Monastery, or establishment of White Friars, which existed on this spot. Between the mediæval remains and the Roman ones a layer of charcoal was found, which seems to indicate that the vandals in Chester of those days—probably some invading horde—burnt the woodwork of the temple as well as threw down its columns.

At a meeting of the "Sette of Odd Volumes," held on May 2nd, Mr. George Clulow delivered a lecture on "Playing Cards," ancient and modern, illustrating it by a series of fifty-five distinct examples from 1480 to modern times, these being selected from his very valuable collection, and categorically arranged on a table for the inspection of the members. The earliest of these consisted of "Valets or Knives of Spades and Clubs, with fragment of a suit of Hearts and Seven of Acorns, from wood blocks and stencil colours. French, 1480." Mr. Clulow has made the study of playing cards a speciality; he was therefore able to give to the Sette much new matter concerning them, both historically and technically. The feature of these "Odd Volume" meetings is the production by the members of papers on out-of-the-way subjects, and the publication and issue of privately printed opuscula; many of these (being issued only to O. V.'s and their friends) have already become very scarce. It is rumoured in the Sette that Mr. Clulow has in contemplation an "Opusculum" on playing cards. From his knowledge of the subject, we have little doubt, should such be his intention, that a most coveted little book will be the result, eagerly sought after by antiquaries within and without the charmed circle of the "Sette of Odd Volumes."

An interesting discovery of Roman remains has been made at Lincoln. Some workmen, engaged in excavations in the bail within the boundaries of the old Roman city, came across a crematory furnace and a sarcophagus. In the latter were ten cinerary urns, containing dust and calcined bones. The urns were of different sizes and shapes, and were all provided with saucer-shaped covers, only one of which, however, was got out perfect. The interior of the sarcophagus was lined with long thin bricks, which perished on being exposed to the air.

Mr. R. C. Hope, F.S.A., is engaged upon a work on "The Church Plate in the County of Rutland."

A description of the grotto of the Roc du Buffens, near Caunes (Dépt. Aude) appears in the last number of M. Cartailhac's *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*. This description is contributed by M. G. Sicard, who has been engaged for some time in exploring the cavern. His researches have brought to light a large number of objects in stone, bone, horn, bronze, iron, and pottery, many of which are figured. A small gold ornament was also discovered. The cave appears to have been inhabited during the neolithic age, and again towards the close of the bronze period. Associated with some of the bronze objects were several human skeletons.

A gold coin, which appears to be a *maille noble* of the reign of Edward III., has been found in a field near to Church Stretton. The obverse face is in fair condition, showing the king in armour in a ship with his sword, but the legend is illegible. The reverse shows the cross fleurie, the lions and crowns in the angles, and a portion of the legend, "Domine ne in furore tuo."

The workmen while altering a shop in High Street, Shrewsbury, have come upon a large chimney of brick built upon a heavy stone foundation. Adjoining the chimney the stonework forms a portion of a window showing a carved mullion and upper tracery in good condition, of very fair Early English design. A few tessellated tiles have also been laid bare, and these discoveries point to the probable site of the chapel of St. Martin, founded by one of the abbots of Lilleshall, who occupied a house still standing a few yards away in the Butchers' Row.



Correspondence.

ESSEX AND SUFFOLK.

It would be doubtless very acceptable to many lovers of the past in the East of England if something could be done for Essex and for Suffolk similar to that which Mr. William Smith is doing for Yorkshire. Since the untimely death of the "East Anglian," information on antiquarian subjects connected with these counties has to be sought for in the wide field covered by magazines dealing with the whole of England, or else in the journals of the county antiquarian societies, the papers in which do not supply the need of popularly written articles and notes on minor matters *nominum, rerum, et locorum*. There must be a good deal in the old numbers of the *Essex Standard* and the *Ipswich Journal* which, reprinted, and together with new matter and illustrations, could be turned to very good account in the publishing of yearly volumes, or quarterly magazines, dealing with the antiquities and histories of the counties whose names head this letter.

J. HAMBLIN SMITH,

Westgate, Grantham.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

The suggestion at p. 286 of *THE ANTIQUARY* can hardly be accepted as final. We read of a peat-bed, of clay, brick earth, and glacial drift; now we really require an authenticated diagram of the strata to prove the real facts, and shake off mere surmises. The Romans are known to have laid down corduroy roads over peat-beds; notably, for instance, in Perthshire, where the Roman road surmounts real prehistoric remains, viz., a whaling canoe with flint fishing implements, etc.

This is rational, but the Lincolnshire peat-bed is, in your account, dissociated from the roadway. I would therefore suggest that this Ancholme corduroy roadway has sunk below the peat it was constructed to surmount, being imbedded in soft clay till arrested by the more solid brick-earth; this failing roadway has then been replaced by a more durable road, the construction of which has hardened the clay and driven the lower roadway more firmly into the soil. Can we have fuller details?

A. H.

[We printed the opinion of the excavator. A paper was read at the Society of Antiquaries upon the subject, and the opinion there expressed was against the road theory (see *ante*, p. 30). We hope we may obtain more information such as A. H. indicates.—ED.]

THE EXCHEQUER CHESS GAME.

[*Ante*, vol. ix, pp. 206—212.]

Mr. Hubert Hall has, by his article on "The Exchequer Chess Game," earned the thanks of all antiquarian students for the light which he has thrown on the ancient system of auditing public accounts. But it still seems to me that his account is possibly incomplete in one or two particulars, an opinion which I have formed not from independent research, but merely from a consideration of the facts narrated by Mr. Hall, which facts I think lead to wider conclusions than those at which he has arrived.

Firstly, the "chequered" table cannot have been used solely for purposes of subtraction. The items composing the sheriff's accounts—debtor and creditor—must have been severally added up in some manner; and though this may have been done on paper for the satisfaction of the learned clerics of the Exchequer, yet the accuracy of the result must have been made apparent in some way to the understanding of a possibly unlettered sheriff. Did the latter, even if competent, work out the result on paper? I think not; because if he could add, he surely could subtract; and if he could subtract the *raison d'être* of the chess game (according to Mr. Hall's account) would have been gone. I am inclined to think that the meeting in the Exchequer Chamber was not for the sole purpose of witnessing a sum in subtraction worked out by officials of the Exchequer, but that it was a serious business of addition and subtraction: every item of the sheriff's account being examined, every payment by him, whether to the Exchequer or for the king's service, being gone into, and the amount of those payments being finally added up and subtracted from the sum of his account, which in its turn would be the result of the addition of the several advances received by him

n his capacity of sheriff. I have no evidence that this view is correct, and submit it in all diffidence; though I think it will commend itself to any one who considers that the business in hand was to satisfy the sheriff at all points as to the correctness of the audit, a result which could not have been arrived at unless his accounts, from beginning to end, were gone into in his presence, and the result made apparent to him beyond all doubt.

Secondly, I am inclined to think that the table used in the game was divided into squares, though these were not "chequered" like an ordinary chess-board, but divided by vertical and horizontal lines. In fact, the table is thus represented in an engraving preserved in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office. Taking it from Mr. Hall that the table was divided into columns of accounts by perpendicular lines, and omitting the marginal blank spaces, for the introduction of which there appears to be no authority, we have a board divided into seven sections by lines; whether by "wands" or chalk does not matter, though it is more probable that the latter was the material employed. At this table, says Mr. Hall, the sheriff sat on the one side, and the king's officials on the other; draw a line, therefore, down the middle of the table to keep the counters of either party distinct from those of the other. Next suppose a sum in subtraction has to be worked. How is it done in the present day? One sum is put under the other, a line drawn, and the result put beneath the line. Applying this to the subject in hand, imagine that the counters on the sheriff's side of the line amount to £2,000, and the counters on the king's side of the line show £1,745 10s. 2d. Clearly the subtraction must be made with the king's counters, as the bottom line of the subtraction sum; draw a line, therefore, beneath the counters, subtract and place the result beneath the line; this shows £254 9s. 10d. due to the sheriff. Had the smaller sum been on the sheriff's side and the larger on the king's side, a line would have had to have been drawn on the sheriff's side of the table, and the result beneath the line would have shown something due from the sheriff. Consequently it seems clear that to prepare the table for either contingency, it would be necessary to have it marked with three transverse lines in addition to the seven perpendicular ones. But were there seven sections? there should, I think, be eight; as Mr. Hall's figure shows no column for farthings, which always appear in accounts of the period. Adding a farthings column, we have seven perpendicular lines making eight sections, and three transverse ones making four sections; and recollecting that the table was double as long as it was broad, we have a table divided into thirty-two squares of equal size. For purposes of addition the convenience of so dividing the table would be apparent, when it is considered that three sums would be added together on the table and the result shown beneath; the counters showing the several sums being all the time kept distinct.

L.

THE NAME OF BAYLEY.

A certain family of this name—formerly seated in Cheshire, but now extinct, I believe, in the male line—claimed descent from a person of distinction of the

name of De Bailleul, who passed over from Picardy into England shortly after the Conquest. They stated that Bayley was a corruption of Bailleul, and that their early ancestors were related to the Bailiols of Barnard Castle. An instance of the change of Bailleul into Bayley is given, under the heading of "Bayley of Thorney," in *Notes and Queries*, 6th S., viii. 389; and that Bailly also has stood for Bailleul appears from Roger's *Noblesse de France aux Croisades* (Paris, Derache, Dumoulin; Brussels, Vandale), where, in the list of the nobles who joined the First Crusade, we find (p. 168) the name of Coullart de Bailly ou Bailleul, of Normandy.

I wish to know if there is any further evidence of the change of Bailleul into Bayley, or some other homophonous name, and if anything is known corroborative of the assertions made by this Cheshire family with regard to their origin. Their arms were Argent, a chevron, counter-ermine, between three martlets, and so bore some resemblance to those of the two baronets, Sir. Joseph Bailey and the Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley. Sir Emilius, I may observe, is descended from the Bayleys of Thorney, a family of French Protestant refugees, who had originally borne the name of Le Bailleul.

I may add that, out of sixteen families of the name of Bailleul, and ten named Bailly, now existing in France, four of the former and one of the latter show ermine in their coats-of-arms, but not one has martlets.

C. S.

BRASSES (NOT IN MR. HAINES' MANUAL). DURHAM.

Gainford.—1. Lat. inscr. in raised letters to Roger de Kyrkby, vicar. [1401-12]. E. wall of chancel.

2. Lat. inscr. to Wm. Pegg, 1486, and w. Katharine (d. of Thos. Brakenbury, esq.) 1485; under the altar.

3. Eng. inscr. to John Stevenson, and wives, Agnes, Alys, and Margaret. (c. 1500). E. wall of chancel.

4. Eng. inscr. and coat of arms to Mrs. Mary Birckbeck, 1668; qd. plate on N. wall of chancel.

Another inscr. lost, "which is remembered to have commemorated a Pudsey."

5. Lat. inscr. to Edm. Fotherby, Vicar, 1700-1, on an altar-tomb in the churchyard.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 were moved to their present places when the church was restored in 1864.

Winston.—1. Lat. inscr. to John Purles "capellanus," 1498. Chancel.

2. Eng. inscr. to Richard Mason, 1532, eff. of a civilian lost. S. aisle.

3. Eng. inscr. to Mrs. Mary Dowthwaite, 1606. Nave.

4. Lat. inscr. to John Emerson, Rector, 1774, and dau. Eliz. 1765. Chancel.

Two inscs. lost.

A. R. E.

PONIATOWSKI GEMS.

Will some reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* favour me by stating who the collector of the Poniatowski gems was; when he lived; also where the originals are, their history and number, and if casts are easily obtainable or are scarce?

ROBERT BARCLAY.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

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Thomas; Gurney, Daniel.—Any of above, or from last month's list, post free, from Briggs and Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Tooting. (*Letters only.*)

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The Antiquary.



AUGUST, 1884.

The House of Lords.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART III.—ITS PLACE OF MEETING.

IN considering the place of meeting of the House of Lords we are met at the outset by two difficulties, which must at all events be stated, even if we are unable to solve them.

The Grand Councils of the Sovereign which were the natural successors of the *Witenagemot* gradually merged into the Parliament, but we are not able to fix the exact date when this took place. This is the first difficulty, and the next question is, when was the division of Lords and Commons into two Houses definitely settled. But an extra difficulty in answering this second question arises from the fact that it is by no means certain that they were ever in any true sense joined.

Having referred to these points, I propose to pass on to the more local consideration of the subject, giving such answers to the questions as are possible in their proper chronological place; but before doing so I may note, from the *First Report of the Lords on the Dignity of the Peerage*, the very clear description of the different councils of the Norman kings there given.

The ordinary council of the king denominated by the word "Concilium" simply consisted of persons selected by him for the purpose, and were assisted by the judges and the great officers of the Crown. The select council was not only the king's ordinary council of state, but formed the supreme court of justice, denominated "Curia Regis." When the king convened in England the greater council, called "Magnum Concilium,"

or the more numerous assembly called "Commune Concilium Regni," those councils were usually convened at some time when the ordinary "Curia Regis" sat by adjournment in discharge of its peculiar functions. On the occasions of the absences of the king abroad in his French dominions, a council attended him, and there was another at home, under the presidency of the Chief Justiciary or of such persons as the king chose to appoint.

The report goes on as follows:—

In later times, and particularly towards the close of the reign of Henry III., about two centuries after the conquest, the "Curia Regis" was called the King's Parliament; the word Parliament being then applied to almost any assembly convened for the purpose of conference; and the "Curia Regis" sitting for any purpose seems to have been at length more commonly distinguished by the appellation of the King's Parliament than by its former name; especially after the Court of Common Pleas, a branch of the ancient "Curia Regis" by the provisions in the great charter of John, was no longer attendant on the king's person, but fixed in a certain place (generally the king's palace at Westminster), whilst the rest of the ancient "Curia Regis" was still required to be attendant on the person of the king, or of the Regents or Lieutenants of the kingdom in his absence. In the reign of Edward I., after the complete separation of the four Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, the appellation of Parliament seems to have been almost constantly applied to the remaining jurisdiction of the king's great court and council. The actual presence of the king, or of his deputy or deputies, or of commissioners specially appointed for the purpose, seems to have been always deemed essential to the constitution of the greater assemblies of the country; but not of the "Curia Regis" or ordinary council, which frequently proceeded without his presence, reserving for his personal consideration such matters as they thought required that sanction.*

If we look at the plan on p. 44 (about which I will speak more fully further on), we shall see how all this gradual growth is associated with the old Westminster Palace. In B, the king's great chamber, parliaments sat from the earliest times; in C, the Painted Chamber, parliaments were opened; and in G, the Great Hall, the larger assemblies met. At the entrance end was the Exchequer Court, and at the opposite end the Court of Chancery (1) and the Court of King's Bench (2) were placed. This Hall continued to be the great legal centre until a few years ago, and the judicial side of the House of Lords owes its origin to the early

* *Report*, pp. 20, 21.

arrangements described in the *Lords' Report* given above.

The king determined the place of meeting, and various causes, such as pestilence, fear of the London mob, and the Scotch and Welsh wars, necessitated a frequent change of meeting-place; but Dr. Stubbs says that Westminster from the days of Edward the Confessor was the recognized home of the Great Council, as well as of the king. This assertion, therefore, I shall consider as my text, for were I, in treating of the place of meeting, to discuss the various places where parliament has met I should require a volume rather than an article to do justice to them. I shall not, therefore, take my readers to Clarendon in Wiltshire, or to Merton in Surrey, or in fact do more than calendar the names of York,—where parliament met frequently, in general when the barons were wanted in the North during the long struggle with the Scots,—Northampton, Lincoln, Winchester, Bury St. Edmunds, Leicester, Coventry, Windsor, Reading, Salisbury, Gloucester, Carlisle, Nottingham, Cambridge, Shrewsbury, Oxford, etc. Sometimes parliaments met at Blackfriars, Bridewell, and the Temple, but Dr. Stubbs tells us that when Henry III., after the troubled times which followed the legislation of Oxford, avoided Westminster—

The barons refused to attend the king at the Tower according to the summons, insisting that they should meet at the customary place at Westminster, and not elsewhere (*Ann. Dunst.*, p. 217). The next reign saw the whole administrative machinery of the government permanently settled in and around the palace, and thus from the very first introduction of representative members the national Council had its regular home at Westminster. (*Const. Hist. of England*, vol. iii., pp. 413-14.)

And that it should be so is for the best, Dr. Stubbs's inference from the long list of places where parliament has met, is that "the liberties of England were safest at Westminster."

Even at Westminster the place of meeting was not in earlier times confined to the palace, but portions of the abbey were frequently used. The barons often met in the Refectory under Henry III., and the bishops at one time regularly met in the Infirmary, or the Chapel of St. Katherine. The parliament of Simon de Montfort assembled in the Chapter House, where for many years the House of Commons met.

The old palace of Edward the Confessor remained practically in all its irregularity and originality until the fire of 1834, because, although the buildings had mostly been burnt and rebuilt, they were destroyed at different times, and were rebuilt on the old lines. Until Henry VIII. removed to Whitehall, the old Palace had been the home both of the king and of the parliament.

The question when the councils became changed into parliament is a point the settlement of which scarcely comes within my province to discuss; but as the House of Lords is the natural successor of the council, and the House of Commons an offshoot, it is necessary for me just to allude to the point. The *Return* of the parliaments of England does not enlighten us much. The first entry there refers to a parliament summoned to meet at Oxford on the 15th of November, 1213 (15 John). To this the sheriffs were required "to send all the knights of their Bailiwicks in arms; and also four knights from their counties 'ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri'"; but it was not until the parliament summoned to meet in London 20th of January, 1264-5 (49 Hen. III.), that citizens and burgesses were summoned. The note to this in the Blue Book is somewhat odd—"This appears to have been the first complete parliament consisting of elected knights, citizens, and burgesses." Here the nineteenth century idea is projected back upon the thirteenth century, for these knights, citizens, and burgesses formed at that time but a very insignificant portion of parliament, of which the barons were the chief constituents. The main object of calling the Commons together was to obtain aids, and such places only were required to send representatives as were likely to supply these aids. During several years of Edward I.'s reign, the burgesses were not summoned to parliament.

Representation, which is the fundamental idea of the House of Commons, was of slow growth. Each baron represented himself alone, and the knights of the shire appear at first to have been a selection of the lesser barons, or the smaller tenants in chief, the whole body not being able and not being required to attend. In course of time the knights of the shire became more distinctly representative, and they were chosen by the

freeholders of the county generally. Originally, as lesser barons, they belonged to the same class as the greater barons, and there is no difficulty in believing that they all sat together. Still the conclusion of the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of the Peerage was that "the knights of shires were not summoned to deliberate about anything, but only to receive the king's charters and letters patent, and do what the prince, the king's lieutenant, and his council should ordain." * How, when the separation was eventually made, the knights of the shire held themselves towards the burgesses, whom they must have considered greatly beneath them in social position, we cannot tell.

Hallam says :—

It has been a very prevailing opinion that parliament was not divided into two houses at the first admission of the Commons. If by this is only meant that the Commons did not occupy a separate chamber till some time in the reign of Edward III., the proposition, true or false, will be of little importance. They may have sat at the bottom of Westminster Hall while the Lords occupied the upper end, but that they were ever intermingled in voting appears inconsistent with likelihood and authority.†

The idea of the two bodies sitting at opposite ends of the great hall is a pure assumption, for which there is no authority whatever. Hallam goes on to say :—

There is abundant proof of their separate existence long before the seventeenth of Edward III., which is the epoch assigned by Carte, or even the sixth of that king, which has been chosen by some other writers. Thus the Commons sat at Acton Burnell in the eleventh of Edward I., while the Upper House was at Shrewsbury. In the eighth of Edward II. "the Commoners of England complain to the king and his council," etc.

With respect to this case of Acton Burnell, the *Return of the Members of Parliament* states that the parliament was summoned to meet at Shrewsbury. A previous parliament in the early part of this same year was divided, the members for the counties south of the Trent being summoned to meet at Northampton, and those for counties north of the Trent to meet at York. On this the Lords' Committee say :—

The occasion for which these conventions were summoned was extraordinary, but it can scarcely be conceived that if a legislative assembly, consisting of the prelates and peers of the realm, and of two knights

elected for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough having power to bind the whole kingdom, had been constituted by settled and unquestioned law . . . the king would have had recourse to so extraordinary a proceeding.*

Although it seems probable that the Commons met by themselves at an early period of their existence, it was evidently long before their proceedings when separated from the barons were anything more than consultary. When their assistance was called for, they had to attend the barons in what was then known as the Parliament Chamber.

The first mention of a Speaker is in 1377, when we learn from the *Rolls of Parliament* that it was Sir Thomas de Hungerford, "qui avait les paroles par les communes d'Angleterre en c'est Parlement." This shows that at that time at least the two houses were distinct, but many years previously they evidently met in separate places. In January 1351-52 the Commons, although separate, joined the Lords when their advice was required. It was proposed in the opening speech of the Chief Justice that a deputation of the Commons of twenty-four or thirty persons should attend the king in the Painted Chamber, to have explained to them the occasion of the parliament being summoned, whilst the remainder of the Commons should withdraw to the Chapter House, and there await the return of their companions. The Commons refused to agree to this arrangement, but, two days after, the whole body attended Prince Lionel "et les autres grantz," in the White Chamber, when their advice was requested as to what was proper to be done in respect to the contest with France.†

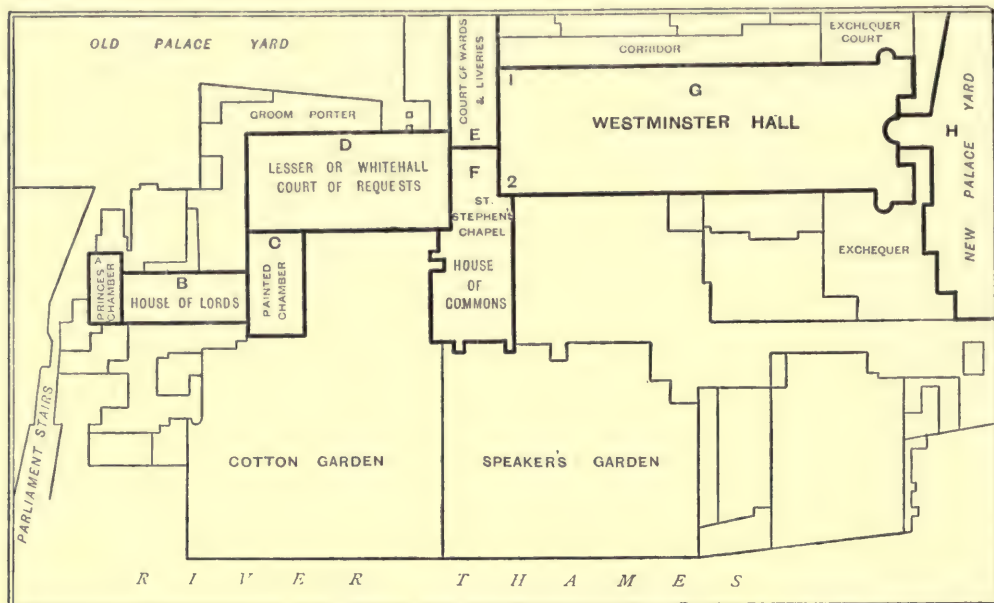
It is evident that the distinction was made in the reign of Edward III., but in the sixth year of that king the knights of the shire only were asked to give their advice. Respecting this the Lords' Committee say :—

A distinction seems to have been frequently made between the knights of counties, and the citizens and burgesses representatives of the cities and boroughs. Thus in the 6th of Edward III., the knights of counties were required to give their advice, as well as the prelates, earls, and barons, assembled separately for that purpose, and the knights separately gave their answer to the king, the citizens and burgesses not

* *First Report*, p. 225.

† *Europe during the Middle Ages*, chap. viii.

* *First Report on the Dignity of the Peerage*, p. 187.
† Brayley and Britton's "Ancient Palace at Westminster," from *Rot. Parl.*, vol. ii., p. 236, 237.



PLAN OF THE OLD HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

KEY.

- A. PRINCE'S CHAMBER.—Under this was the cellar belonging to a house adjoining, which was first hired by Guy Faux.
 B. THE OLD HOUSE OF LORDS.—Also known as the White Chamber. The cellar was originally the kitchen of the palace. It was hired by Guy Faux after the one under the Prince's Chamber.
 C. PAINTED CHAMBER, OR ST. EDWARD'S CHAMBER.
 D. WHITE HALL, supposed to be the hall of the old palace before Westminster Hall. Since the Court of Requests, then the House of Lords, and lastly the House of Commons.
 E. COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES.
 F. ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.—The old House of Commons.
 G. WESTMINSTER HALL.—Called the Great Hall. 1, Court of Chancery; 2, Court of King's Bench.
 H. NEW PALACE YARD.

having been, as far as appears, consulted. But the advice given by the knights requiring expenditure, and an aid to be granted, the whole Commons concurred with the knights of counties in giving that aid.*

With regard to the division of the two houses, and the question as to whether they were ever in any true sense joined, we may quote the action of the Scottish parliament. This was never, like the English, divided into two houses. All the members sat in one hall, and though it consisted of three estates, a general numerical majority of members was considered sufficient to carry a measure. The greater part of the business, however, was transacted by the

Lords of the Articles, a committee named by the parliament at the beginning of each session, to consider what measures should be passed, and whatever they recommended was generally passed without discussion. John Dalrymple in his *Essay on Feudal Property*, 1759, p. 267, writes respecting this:—

The great number of members in the English parliament made it difficult in all the perambulations of parliaments to find one room capable of holding the whole members, and therefore they came to be divided into two houses. The members of the Scotch parliament, on the contrary, being less numerous, the same difficulty of finding a room large enough did not occur.

This, however, is not a satisfactory explanation.

Having opened the subject with these

* *First Report*, p. 321.

general remarks, I will now proceed to deal with the more purely topographical points. It would take too much space to allude even to the more famous parliaments which have been held in Westminster, and it is only necessary to remark that the larger gatherings alone took place in the great hall, one of the most interesting of these being held on the 30th of September, 1399, when Richard II. was deposed, and Henry of Lancaster was elected king in his place. On that occasion the prelates, the Lords, and the Commons sat in their proper order in the hall.

A. *The Prince's Chamber* is supposed to have obtained its name from the Black Prince, who after the parliament of 1371 called the burghers into his own chamber, and obtained a grant of tonnage and poundage from them.* The foundations were of the Confessor's time, but the superstructure was of a much later date. Single figures were painted on the jambs of the windows, and oil paintings of angels holding crowns had been placed round the upper part of the chamber. Several capitals (whence groinings sprung) which had been richly gilt and painted (blue and red) were found before this portion of the old palace was demolished in 1823. Two of these, exhibiting the busts of Edward the First and Eleanor his queen, were carved in Reigate stone, and coloured to resemble life. The bust of the former is shown in a vignette in *Brayley's Palace at Westminster*. The cellar under the chamber was attached to a private house adjoining, which was hired in December 1604 by Percy, one of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators. While the conspirators were working at the wall of the cellar they heard a noise in the one adjoining, which was situated under the House of Lords. This was found to be also to let, so they hired it at once, and began storing their gunpowder there.†

The Prince's Chamber was also called the Robing Room, and here in 1760 the body of George II. was brought from Kensington, before being conveyed for burial to Henry VII.'s Chapel.

B. The hall in which the House of Lords

sat from the earliest times until the Union with Ireland in 1800 was also known as the King's Great Chamber, the White Chamber, and the Chamber of Parliament. The cellar under the chamber, which was known as *Guy Fawkes's Cellar*, from the conspirators having secreted their gunpowder there, was originally the kitchen of the Confessor's palace. When the building was pulled down in 1823 in order that the royal gallery might be built, the original buttery hatch was discovered at the south end, with an adjoining ambry or cupboard. The superstructure is supposed to have been rebuilt by Henry II.

In 1236 a mandate was directed to the king's (Henry III.) treasurer, requiring him to have the king's great chamber at Westminster painted of a good green colour, in the manner of a curtain, and in the great gable of the same chamber, near the door, to have painted this motto: "Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke desire;"* and also to have the king's little wardrobe painted green like a curtain, so that the king, on his first coming there, may find the above-mentioned chamber and wardrobe painted and ornamented as directed.

There are several other references to the king's great chamber in the *Close Rolls* of the reign of Henry III., such as money paid for rushes, and directions to Odo, the goldsmith, to paint a picture there.

In the reign of Edward II. extensive repairs were undertaken at the Palace, and we read of "The king's *White Chamber*, which extends from the king's green chamber to the queen's bridge on the Thames."†

In 1447 it appears from the Patent Rolls that the Marquis of Suffolk was constrained to defend himself before the nobles and magnates of the realm in the king's chamber for ceding the provinces of Anjou and Maine, the keys of Normandy, to the French crown when negotiating the union of Margaret of Anjou with his own sovereign (Henry VI.).

In 1471, soon after Henry VI. had perished in the Tower, Edward IV. created his eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, in the parliament

* Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii., p. 415 (note).

† J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 40.

* "Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il desire."

† *Brayley's Palace at Westminster*, p. 116.

chamber, in presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, eight other prelates, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and many of the principal nobility and knights—all of whom swore fealty to the Prince as “the verey and undoubted heyre” to the king, “and to the coroners and reames of England and of France and lordship of Ireland.”

We learn that in 1351 the commission for authorising Edward III.'s son Lionel to open parliament was read “en la chambre Blaunche pres de la Chambre Peynte,” and a few years before Sir William Trussell is said in the *Rolls of Parliament* to have answered for the Commons in the same place. On the 4th of June, 1610, James I. created his eldest son Henry Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester in full parliament, in “the Great White Chamber” of the old palace at Westminster. About the middle of the seventeenth century, soon after the Restoration, it was found that the floor of the House of Lords wanted some further support, and piers of brickwork were raised, as well as strong rafters of oak, supported by twelve octagonal posts of the same wood, which stood on stone plinths.

It was in this room that occurred the famous scene depicted by Copley, when Chatham fell back in a convulsive fit, after having addressed the Peers on the measures contemplated for granting independence to America.

C. Painted Chamber. This famous room is frequently designated St. Edward's Chamber, from the tradition that here Edward the Confessor breathed his last. In the ceremonial of the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., in the year 1477, it is so called, and Sir Edward Coke, in his fourth *Institute*, states that the causes of parliament were in ancient time shown in *Le Chambre Depeint*, or St. Edward's Chamber. The name of Painted Chamber was given to this room on account of the paintings on walls and window jambs, which represented the battles of the Maccabees, the Seven Brethren, St. John habited as a pilgrim presenting a ring to Edward the Confessor, the canonization of the Confessor, with seraphim, etc. There were also numerous black-letter inscriptions,

chiefly of texts from Scripture. These paintings are noticed in the *Itinerary* of Simon Simeon and Hugo the Illuminator (Franciscan Friars), in the year 1322, which is deposited in the Library of Benet College, Cambridge. After noticing the monastery at Westminster, they write :—

And to the same Monastery is almost immediately joined that most famous Palace of the King, in which is that well-known Chamber, on whose walls all the Histories of the Wars of the Whole Bible are painted beyond description (*ineffabiliter depictæ*), with most complete and perfect inscriptions in French, to the admiration of the beholders, and with the greatest regal magnificence.*

These frescoes were covered over by old tapestry (consisting of five pieces of the Siege of Troy, and one piece of Gardens and Fountains), and forgotten until the hangings were taken down in 1800.†

The parliament of 1364 met in the Painted Chamber, and it was long the custom for the king to open parliaments there. Bishop Stubbs says that it was used for the meeting of full parliaments until the accession of Henry VII. On the 8th of January, 1649, the High Court of Justice assembled in the Painted Chamber, and completed here all the preliminary arrangements before proceeding on the 20th to Westminster Hall to try Charles I. The warrant for the execution of the king was signed in the Painted Chamber, and before the fire in 1834 it was the practice to hold here the Conferences between the Lords and the Commons. Here on the 7th and 8th of June, 1778, the remains of the great Earl of Chatham lay in state previous to interment in the Abbey. After the fire the place was fitted up by Sir Robert Smirke as a temporary House of Lords. The walls were heightened by about one-third, and a boarded ceiling and slated roof were added.

D. The Whitehall or Lesser Hall is supposed to have been the original hall of the Confessor's palace, and it is said to have been a frequent practice with Kings John and Henry III. to order both the halls at Westminster to be filled with poor people, who

* Brayley's *Palace of Westminster*, p. 419 (note).

† The tapestry was thrown into a closet or cellar, where it remained for some years. About 1820 it was sold to the late Mr. Charles Yarnold, of Great St. Helen's, for £10.

were feasted at the royal expense. As the large hall was used for state occasions, so the small hall was better liked by our kings on account of its greater comfort. In Brompton's *Chronicle*, under date 1193, we find it stated that

King Richard the First, being at dinner at Westminster in the hall which is called the *Little Hall*, received tidings that King Philip of France had entered Normandy and besieged Vernol, whereupon he swore that he would never turn away his face until he had met him and fought with him; and having directed an opening to be made in the wall* he immediately made his way through it and proceeded to Portsmouth.

In 1263 the king's little hall and surrounding buildings were burnt, and it was not until more than forty years after that the place was repaired, in common with a large part of the palace.

Previously to the coronation of Henry IV. (1399) a Court of Claims was held in the White Hall by Thomas, the king's second son (who was then only five years old), who had been appointed Seneschal, and was assisted in the duties of his office by Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester.

On the occasion of the rejoicings in honour of the birth of a prince, in February 1510-11,† the ambassadors supped with Henry VIII. At the conclusion of the banquet "his grace with the Queen, lords and ladies came into the White Hall, which was hanged richelie, and scaffolded and railed on all parts." Here was performed a magnificent pageant which is described by Holinshed. "Out of an arbour of gold in a garden of pleasure" there alighted in couples six ladies gorgeously apparelled and six lords (one of whom was the king) "in rich garments of purple satin full of posies, etc." The spectators who were admitted on this occasion behaved in a scandalous manner. Finding that the gold ornaments of the dresses and decorations were to be given away, they attacked the knights and ladies, and tore their rich dresses and appropriated the spoils to their own use, so that the royal guards had to interfere for the protection of the company.

About this time the White Hall was appro-

priated to the use of the Court of Requests, and appears to have been so occupied until the court was abolished by 16, 17 Car. I., c. 10. The name White Hall was discontinued, and that of Court of Requests continued in use until the Houses of Parliament were burnt in 1834.

The following description of the Court of Requests is taken from Stow's *Survey of London* by Strype, sixth edition, vol. ii., 1755: p. 630.

In this Court all suits made to the King or Queen, by way Petition, were heard and ended. This was called the poor Man's Court, because there he should have right without paying any money, and it was also called, The Court of Conscience. The Judges of this Court were called the Masters of Requests: one for the Common Laws, and the other for the Civil Laws. And I find that it was a Court of Equity, after the nature of the Chancery, but inferior to it. There were judges of it; commonly the Lord Privy Seal was the chief. And there were Masters of Requests that were ordinary Judges. The Judges were commonly Divines, Civilians, Knights and Gentlemen. This Court began 8 Henry VII. . . . Commonly the Court Bishops and Chaplains, and other great Courtiers, were these Judges and Masters.

Although the original Court of Requests was suppressed, local Courts of Request for the recovery of small debts were situated in different parts of London and the country, until they were superseded by the County Courts.

At the time of the panic caused by the Popish Plot, the House of Lords was informed that there was some timber and other materials laid up in a room or cellar under part of the Court of Requests, which might be a cause of danger. With a lively recollection of the powder plot of James I.'s day, they recommended the Lord Great Chamberlain of England to take special care that the said timber and other materials were forthwith removed, and that no timber, firewood, coals, or any other goods should be lodged and kept in any of the rooms or cellars, under any part of the House of Peers, nor in any of the rooms or cellars under or adjoining the Prince's lodgings, the Painted Chamber, or the Court of Requests. Further action was taken, and after the report of a special committee, it was ordered "that all the cellars and vaults under and near adjoining to the House of Peers, Painted Chamber, and Court of Requests be forthwith cleared." Since then it has been the practice of the

* The remains of which, according to the chronicler, were visible when he wrote.

† Who died nine days after this festival in his honour.

Lord Great Chamberlain, with proper officers, to make a search for combustibles in all the rooms and cellars under, or nearly under, either house of parliament.

At the period of the Union with Ireland, in 1800, it was found necessary to increase the accommodation of both houses, in order to receive the augmented numbers caused by the additional members entitled to seats. The Court of Requests was therefore fitted up to receive the House of Lords, and the wainscoting of the St. Stephen's Chapel was placed farther back, for the convenience of the House of Commons.

The tapestry hangings representing the defeat of the Spanish Armada were enclosed in large frames of brown stained wood. They consisted originally of ten compartments, forming separate pictures, each of which was surrounded by a wrought border, including the portraits of the officers who held commands in the English fleet. Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, bespoke them from Holland, and afterwards sold them to James I. They were woven, according to Sandrart, by Francis Spiering, from the designs of Henry Cornelius Vroom, a painter of eminence at Haarlem.* Unfortunately at the fire in 1834 these historical tapestries were entirely destroyed. It appears that the alterations in 1800 were badly made by Wyatt, and Sir John Soane raised a warning voice in 1828. He wrote :—

In the year 1800 the Court of Requests was made into a House of Lords, and the old buildings of a slight character, several stories in height, surrounding that substantial structure, were converted into accommodations for the officers of the House of Lords, and for the necessary communications. The exterior of these old buildings, forming the front of the House of Lords, as well as the interior, is constructed chiefly with timber covered with plaster. In such an extensive assemblage of combustible materials, should a fire happen, what would become of the Painted Chamber, the House of Commons, and Westminster Hall? Where would the progress of the fire be arrested? The want of security from fire, the narrow, gloomy, and unhealthy passages, and the insufficiency of the accommodations in this building are important objects which call loudly for revision and speedy amendment.†

After the fire the Court of Requests was re-roofed and fitted up as a temporary House of Commons, the Lords, at the same time,

moving to the Painted Chamber, which was renovated for them.

E. The Court of Wards and Liveries is described as adjoining the Court of Requests, but in Stow's *Survey* it is incorrectly said to be held in the White Hall, which was the Court of Requests.

F. St. Stephen's Chapel, being appropriated to the use of the House of Commons after the Reformation, does not come within the scope of this article.

G. When the Great Hall was erected by William Rufus a courtier remarked on its noble proportions, but the king exclaimed, "This hall is not big enough by the one-half, and is but a bedchamber in comparison to that I mean to make." This appears to have been an empty boast, for nothing more was erected of the new palace, although this gave its name to New Palace Yard (H).

Westminster Hall, like most Norman halls, was built with side aisles, but when Richard II. rebuilt it with a magnificent timber roof it took the form it still retains. Many important meetings of the Grand Council and of parliament have been held in the hall, but in later times it was reserved for those great trials when the Commons impeached some great person at the bar of the House of Lords. These trials have been numerous in past times, but two of the latest were those of Warren Hastings and Lord Melville.

A passing allusion must be made to the timber house covered with tile which Stow tells us Richard II. built in the Palace Court in 1397, when the Hall was under repair. It was open on all sides, so that all men might see and hear. The chief object of this parliament was to try the captive noblemen on charges of treason.

In 1739 a proposal was entertained by government for the erection of new parliamentary buildings, but nothing was done, and the old buildings remained in use until the 16th of October, 1834. We have already seen how temporary buildings were prepared for the two houses.

In 1840 the new Palace of Westminster was commenced, and on the 15th of April, 1847, the Peers took possession of the handsome chamber where they now sit, while the Commons did not obtain theirs until the 4th of October, 1852.

* Brayley's *Palace at Westminster*, p. 423 (note).

† *Designs for Public Buildings*.

The Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery.

BY W. BRAILSFORD.

THE borough town of Appleby, in the county of Westmoreland, presents the complete appearance of being an out-of-the-world region. Once upon a time it sent two members to Parliament. That right was extinguished in 1832. A Roll of Freeholders is kept, and is read out annually. In 1881, when this roll was called at one of the borough courts, only two names were included in the ceremony—the Earl of Lonsdale and Sir H. J. Tufton, now Lord Hothfield. Peculiarities in the names of certain officials occur in the corporation records. Thus, there is a swine-looker, a house-looker, and a searcher of leather. At the time when the tanning trade was under the jurisdiction of the excise, the searchers of leather were excise officials.* A charter was granted to the burgesses in the first year of King John's reign. The Mayor of Appleby is a very ancient office. The arms of the Corporation are gules, three crowned lions passant, gardant or; the crest in a coronet a salamander proper; the supporters, two dragons gules; the motto, "Nec ferro nec igni." These may be seen on a pillar in the Church of St. Lawrence, executed in iron-work, with a red velvet covered ring for holding the mace, and a red velvet covered hook for the sword. The town is situated on the river Eden, which separates the two parishes of St. Lawrence and St. Michael. The principal street is terminated at one end by the Church of St. Lawrence, at the other by the Castle. Facing each extremity is an obelisk, that on the Castle slope being mounted on worn stone steps, like those supporting village stone crosses. This structure has these words on its chief side: "Retain your loyalty. Preserve your rights."

The Castle, first spoken of in 1088, stands at the upper end of the street. Of the

original edifice only the keep remains, and this is of rough Norman workmanship; it is called Cæsar's Tower, and at present is nearly covered with ivy, the interior being used as a receptacle for lumber and firewood. In the year 1174 the King of Scots ravaged the district, surprising the Castle and destroying the town. Later on, about the end of the fourteenth century, when Richard II. reigned, the Scots made another inroad, from which calamity the neighbourhood only partially recovered. In 1598 the plague made its appearance, when the traffic was stayed and the market removed. In 1641, when the Civil Wars had commenced, the Castle was garrisoned for Charles I. by its brave owner, the Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of Dorset, and Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery. The government of the fortress was placed in the hands of Sir Philip Musgrave, who retained it till after the battle of Marston Moor. In 1648 the Castle was demolished almost to the ground. It had contained in its enclosure as many as 1,200 horse. Evidence of its capability for holding so large a body of cavalry is manifest in the extent of space still subsisting between the present house and Cæsar's Tower. In the summer of 1651, Major-General Thomas Harrison came to Appleby with his forces, for the wars were then hot in Scotland.* Looking now from the garden and banks of the dried-up moat, the view is peaceful and serene, and embraces in its compass Highcup Gill, between the lofty elevation known as Morton Pike and Roman Fell. A bold sweep of open country meets the eye in every direction, ridges and depressions, with occasional belts of trees, forming prominent features in the landscape. The larch flourishes amidst the woods in luxuriance, and large tufts of bracken grow in the peat-moss, which is the common soil hereabouts in the valley and waste land.

In the historical perspective of the stirring sixteenth and early seventeenth century, one figure stands prominently forth, and gives the greatest amount of interest, not only to the town and castle of Appleby, but to the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland as well. The Lady Anne Clifford, Countess

* Statutes regulating the dressing and tanning of leather were promulgated from the time of Henry VI. to James II. Like appointments, such as sealers and searchers in leather, were made at several places. See Gomme's *Municipal Offices*.

* Abstract of records kept at Skipton Castle, in Yorkshire.

Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, was, so to speak, a power in the state, one of those large-hearted women who, being distinctly feminine, yet have great force of character and individuality. She was the daughter of George, third Earl of Cumberland, and Margaret Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford. She was born at Skipton Castle, in Yorkshire, in 1590, and by the death of her brothers became the sole heiress to her father's vast estates. She is known to have arrived with her mother at Appleby on the 22nd July, 1607. On the 25th February, 1609, she was in London, at her mother's residence in Austin Fryars, for on that day she was married to Richard Sackville, then Lord Buckhurst, but who succeeded to the earldom of Dorset a few days later, on the death of his father. She was the mother of three sons, all of whom died in their infancy, and two daughters, who survived her. These were born at Knole, an ancient seat of the Dorset family, near the town of Sevenoaks, in the county of Kent. This Richard, Earl of Dorset, was a man of expensive tastes and habits, was the friend and companion of Henry, Prince of Wales, and travelled in luxurious fashion on the Continent. He was an adept at tilting, and lived rather too fast for his means, which were by no means of a limited nature.* He died on the 28th March, 1624, and lies buried in the Dorset vault in the church of Wythyam, in Sussex.† After this, the Lady Anne took the small-pox from nursing one of her children. Notwithstanding all her vows of never marrying again, the lady, after remaining a widow for six years and over, re-entered the matrimonial state on the 3rd June, 1630, at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire, where she was united to Philip Herbert, the fourth Earl of Pembroke, who was created Earl of Montgomery, a Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord Chamberlain to Charles I. As Countess Dowager of Dorset, she had the large jointure of £3,400 per annum. She had told her secretary that if she married again, her second husband should not be a

curser, swearer, or courtier. Some kind of disagreement ensued between the Earl of Pembroke and herself after their marriage, as they seldom lived together. She had two sons by him, but they pre-deceased her. In a letter written to her uncle, the Duke of Bedford, she thus expresses herself:—

If my lorde sholl'd denie my comming then I desire your lordship I may understand itt as soon as may bee, that so I may order my poore businesses as well as I can withoutt my once comming to the towne, for I dare not ventter to come upe withe outt his leve, lest he sholl'd take that occasion to turn mee outt of this howse as hee did outt of Whittall, and then I shall nott know wher to put my hed.

In 1643, her cousin Henry, Earl of Cumberland, died at York, by which event the earldom of Cumberland, as far as related to the Clifford family, became extinct, and the Craven property in Yorkshire, and the Appleby lands in Westmoreland, reverted to Lady Anne. We hear of her at Appleby on the 8th August, 1649, and on the 23rd January, 1650, the Earl of Pembroke died in London, thus releasing the lady from her evidently miserable bondage.* She never married again, but passed the remainder of her long life in the north country, removing from one ancient castle to the other, being visited by her daughters and grandchildren, and performing very many acts of mercy and kindness, such as seemed altogether congenial to the nobility of her nature, and the genuine goodness of her disposition. Although her inheritance was a large one, and, indeed, might be called immense, considering the times in which she lived, yet she was troubled at one period with law-suits, and for some time was prevented from receiving her legitimate income, besides being a great sufferer from the effects of the Civil Wars. Dissensions arose naturally between her second husband and herself, on political grounds, he siding with the Roundhead party, and her sympathies being entirely enlisted with the King and the royal cause. Nearly all her castles in the north suffered damage at the hands of the soldiers of the Parliament. Her energy

* Clarendon's History.

† The Dorset chancel in this church was built by this earl shortly before his death.

* This Earl of Pembroke was one of the three peers who sat in the House of Commons by an Act passed March 1648, which permitted peers to take their seat for their allegiance to the Commonwealth. He entered the House as Knight of the Shire of Berks on the 16th April, 1649.

was, however, equal to the occasion, for as quickly as the process of demolition went on, so as rapidly orders for restoration were given and carried out. As castle after castle was destroyed by Cromwell's armies, and afterwards repaired by her direction, she caused this inscription to be placed over the gate of each:—

This castle was repaired by the Lady Ann Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, after the main part of it had lain ruinous ever since 1648, when it was demolished almost to the ground by the Parliament then sitting at Westminster, because it had been a garrison in the Civil War. *Laus Deo.*

Appleby, Brough,* Skipton, Brough, and Pendragon Castles, were all severally put in thorough repair and order. Cæsar's Tower at Appleby had stood without a roof or any kind of covering from the times of the Northern Rebellion in 1569. This was covered with lead in July 1653. In addition, she ordered the church at Skipton to be thoroughly repaired, particularly the steeple, which had undergone severe injury. At Appleby the church was likewise put in thorough order. Here a board is yet preserved on which it is written—

"Ann, Countess of Pembroke, in Anno 1655 repaired all this building."

A few years earlier she laid the foundation of an almshouse, or hospital, for twelve poor widows and a mother. This institution lies on the left-hand side of the steep street leading to the Castle, to which it is adjacent. In the spring of 1658 she rebuilt, out of her own revenue, the Chapel of Brougham, and in 1659 Nine Church, near Penrith, was similarly re-erected at her cost. Several other religious and public edifices were either entirely rebuilt or substantially renovated at her sole charge. Her state in the north country was regal, and her mode of progressing from one residence to the other in accordance with aristocratic prejudices and predilections. Much of her character in reference to family pride and dignity was inherited from her mother, Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, who collected a number of records of the high and mighty families to whom she was related.

* John de Vetripont is the first recorded possessor of this castle. Roger, Lord Clifford, made great additions to it. Eyton's *History of Salop* may be consulted for the origin of the Clifford family.

Lady Anne was fortunate in possessing a secretary named Sedgwick, who has left posterity many interesting particulars of her manners and customs. He avers that she had an excellent memory, a sound judgment, was temperate, religious, and charitable.* She wore very plain apparel, such as a petticoat and waistcoat of black serge. She never took physic, and never drank wine after she had attained the age of eighty. It is also recorded of her that she supported the illegitimate daughters of her first husband; and having been the means of marrying one of them to a Mr. Belgrave, a clergyman of the Church of England, gave him a living in Sussex.

On every Monday morning, at whichsoever of her castles she might happen to be staying, she gave ten shillings amongst twenty poor householders. She spent over £40,000 on the repairs of her battered fortresses. Her education had been carefully superintended by the poet, Samuel Daniel. Roger North, who visited Appleby Castle in company with Lord Chief Justice Hale soon after her death, speaks of her as a magnificent and learned lady. It is certain that she employed clever men to make collections for a history of her illustrious ancestors, the Vetriponts or Viponts, Cliffords, Veseys, etc., from out of the Tower Records, Rolls, etc., and had them transcribed and bound in three volumes, and preserved at Appleby. Gilpin, in his *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, speaks of these literary treasures.† Amongst the number of family documents and household recipes preserved at Skipton are certain items relating to the education of my Lady Anne, as, for instance, one—

Given to Stephens, that teacheth my lady
to daunce, for one month £1 os. 6d.

That she was a woman of taste, as well as of affectionate disposition, is evidenced by the superb marble monument erected by her to the memory of her mother in the chancel of Appleby Church.‡ This is an altar-tomb,

* Sedgwick died in 1685, aged sixty-seven, and was buried in the church at Kendal, in Westmoreland. There is a lengthy inscription in Latin to his memory.

† Vol. ii., pp. 161, 164.

‡ There is a portrait of the Countess Margaret in the National Portrait Gallery, painted when young. The Earl of Verulam has another portrait of her at Gorhambury, Herts.

having a recumbent effigy upon it in white marble of the Countess of Cumberland. The head, surmounted by a gilt metal coronet, lies on a richly embroidered cushion, having tassels at each corner. A lamb is at her feet. The hood over the head is large, but does not conceal the features, which are finely sculptured. The robe is also large; the hands are uplifted, palm to palm. The general aspect of the entire figure is in strict accordance with the costume of the period. On the south side of the tomb is the inscription—

Here lyeth interred the body of the Lady Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, youngest child to Francis Russell, seconde Earle of Bedford, married to George Clifford, third Earle of Cumberland. Shee lived his wife 29 yeres, and died his wydow at Brougham Castle the 24 of May, 1616, tenn yeres and seven moneths after his decease. She had yssue by him two sones, Francis and Robert, who both died younge, and one daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, married to Richard Sackville, third Earle of Dorset, whoe, in memory of her religious mother, erected this monument, A.D. 1617.

On the north side of the tomb is the following :—

Who faith, love, mercy, noble constancy
To God, to virtue, to distress, to right,
Observed, exprest, show'd held religiously
Hath here this monument, thou seest in sight
The cover of her earthly part; but passenger
Know Heaven and fame contain the best of her.

At one end is a coat-of-arms of the Clifford family. Near unto Brougham Castle is a memorial called the Countess's Pillar. This was erected by the Lady Anne, as a remembrance of the spot where she parted from her mother for the last time. It is recorded that she left "an annuity of four pounds to be distributed to the poor within this parish of Brougham every second day of April for ever upon the stone table hereby." At Skipton Church she restored the monuments of her forefathers, and erected a tomb to the memory of her father and brother.* Near the altar-tomb of her mother is another of black marble, with white mouldings. Above, over against the wall, is a black marble tablet, on which are twenty-four coats-of-arms, the last

* Some years after the death of her tutor, the poet Daniel, she placed a record of her gratitude to him over his tomb. It is said she caused two of her servants, named Edge, to be buried in the chancel at Appleby Church. The plate is covered over, and not now visible.

ten being surmounted by coronets. These belong to her progenitors, the first being Robert de Vetripont. There is no effigy on the tomb, which is, indeed, of no artistic merit, and inferior in every way to the noble memorial erected to her mother. Close to it is a square block of stone, with four iron rings attached, which opens the vault of the subject of this memoir. The date and place of her death are stated in this inscription engraved on her tomb—

Here lies, expecting the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the dead body of the Lady Anne Clifford, daughter and sole heir to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, by his blessed wife, Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland. Which Lady Anne was born in Skipton Castle, in Craven, the thirtieth of January (being Friday), in the year 1590, as the year begins on New Year's Day. And by a long-continued descent from her father and his noble ancestors, she was Baroness Clifford, Westmerland, and Vesey, high sherifess of the county of Westmerland, and lady of the honour of Skipton in Craven aforesaid. She married for her first husband, Richard Sackvil, Earl of Dorset, and for her second husband, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, leaving behind her only two daughters that lived, which she had by her first husband, the eldest, Margaret, Countess of Thanet, and the younger, Isabella, Countess of Northampton. Which Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, deceased, at her Castle of Brougham, the 22nd day of March, in the year of our Lord 1675, Christianly, willingly, and quietly, having before her death seen a plentiful issue (by her two daughters) of 13 grandchildren, and her body lies buried in this vault.*

This illustrious lady thus describes herself in the memorial preserved at Skipton :—

The colour of her eyes was black, like her father's, with a peak of hair on her forehead, and a dimple in her chin, like her father, full cheeks and round fac'd, like her mother, and an excellent shape of body resembling her father, . . . The hair of her head was brown and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of her legs when she stood upright.†

Several portraits are in existence of the

* Lady Anne purchased an estate at Temple Sowerby, and by deed bearing date February 2nd, 1656, conveyed the same to Sir James Lowther and others for the repair and decent keeping of these monuments.

† The portrait of her father is in the National Portrait Gallery. On the left of the head appears his name, title, and the year 1588. He is dressed in russet armour, with a pattern of gold stars. The suit is still preserved at Appleby Castle. A like picture is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Another portrait is at Knole. The glove of Queen Elizabeth may be seen on the hat of this nobleman, indicative of his post as Champion to her Majesty.

Lady Anne. One is in the National Portrait Gallery. This came from the famous collection belonging to Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill. A shield of arms, bearing the arms of Herbert impaling Clifford, is to be seen on the right-hand side. A medal was taken of the lady from this picture. There was also a miniature painted by Dixon in the same collection, which Walpole bought of Lady Isabella Scott, daughter of the Duchess of Monmouth. The late Countess Delawarr exhibited a portrait by Van Somers at the Special Exhibition at South Kensington in 1866; it was a full-length of the Lady Anne, dressed in black, with open white-lined sleeves, with a rose in her hand, and a vase of roses beside her. This picture used to hang in the Lady Betty Germaine's dressing-room at Knole. In the same magnificent seat there was another likeness of her, said to be by Mytens. A charming portrait miniature, by S. Cooper, was shown in 1862 at South Kensington, from the collection of Mr. S. Addington. At the same time another equally notable miniature, by the same artist, was shown by the Duke of Buccleuch.

In the Castle at Appleby may be seen a curious group, one of which is this celebrated lady. In the same place are other portraits of her. She is generally dressed in sombre attire, and her appearance is indicative of her quality, as well as of her kindly disposition. Pennant, Whitaker, and Hartley Coleridge have given extracts from her diary. She is fairly described in the catalogue of royal and noble authors, and Mr. Hailstone compiled a record of her life, taken from a quarto volume preserved at Skipton Castle. Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir John Lowther, both cousins of Lady Anne, were elected Members of Parliament for the county of Westmoreland in the year 1660. At the same time, another cousin, Sir Henry Cholmeley,* and Christopher Clapham, Esq., were elected Members for the borough of Appleby. Later on, Mr. Thomas Tufton, my Lady's grandson, was duly elected for Appleby, in the place of a retiring member. It was a time when men were apparently fighting against the influence of the Court, for Sir H. Cholmeley told Mr. Secretary Samuel Pepys that the electors of

some very small place declined to have Mr. Williamson as their representative, saying, "No courtier;" whilst at Winchelsea, Bab May, though armed with the Duke of York's letters, was rejected, the people declaring they would have no Court pimp to be their Burgess. Sir Joseph Williamson, when Secretary of State,* applied to Lady Anne for her influence in the election of a member for Appleby, when he received the following answer: "I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a Court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject; your man shan't stand. Anne, Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery." If the courtly Secretary of the Admiralty heard of this reply, he must have been mightily perplexed, and reckoned that "things bode very ill," as he had oftentimes thought on similar occasions. But the Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery was not the woman to be trifled with, and it is easy to believe the high consideration with which she was treated by her friends and neighbours about Appleby and Brougham, where she lived paramount till 1675. She died about the time when Oliver Cromwell's second son, Henry, died, and when great opposition was being made in Parliament to Bills introduced by the Court party. Through all her long life the Lady Anne evidenced the bravery of her nature. Whatever her opinions might be in reference to politics, or such questions as presented themselves to her notice in the circumference of her various northern homes, she was never at a loss how to speak and how to act. Notwithstanding the settlement of the long disputed suit concerning the Skipton estates, she held out persistently, and would not be satisfied until a special verdict was obtained in her favour, when her cause was tried before Judge Newdigate. All accounts agree in testifying to the excellence of her judgment, the tenacity of her memory, and the fine perceptive spirit which seemed to guide her actions in all the relations of life. In every sense of the expression, she was a remarkable woman, whose life stands prominently out amid the numerous public personages of the seventeenth century,

* Was a Keeper of the Paper Office at Whitehall, then Under-Secretary of State, afterwards Secretary. He sat for Rochester and Thetford, and was President of the Royal Society.

* A Yorkshire baronet, who was at one time busy constructing the Mole at Tangiers.

and offers to all time a noble illustration of true greatness in difficult seasons of the world's history. At her funeral in Appleby Church, she was followed by a large concourse of friends and acquaintance. There she lies, close to the mother that she loved so much, a real heroine, not to be forgotten in the annals either of the beautiful county of Westmoreland or in those writ larger in the history of England.



The Tower Guards (1648).

II.

BY J. H. ROUND.

WE saw, in the former part of this paper, that "the Tower Regiment," so far from being identical with the Tower Hamlets Militia, was, in truth, its rival and supplanter, and was essentially composed of regular troops.* While, therefore, that regiment was taking part in the arduous campaign of this summer, the trainbands of the Tower Hamlets remained at home in peace, save for the affair of the 4th of June, when they were summoned to resist the Kentish Loyalists on their landing in the Isle of Dogs.†

After marching out of the Tower, on the morning of the 26th May, "the Tower Regiment," as we learn from a statement in *The Moderate Intelligencer*, hastened to join the force that Fairfax was now gathering round him, preparatory to his advance into Kent. It may be presumed that, like the regiments from Westminster, the Tower Regiment took part in this advance, and it was clearly one of those which, a fortnight later, followed Fairfax to Colchester. For in the valuable field-state of Fairfax's forces

* Since my first chapter went to press, my conjecture that the regiment originally numbered 600 "men" has been confirmed by my discovery of a passage in *Rushworth* (Part IV., vol. ii., p. 830) mentioning a letter from Fairfax (1st Oct., 1647), "concerning the Establishment of some forces to be continued in this service of the Tower, with a list enclosed . . . 600 men mentioned in the list."

† "Here (by the Appointment of the House) lay a Regiment of Hambleteers of the Tower, drawn up to their Arms."—*Carter*.

engaged in the fight of the 13th of June, which is preserved to us in the contemporary *Diary*,* we find mention of "Col. Needham's Regiment, *lately the Tower Regiment*, commanded by Col. Needham, being seven companies, and about 400 men." We gather from this entry two facts. The first is that the command of the regiment had now been given to Colonel Needham, who had served as a colonel of foot, in 1644, at Selby and Marston, had afterwards been appointed governor of Leicester,† and had last been employed as a colonel of horse.‡ The second is, that to judge from this muster, the regiment must now have stood at its original strength of 600, rather than at its later strength of 1,000.

The Tower men were in the thick of the fight, on this stubbornly-contested day, and the *Diary* tells us how, "notwithstanding" a repulse, they "fought many hours after in hopes to gain the town."§ Their colonel, the gallant Needham, was mortally wounded at their head.|| The MS. diary of the siege, which, being in the possession of my family, I shall distinguish as the Birch Diary, states that—

They lost in this action Colonel Needham, who commanded a regiment called *the Tower Guards*, and who fought very desperately.

It is from this passage that I derive the title of this paper. The regiment is described as "the Guard in the Tower" in the marginal heading to *Rushworth*,¶ and the names "horse guards," "dragoon guards," etc., in the contemporary siege-map, may serve to remind us of the special sense in which the term "guards" was then employed.

It is not till nearly a fortnight later (26th June) that "the Tower Regiment" again figures. The rough maps of the ground which have already appeared in THE ANTI-

* Reproduced in THE ANTIQUARY, i. 22, *et seq.*

† *Rushworth*, Part IV., vol. ii., 937.

‡ April 8th, 1647.—Whitelocke's *Memorials* (1682), p. 246 b.

§ ANTIQUARY, i. 23.

|| He is wrongly said by the contemporary authorities to have been slain outright, but we learn from the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (No. 265), that it was not till the following Sunday (18th June) that his wound proved fatal. See also below.

¶ Page 1061. Compare Fairfax's expression, "The several guards . . . from the Tower."

QUARY* will enable my readers to follow their movements. Fairfax, having established himself at first opposite the west side of the town, made it his special object to block up, as soon as possible, the east gate on the opposite side, in order to cut off the besieged from the open country in their rear. But he would not be strong enough to effect this till the Suffolk forces came to his aid and secured the intervening space along the left bank of the Colne. This they could not be induced to do till the 24th of June. But meanwhile the indefatigable general had been at work in anticipation of their arrival. He determined to throw a bridge across the Colne above "the north bridge" (which was commanded by the besiegers from the walls), by which to keep open his communications with the forces on the left bank. As a preliminary to this, on the 20th of June he commenced a work on the right bank,† eventually known as "Fort Ewer,"‡ to cover the bridge-head.

The besieged attacked it on the 22nd, but were repulsed,§ and on the following day it was completed, and its guns opened fire upon the town.|| The next day the bridge itself was completed, simultaneously with the arrival of the Suffolk forces.¶

It is typical of Mr. Markham's singular

errors that in his paper on "The Siege of Colchester" he thus describes these events :

Colonel Eure crossed the Colne near a hamlet called the Shepen, and threw up a work in front of the North Bridge, called Fort Ingoldsby. Fort Rainsborough was next thrown up, opposite the ford at Middle Mill. The besiegers thus gained a footing on the left bank of the river, where they were joined by 2,500 Suffolk volunteers, etc., etc.

Now Colonel Eure did *not* cross the Colne ; the work which he was throwing up was Fort Ewer and *not* Fort Ingoldsby ; it was *not* "in front of the North Bridge," but stood on the *right* bank, and flanked the bridge ; Fort Rainsborough was probably, as we shall see, not constructed till nearly a month later ; and the Suffolk forces, instead of joining the besiegers after they had "gained a footing on the left bank of the river," had actually arrived two days before they even crossed it.

The Suffolk men had arrived on the Saturday, and on the Monday (26th), the Tower Regiment marched over the new bridge, being the first regiment selected by Fairfax to occupy the left bank in conjunction with the Suffolk forces.* Colonel Whalley's was the horse regiment, destined for the same service.

The forces holding the left bank had to keep watch, simultaneously, on the roads leading over the river from the north and from the east gates. The former they had been able at once to block, but the latter had baffled them for a time by the enemy's possession of the Hythe, which served them as an advanced sally-port. Whalley's horse, however, with the assistance of Ingoldsby's foot, succeeded, on the 30th June, in seizing Greenstead church, a position which com-

* Vol. i., p. 24 (Siege Map); vol. v., p. 246 (Domesday Map).

† "The lord-general begun a Work yesterday at the North Gate, and the Soldiers maintain it with much Gallantry and Resolution."—Letter of 21st June (*Rushworth*, p. 1161).

‡ From Colonel Eure ("Ewer"), who had brought up his Foot from Chepstow a few days before, and was now posted at this point. This work is erroneously spoken of by Mr. Markham, Mr. Townsend, etc., as "Fort Ingoldsby," a more advanced work, which was constructed subsequently.

§ "A small party of the Besieged sallied out to view a new work (afterwards called Col. Ewer's Fort), but were instantly beaten in by Musqueteers." (*Army Diary*, 22nd June, confirmed by *Rushworth*, p. 1162.)

|| "The Guns began this Day to play from our new Battery, which much annoyed the besieged at North Bridge." (*Army Diary*, 23rd June, confirmed by *Rushworth*, p. 1164.)

¶ "This day we finished a Bridge over the River whereby we can hold communication with the Suffolk Forces, who are this day come over." (*Rushworth*, p. 1164.) The letter is "dated June 25th, at two in the morning," and by "this day" refers to the 24th. The same passage occurs in the *Perfect Weekly Account* (21st to 28th June, 1648), where the completion is similarly, at first sight, assigned to the 25th.

* "The Tower Regiment are marched over our new bridge, and are intrenching themselves about the North Gate." (June 26th, *The Moderate*.) "The Tower Regiment marched over the new Bridge, and intrenched themselves about the North Gate." (June 27th, *Whitelocke*, p. 311.) Whitelocke has the name of the regiment right, but the date (owing to his mode of entry), apparently wrong. *Rushworth per contra* has the date right, but the name of the regiment wrong. "Colonel Barkstead's regiment are marched over our new Bridge, and are intrenching themselves about the North Gate. . . . From Colchester Leaguer, June 26th" (p. 1168). Barkstead's Foot were, on the contrary, quartered about the southwest angle of the Leaguer.

manded the outlet from the Hythe.* Here they at once planted a gun, and began a redoubt round the church, which they named Fort Whalley.†

The besieged thus deprived of their chief outlet, resolved on a desperate sally to "clear" the Leaguer in that direction. "About eight on Wednesday in the morning" ‡—that is, on the 5th of July, *not*, as Mr. Markham erroneously states, in both his accounts, on the 6th—they attacked the post at the east bridge with a force of 700§ or 1,300|| men, captured the detachment, overturned the guns,

and made good the charge till they had cleared the whole street, which gave so great an Alarm to all their Leaguer, that they immediately rallied together all the Foot and Horse on that Side of the River, and marched down the Hill from behind the Windmill to the Top of another Hill in a very full and orderly Body, etc., etc.¶

Among these were the Tower Guards, who, as we learn from Rushworth (though, here again, he is mistaken in the name of the regiment),** "advanced towards the front" of the elated Loyalists, while Whalley,†† or rather his major, Swallow,‡‡ "presently advanced with his horse to get between them and home." §§ The Loyalists were soon

* Miscalled by Mr. Peacock "the Heith" (*Archæologia*, xlv. 38).

† Letters of 29th and 30th of June in *Rushworth* (pp. 1172-3) and *Siege Map*. The almost infallible (*Army*) *Diary* must be mistaken in assigning to the 1st of July the seizure of Greenstead church.

‡ *Rushworth*, p. 1179.

§ Carter—here strangely enough followed by Mr. Markham.

|| *Rushworth*, p. 1179.

¶ Carter.

** He again calls it "Colonel Barkstead's regiment" (p. 1179).

†† "Colonel Whalley perceived what advantage," etc. *Ib.*

‡‡ (*Army*) *Diary*, July 5th.

§§ *Rushworth*. The fact that the Loyalists could not be checked till the Militia opposed to them had thus been reinforced by the regular troops, horse and foot, is of great importance as affording a test of the veracity of *Colchester's Teares*. The writer of this anonymous and mendacious pamphlet so contrives his statements that he can rarely be brought to book, but in this case he stands convicted by the following unlucky boast:—"Nay, and to admiration, how came that strong party of 1,000 men, besides horses, issuing the other day out of Colchester upon Sir Thomas Barnadiston's regiment, to be beaten in again by a small party of green souldiers, but about

compelled to retreat, but Shambrooke, the lieutenant-colonel of the Tower Guards, who had succeeded Colonel Needham in the command, fell, like him, mortally wounded,* and died the next day.†

The ill-fated regiment having now lost both its commanding officers, a new colonel was found for it in a man who played some part in the history of his time, and who has, moreover, enjoyed the singular advantage of having for his biographer Mr. E. Peacock, whose knowledge of these subjects is probably unrivalled,—I mean Vice-Admiral Rainsborough.‡ It is somewhat strange that, as

200 men, and they as well as the rest taken in great disorder too?" It may be noticed that "green" is here used in the sense of "raw" or "inexperienced," and refers to the Militia.

* "On our part we had slain Lieut.-Colonel Shambrooke and some others of Colonel Needham's regiment who were engaged." (*Army*) *Diary*, July 5th. "Amongst whom [*i.e.*, the slain] was the colonel that succeeded Colonel Needham in the command of his Regiment, who [*i.e.*, Needham] was killed the first night's Attack."—Carter.

† "Lieut.-Col. Shambrooke is dead of the shot he received by the poisoned Bullet" (*Rushworth*, p. 1181; cf. p. 1179). See also, as to Needham's wound, p. 1169: "They had chewed Bullets rowled in sand in their pockets, contrary to the Law of Arms; and without doubt Colonel Needham was shot with such, for we have had shots more dangerous than his cured." Also (*Army*) *Diary*, 28th June:—"Chewed and Poysoned Bullets taken from several of the Besieged." These charges are reproduced, without question, by Mr. Markham; but it should be observed that, according to Rushworth (whose authority on this point is high), Fairfax could not charge the besieged with using poisoned bullets (which indeed is most improbable), but "chewed Bullets, and cast with sand," to which "the Generals returned Answer, denying any such command or Practice; but for rough cast slugs, they were the best they could send on the sudden" (p. 1173). An interesting specimen of these rough cast bullets is preserved in the Colchester Museum, and well illustrates the controversy. It may be added, moreover, that Capel and Lucas similarly complained to Fairfax that "wee have found bullets which were chawd in our wounded men, and in somme of the prisoners' muskets that were taken" (Ellis' *Original Letters*, 1st S., iii. 304).

‡ "Notes on the Life of Thomas Rainborowe . . . by Edward Peacock, Esq., F.S.A." (*Archæologia*, xlv. 9—64). I have adhered, with Mr. Markham in his *Life of Fairfax*, to the accepted spelling "Rainsborough," as it is no exaggeration to say that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred in which the name occurs in print, the "s" is found in it. It, therefore, causes great awkwardness, as indeed may be seen in Mr. Peacock's valuable notes on his life, to insist on now printing it "Rainborowe." The practically

this regiment was commanded by him from now till the hour of his death, his biographer does not mention its name, or throw any light on its identity. But from its varied *avatars*, during its brief career, its true character and continuous existence would seem to have been never hitherto suspected.* Mr. Peacock, however, states that "among the foot" originally collected for this campaign "was half a regiment commanded by Admiral Rainborowe;"† but for this, it would seem, his only authority is Mr. Markham's *Life of Fairfax*.‡ It is dangerous, I think, at all times, to take one's history second hand, but more especially, as Mr. Peacock will find to his cost, from such a work as the *Life of Fairfax*. In this case, unless I am very much mistaken, it will be found that there is no evidence for Mr. Markham's categorical statement, and I hold, therefore, that Admiral Rainsborough had here no force under his command till he received, on Shambrooke's death, the colonelcy of the Tower Guards.

Between the 15th and 18th of July—that is, about ten days later—the horse of the besieged force attempted more than once to

escape, and join Sir Marmaduke Langdale. According to my "Birch Diary,"—

Upon these attempts of the Horse to break out, the Enemy built a small fort in the meadow right against the ford in the river at Middle Mill" (22nd July).

Now this, I think, must have been "Fort Rainsborough," which the siege-map places exactly in this position. If "the new fort," spoken of by Rushworth (11th August) on page 1224, was, as Mr. Markham admits, "Rainsborough's Fort," this becomes a certainty. This fort stood in the centre of the position assigned to the Tower Guards, and became henceforth their head-quarters. It would, therefore, naturally be called after Rainsborough, as being now their colonel. Carter thus describes it:—

Then they raised two or three Hornworks and Redoubts, on the North-side of the Leager, . . . where they placed divers great pieces, which they played violently at a Mill call'd the Middle Mill.

The besiegers had set their heart on destroying, and the besieged on preserving, this the last remaining mill. The former became impatient of the slow destruction effected by the fire of their guns, and on the 25th July, under the darkness of night, the Tower Guards, led by Rainsborough, waded across the river from their fort, and stormed and fired the mill.* Carter tells, in stirring language, the tale of its recapture by the Gentlemen Volunteers, and of their successful struggle with the flames. Mr. Peacock narrates the incident, but antedates it, strangely enough, by nearly three weeks, and erroneously assigns it to the "water-mill below the north bridge," instead of to the famous Middle Mill.† Nor can it be said, with strict accuracy, that "the work of destruction had been sufficiently complete,"‡ for in the words of the *Diary*, "the design proved ineffectual at that time," and it was

* "(25th July) A party, in the meantime, fired the Middle Mill, with the loss of three men, and cut off a sluice, but the fire did not take, so the design proved ineffectual at that time." (*Army Diary*, confirmed by Rushworth, p. 1217.

† On the 5th of July Rainborowe destroyed what seems to have been their last hope—a water-mill below the north bridge (*Archæologia*, xlv. 38).

‡ *Ibid.*

universal insertion of the "s" must have some meaning, and surely can only mean that the name was so pronounced, however the family may have written it at the time. Mr. Peacock traces the theory of the Dutch extraction of the family to the name of John Van Reede, "Lord of Renswoude . . . a name quite sufficiently like Rainborowe to account for the mistake" (p. 10). The similarity, though not obvious in this form, is strengthened, I think, in the Anglicized form "the lord Rainsow" (*Rushworth*, Part IV., vol. ii., p. 1268), the initial syllable being *Rains* in both. There is, however, a more suggestive name, of which Mr. Peacock may be glad to hear, namely, that of "Robert Van Ransborough, a brewer in Dartford," which is met with in 1657 (*Dunkin's History of Dartford*).

* I am, of course, aware that "Colonel Rainsborough" had commanded a regiment in the New Model, which was known at the time as "Rainsborough's Regiment," and this has probably caused the confusion, it being thoughtlessly assumed that "Rainsborough's Regiment" must always have been the same; but the regiments in Fairfax's army changed their names with their colonels, and this one, for instance, had previously, as we have seen, been described as "Colonel Needham's Regiment, lately the Tower Regiment." Thus arose often an *alias*.

† *Archæologia*, xlv. 37.

‡ "Half a regiment commanded by Admiral Rainsborough."—*Life of Fairfax*, p. 376.

not till the "6th of August" that the besiegers could at length announce—

The Middle Mill (which we fired a Week since) is spoiled by our cannon, that it cannot be serviceable.* It was even later than this, on the 11th August, that the besieged first set going the mill they had erected at the Castle.†

On the same page, Mr. Peacock tells the story of Rainsborough driving back the starving women of the town (21st August), but when he states that "none were stripped" it is needful to point out that, though White-locke says so, Rushworth, who was present at the Leaguer, declares that "four were stripped."‡

The town surrendered on the 27th, not, as Mr. Peacock states, on "the 28th of August,"§ and "Tho. Rainsborough" was one of the Commissioners who signed, on that day, the Articles of Surrender.|| On the following afternoon "Colonel Rainsborough's Regiment," as the Tower Guards were now called, enjoyed with another regiment of foot the privilege of being the first to enter the ruined and famine-stricken town.

(To be continued.)



Deposit of Slag Iron, Nether Wasdale, Cumberland.

BY REV. SAMUEL BARBER.



ABOUT six miles from the Cumberland coast, and a mile from the western end of Wastwater, lies the little village of Nether-Wasdale, commonly known to tourists as "Strands."

Two small inns, a homely-looking farm, a primitive whitewashed church embowered among trees, a tiny school, and quiet vicarage, constitute, together with a farm and a few cottages, one of the most picturesquely situated villages in Lake-land. The only antiquarian remains would seem to be those which I now wish to bring before readers of THE ANTIQUARY, viz., the occurrence of mounds consisting of iron slag, intermixed

with earth and gravel. These mounds are close to the bridge which takes the road from Strands to Wasdale Head, over a brook running into the Irt (this river runs from Wastwater to the sea). They are close to the road and to the stream, and situated on the Nether-Wasdale side of the bridge.

The pieces of metal are mostly flattened in form, and often curiously shaped. They are inserted in the bank in considerable quantities. As far as at present known, there are no remains of any works in the neighbourhood, which is remote from towns. Gosforth, where the noted Runic cross stands in the churchyard (having long lain under ground), is four miles away, and this is not a large village.

In connection with this subject, it is interesting to note the appearance of iron ore upon the side of the Wastwater "Screes."



Greenwich Fair.

BY CORNELIUS WALFORD, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,



PROPOSE now to give an historical sketch of another pleasure fair,—one which was always regarded as essentially a London fair too. I have never seen any attempt to explain its origin. It has, as far as I am aware, no pretended association with purposes of commerce; and my conviction is that it took its rise in the circumstance that at the holidays at Easter and Midsummer the public resorted to Greenwich Park for recreation and amusement; that refreshment stalls were first introduced, and all the rest followed, as of course. It was probably a creation of the present century, or, at the farthest, of the latter half of the last century. Neither Pepys nor Evelyn, in their various notices of Greenwich, makes any mention of the fair; and hence alone we might almost assume that no fair existed. While we speak of "Greenwich Fair," there were, in fact, two fairs, but that of Midsummer was, on account of the season, the one most largely thronged, and that which really became famous.

* Rushworth, p. 1217. § Archaeologia, xlv. 38.

† Ibid., p. 1224. || Rushworth, p. 1244.

‡ Ibid., p. 1237.

While in its prime it was attended by vendors of fruits, gingerbread, ribbons, toys, and all the paraphernalia of a country fair or wake, such as Gay described :—

Pedlars' stalls with glittering toys are laid,
The various fairings of the country maid.
Long silken laces hang upon the twine,
And rows of pins and amber bracelets shine.
Here the tight lass knives, combs, and scissors spies,
And looks on thimbles with desiring eyes.
The mountebank now treads the stage and sells
His pills, his balsams, and his ague-spells :
Now o'er and o'er the nimble tumbler springs,
And on the rope the ventrous maiden swings ;
Jack Pudding, in his party-coloured jacket,
Tosses the glove, and jokes at every packet :
Here raree-shows are seen, and Punch's feats,
And pockets picked in crowds, and various cheats.

While the fair embraced most of these features, still in many of its characteristic features, as its theatres and enormous drinking and dancing booths, it was essentially a London fair. The fine park, the trees, glades, pleasant turf, and the fine view from the Observatory Hill, always have attractions. From this hill on a fine day is seen "the mighty heart of the Empire," yet it is beyond the reach of the beat of its mighty daily and almost nightly turmoil. At the foot of the hill lies that noble palace, built for a monarch's residence, and afterwards ennobled into a refuge from life's storms for the gallant defenders of their country at the approaching close of their life's pilgrimage. Then the bright shining river, alive with the busy ships that bear the commerce of the world. That is the location to which you are invited on a visit to this once famous, but now extinct, pleasure fair.

I shall try and reanimate it for the present purpose. It is *Easter Monday*. At the very dawn of day all the leading avenues towards Greenwich give sign of London's first festival of the year. Working-men and their wives, 'prentices with their sweet-hearts, ruffians and bullies, all are making their way to the fair. Pickpockets and their female companions go later. The greater part of the sojourners are on foot, but vehicles for conveyance are also numerous.

There are to be seen what were called "gooseberry fairs" by the wayside, whereat heats are run upon half-killed horses, or spare and patient donkeys. Here are the bewitching sounds to many a boy's ears of

"A halfpenny ride, O!" and upon that sum being paid in advance the immediately bestrided urchin has full right to "work and labour" the bit of life he bestraddles, for the full space or distance of fifty yards, there and back—the returning half being always accomplished much more rapidly than the outgoing one. Then there is "pricking in the belt," an often exposed but still continued fraud. Besides these there are numerous invitations to take a "shy for a halfpenny" at "a 'bacca-box full o' ha'pence," poised on a stick standing upright in the earth at a reasonable distance for experienced throwers to hit, and therefore win, but which turns out to be a mine of wealth to the costermonger proprietor from the number of unskilled adventurers.

The fair itself is nothing ; the congregated throngs are everything, and fill every place. The Observatory Hill and two or three other eminences in the park are the chief resorts of the less experienced and the vicious. Here is seen the famed running or rolling down the greensward. But these sports soon tire, and group after group succeeds till evening. Before then, the more prudent visitors have retired to some of the numerous houses in the vicinity of the parts whereon is written "Boiling water here," or "Tea and Coffee," and where they take such refreshment as these places and their own imported stores afford, preparatory to their toil home after the day's pleasure.

It is quite the morning of the next day before the roads from Greenwich cease to disgorge incongruities only to be rivalled by the figures and exhibitions in Dutch and Flemish prints! Greenwich fair was truly a day of toilsome pleasure for the masses! Those who have read *Lavengro*, by George Borrow, will recall his description of this fair, in chapter xxiv. :—

At length I find myself in a street or road, with terraces on either side, and seemingly of interminable length, leading, as it would appear, to the south-east. I was walking at a great rate ; there were likewise a great number of people, also walking at a great rate ; and all—men, carts, and carriages—going in the selfsame direction, namely, to the south-east. I stopped for a moment, and deliberated whether or not I should proceed. What business had I in that direction? I could not say that I had any particular business in that direction, but what could I do were I

to turn back? Only walk about well-known streets; and if I must walk, why not continue in the direction in which I was to see whither the road and its terraces led? I was here in *terra incognita*, and an unknown place had always some interest for me; moreover, I had a desire to know whither all this crowd was going, and for what purpose. I thought they could not be going far, as crowds seldom go far. . . .

I reached in about three-quarters of an hour a kind of low dingy town in the neighbourhood of the river; the streets were swarming with people, and I concluded, from the number of wild-beast shows, caravans, gingerbread stalls, and the like, that a fair was being held. Now, as I had always been partial to fairs, I felt glad that I had fallen in with the crowd which had conducted me to this present one, and, casting away as much as I was able all gloomy thoughts, I did my best to enter into the diversions of the fair; staring at the wonderful representations of animals on canvas hung up before the shows of wild beasts, which, by-the-by, are frequently found much more worthy of admiration than the real beasts themselves; listening to the jokes of the Merry-Andrews from the platforms in front of the temporary theatres, or admiring the splendid tinsel dresses of the performers, who thronged the stages in the intervals of the entertainments; and in this manner, occasionally gazing and occasionally listening, I passed through the town till I came in front of a large edifice looking full upon the majestic bosom of the Thames.

It was a massive stone edifice, built in an antique style and black with age, with a broad esplanade between it and the river, on which, mixed with a few people from the fair, I observed moving about a great many individuals in quaint dresses of blue, with strange three-cornered hats on their heads; most of them were mutilated: this had a wooden leg—this wanted an arm: some had but one eye; and as I gazed upon the edifice, and the singular individuals who moved before it, I guessed where I was. "I am at—," said I; "these individuals are battered tars of Old England, and this edifice, once the favourite abode of glorious Elizabeth, is the refuge which a grateful country has allotted to them. Here they can rest their weary bodies; at their ease talk over the actions in which they have been injured; and with the tear of enthusiasm flowing from their eyes, boast how they have trod the deck of fame with Rodney, or Nelson, or others whose names stand emblazoned in the naval annals of their country."

Turning to the right, I entered a park or wood, consisting of numerous trees, occupying the fort sides and top of a hill which rose behind the town, where were throngs of people among the trees diverting themselves in various ways. Coming to the top of the hill, I was presently stopped by a lofty wall, along which I walked, till, coming to a small gate, I passed through, and found myself on an extensive green plain, on one side, bounded in part by the wall of the park, and on the other, in the distance, by extensive ranges of houses; to the south-east was a lofty eminence, partly closed with wood. The plain exhibited an animated scene, a kind of continuation of the fair below; there were multitudes upon it, many tents, and shows; there was also horse-racing, and much noise, and shouting; the sun was shining brightly overhead.

1818.—Greenwich fair constituted a place of very popular resort at this period. The Easter fair was the opening of the London fairseason. The Whitsuntide fair was perhaps more aristocratically attended. At these fairs Richardson's Show always occupied the best position. John Cartlitch, the original representative of Mazeppa, and James Barns, afterwards famous as the pantaloon of the Covent Garden pantomimes, were members of Richardson's company at this time; and it was joined at Greenwich by Nelson Lee, well known to the present generation as an enterprising theatrical manager and a prolific producer of pantomimes: but at this time fresh from school, with no other experience of theatrical business than he had gained during a brief engagement as a supernumerary at the old Royalty to serve as the foundation of the fame to which he aspired. This and some of the following notes are drawn from Frost's *Old Showmen and Old London Fairs*, 1875.

1823.—Shows were excluded from the fair this year,—Hone says, at the instance of the magistrates, who were now moving towards suppressing it altogether. But a score of booths for drinking and dancing were there, only two of which, Algars and the Albion, made any charge for admission to the "assembly room"; the charge for tickets at these being a shilling and sixpence respectively. Algar's booth was 323 ft. long by 60 ft. wide, 70 ft. of the length constituting the refreshment department, and the rest of the space being devoted to dancing to the music of two harps, three violins, bass viol, two clarionets, and flute.

1837.—Richardson had died before the Whitsuntide fair, and his theatre had passed into other hands. It was this year placed at the extreme west end of the fair, near the bridge at Deptford Creek. The newly-introduced Esmeralda dance was a great success, and Oscar Byrne, who had arranged the ballet for the Adelphi, visited the theatre and complimented Lee on the manner in which it was produced. The drama was *The Tyrant Doge*, and the pantomime arranged for Lee for the occasion had local colour given to it, and the local title of *One Tree Hill*. The season opened very favourably, though both the management and the public experienced considerable annoyance from a party of dissolute

young men, of whom the Marquis of Waterford was one, who threw nuts at the actors, and talked and laughed loudly throughout the performance.

It was about this period that a most facetious little tract was published:—*Cruikshank's Trip to Greenwich Fair; a Whimsical Record, containing the Humorous Adventures of Peter Grace and his three Daughters; also of their Nine Friends, the Muses, etc.; together with a Description of the Various Amusements in Greenwich Park, the Fair, etc., etc. With Illustrations on Wood*, by Robert Cruikshank.

Hail! morn of chilling frost and hail!

Good Friday—hot-cross-bun day;

But cross-grained is the whelp that hails

Hail, upon Easter Monday!

Hail! six weeks afterwards—to wit

That ever glorious fun-day—

When frost and hail give place to sun,

Upon a fair Whit Monday.

Of those important Mondays two,

All who wish "up to flare,"

The park-bound Fair of Greenwich seek,

At gas-lit Greenwich Fair. . . .

1839.—This year a tragic event happened at the fair. The practice of having female performers with the lions, tigers, etc., in the menageries had recently been introduced. Wombwell's menagerie was at the fair. Helen Blight, the daughter of a musician, became the "Lion Queen" for the occasion. During her performance a tiger exhibited some sullenness or waywardness, for which she struck it with a riding-whip she carried. With a terrible roar the infuriated beast sprang upon her, seized her by the throat, and killed her before she could be rescued. This melancholy affair led to the prohibition of such performances by women; but "Lion Kings" still exhibited as before.

It was believed that at this date the fair was visited by not less than a quarter of a million of people.

1840. James Grant, in his *Sketches of London*, published this year, gives (2nd Edition, p. 306) the following details regarding this fair:—

There were congregated in the narrow limits of perhaps one hundred and fifty yards long by six or seven yards broad, a mass of human beings, numbering, I should think, not less than thirty thousand. They were so densely packed together that it was quite a Herculean task to force one's way through them. On either side of the market-place were stalls and

caravans, and other things to which I know not what name to give, of all sizes and descriptions. I hold it impossible that any human being, be his imagination as fertile as it may, could previously have formed any idea of the vast variety of expedients which were resorted to at this fair, with the view of eliciting money from the pockets of the visitors. Of etables of all descriptions, there was a most abundant supply; . . . Of showy articles, or things which were merely intended to please the eye, there was also a most liberal supply. . . .

In the article of "sights" again Greenwich fair was, if that were possible, still more amply supplied. You would have fancied, from the number of caravans, booths, and other places for the exhibition of wonders of all kinds—artificial and natural—that the marvels of the whole world had been congregated within the limited space appropriated to Greenwich fair. The seven wonders of the world is a phrase which became familiar to us in our younger years: . . . here we had instead of seven at least a hundred wonders of the world. And what was worthy of observation was that every individual wonder was more wonderful—that is to say, if you took the proprietor's word for it—than any other wonder. The great difficulty with those who had but little copper in their pockets,—though, peradventure, abundantly supplied with another well-known metal in their faces,—the great difficulty with them was to make a selection. The figures which were daubed on the canvas which was displayed at the front of the caravans and other wooden erections, were most inviting; indeed, as is usually the case, the representation far surpassed the things represented. But in addition to the attack they made on your curiosity and your pockets, through the medium of your eyes, there were dead sets made at your ears. Nothing could exceed the earnestness or the eloquence with which the various proprietors of exhibitions praised the articles exhibited. . . .

1850. A disorderly scene occurred this year. A practical joke was played by a soldier upon a young man who resented it, and then fled from the soldier up the steps of the parade waggon. Nelson Lee, the proprietor, interposed for the protection of the young man; other soldiers in the crowd rushed to the assistance of their comrade. The actors fled, leaving the proprietor alone to defend himself and property. The soldiers next commenced to break down the front of the theatre. The constables now interfered, and some of the offenders were arrested, and committed for trial at the Old Bailey Sessions. Johnson and Richardson withdrew from the prosecution, apparently on the understanding that the officers of the regiments to which the men belonged would make some compensation; which, however, was not carried out.

1852. Johnson and Lees' Theatre appeared at Greenwich for the last time. About this period the company had been joined by James Robson, who afterwards became a famous comedian at the Olympic. In the following year the property of the company was disposed of by public auction.

1857. The fair was ordered to be discontinued. The end had come. A writer of the period gives the following account of the last holding of the fair :—

At the entrances to all the streets of Greenwich, notices from the magistrates were posted, that they were determined to put down the fair ; and accordingly not a show was to be seen in the place wherein the fair had of late been held. Booths were fitting up for dancing and refreshment at night ; but neither Richardson's nor any other itinerant company of performers was there. There were gingerbread stalls, but no learned pig, no dwarf, no giant, no fire-eater, no exhibition of any kind. There was a large roundabout of wooden horses for boys, and a few swings, none of them half filled. . . . There were several parties playing "kiss in the ring." . . . On the hill the runners were abundant, and the far greater number were in appearance and manners devoid of that vulgarity and grossness from whence it might be inferred that the sport was in any way improper. . . . There were about two thousand persons in this [the Crown and Anchor] booth at one time. In the fair there were twenty other dancing booths. . . . At eleven o'clock stages from Greenwich to London were in full request, . . . and though the footpaths were crowded with passengers, yet all the inns in Greenwich and on the road were thoroughly filled. Certainly the greater part of the visitors were mere spectators of the scene.—Hone's *Every-Day Book*, i., 694.



London in 1669.

BY J. THEODORE BENT.

THE following account of London is undated, and without any clue to the name of the writer. It is written in excellent Italian, and from the fact that it alludes to the fire as a recent event, we may presume that it was written about 1669, the year that Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, paid a visit to England. The MS. is, with some of Count Magalotti's correspondence, relative to this visit, and the probabilities are that it was written by the Florentine ambassador, resident in London at that time—one

Antelminelli, whose father had been an exile from Lucca, and had found a refuge in our island. Young Antelminelli, if not actually born in London, had spent the greater part of his life there, which will account for his intimate knowledge of our affairs :—

Before the fire there were 130 parishes in London, of which 93 were burnt. The inhabitants of the city, according to very accurate calculations, amount to 384,000. There were in all 13,000 houses burnt down. The houses already begun, and more than half finished, of which the greater part will be habitable next year, amount to from 5,000 to 6,000. Those which are completed, and are already reinhabited, are over 3,000. Wood, except for the ceilings, beams, and panels, is banished from the new buildings, which are entirely built of brick, and are adorned outside with palings painted blue and tipped with gold. The architecture is good, and all are obliged to follow with little difference the same design.

Before the fire there were always to be found a thousand carriages up and down the city, now they are reduced to about five hundred, because of the smaller necessity for them, commerce having entirely left that part of the city destroyed by fire. They are paid at the rate of one shilling the hour, which is 12 *soldi*, and the first hour 6 *soldi* besides, which makes 18 *soldi*. They are never paid for less than an hour, however short the journey may be which is made in them.

Of ferry boats on the Thames—that is to say, of very light skiffs with two oars—there are over a thousand ; to cross the river one pays 6 *soldi*, and to go up or down it, that is, from Westminster to the bridge, the same. To pass the bridge, if only for two single strokes, the price is doubled. In these skiffs six people can go conveniently enough, with two rowers ; if there is one rower one only pays 6 *soldi*.

At night at all the corners of the town are continually to be found boys with little lanterns to light people home ; they are paid at discretion, there not being any fixed price ; for being accompanied a mile in the streets one would pay about 4 *soldi*.

In some places there are chairs, but to tell the truth they are not many ; they are paid like carriages, but they come dearer, as they only hold one, whilst carriages hold four.

The porters who stand at nearly all the corners of the streets are most reliable men, and are sent, not only with parcels, but with money, letters, jewels, or any other valuable thing. To go from Westminster to the city one gives them one shilling, and they are obliged to bring back in writing the receipt of the recipient of your message. They wear a large white cloth across their breast, like a scarf, tied at the hip, which they use to wrap up their parcels, or to aid in carrying a burden of an awkward shape or great weight. Before taking up the business they are obliged to give good security for their honesty.

Coffee houses, where coffee is sold publicly, and not alone coffee, but other beverages, such as chocolate, sherbet, tea, ale, cock-ale, beer, etc., according to the season. In these houses there are diverse rooms, or meeting-places of newsmongers, where one hears all that is, or is thought to be news, true or false as

may be. In winter, to sit round a large fire and to smoke for two hours costs but 2 *soldi*; if you drink, you pay besides for all that you consume.

There are two theatres for comedy, and three companies, all English. The first is called His Majesty's, the second that of the Duke, and the third is no more than a school for young comedians, who sometimes recite in the theatres, habituate themselves to the stage, and at times enter the other companies aforesaid. They rehearse every day during the whole year, except the Sundays; these days are here universally sanctified with superstitious devotion. The country inns on the highroads will not give horses to passengers without a license. In London neither chairs nor carriages are to be found at the stands, so that he who wishes to have one must order it the Saturday evening before. The inns and taverns in London will not deal except secretly, and keep their doors closed till the prayers of the day are over in the evening. In Lent there is only comedy four times a week—Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; in Holy week, never.

A paragraph follows this not quite so much to the credit of our ancestors, which we will pass over, and proceed with the next piece of information.

The houses which are known by the name of inns are for the most part most noble, and are all superbly furnished, so that persons of high quality, as well women as men, do not make the smallest scruple of going to them. There are also a great quantity of "ordinaries," which in France would be called *bons traiteurs*,—that is to say, people who provide dinners and suppers,—some kept by Englishmen and some by Frenchmen, where the first gentlemen of the Court go in the morning with the same frequency that the gentlemen of Florence go to the inns in the evening, to flee from subjection, and to enjoy liberty.

The difference between taverns and ordinaries is that people generally go to the first to drink—not that you cannot sometimes eat in the former, or that you may never drink in the latter, but that is out of the ordinary way, and in such a case the hosts are out of their element; the matter of fact is that both the one and the other are very dear.

There are an infinite number of beer shops, where every sort of drink in the country is sold; of these I have counted as many as thirty-two kinds. These places are not very extravagant, and they are nearly always to be found full, downstairs crowded with the rabble, and upstairs with every condition of men, from artisans to gentlemen. They differ in this point from the taverns—namely, that in those they drink Spanish wine, which here they call sack, wines of the Canaries, Malaga, and Bourdeaux, Muscat, and other valuable foreign wines, whilst in the beershops there is nothing but ale, cock-ale, Butter ale, Lambeth ale, and the like.

There are other more common and cheaper "ordinaries," where they serve lackeys and other poor people. They eat very coarsely, however, in these places, and do not drink any wine. For 12 *soldi* you may have three dishes, all of which consist of beef, veal, mutton, or lamb, according to the season.

Before the fire there were six different tennis courts, all built in the French fashion. Now there are only four, two having been burnt. The finest is that belonging to the king, just opposite the palace, with which there is communication by a gallery over an arch. The king has a bedroom there to change his clothes in, the window of which, guarded by an iron grating, looks upon the game. They generally play there three times a week, in the morning, in vests suited to the purpose.

In St. James' Park they play the game of mall on a ground thirty measured paces in length, and, after the ground at Utrecht, it is absolutely the finest I have ever seen.

In divers parts of the town are games of bowls. The garden of Lambeth on the other side of the river and others near the town serve all the year round as walks, and are supplied with hostelrys and houses of ill-repute. For the same object was fabricated a short time ago the "Court of Neptune," called in vulgar parlance "the Folly." This is a great wooden edifice built on boats, which at the commencement of the season is taken down to the river, and because the size of the machine does not permit of its being easily moved it is dragged by cords, and generally moored between Somerset House, where the Queen-Mother lives, and Whitehall, but at the opposite side of the river. Around the deck of the bark is a balcony with balustrades, which surrounds a gallery, divided into more than thirty little rooms, each capable of containing a table and a few chairs. These rooms open on the inside, each with its own door, which communicates with the court of the palace. At the four corners of this erection rise four turrets, which give room on another floor for four little apartments more retired, and more free. On the roof is a bowling ground, protected on both sides by a balustrade of wood; it is painted white over the whole outside, so that it appears like a gay house built on an island in the middle of the river.

Three amusements are to be found in London for the entertainment of the lowest of the people—namely, prize-fights, bull and bear-fights, and cock-fights, on all of which there is a great deal of betting.

At the first of these, which I imagine to be the most curious, but at which I have unfortunately never been present, they fight with swords, pointless indeed, and with blunted edges, but notwithstanding, they very frequently inflict severe wounds upon one another.

The bulls and bears are brought into a theatre, built on purpose at the other side of the town—that is to say, across the river; it is all surrounded by rows of seats. The bear is tied by a cord to a post in the middle of this theatre, long enough to allow him to describe a circle of about seven or eight paces; mastiffs are then let loose upon him, which are supposed to attack him in front; those dogs which do otherwise—attacking him, for instance, on the flanks or the ears—are deemed of no account. The betting here is really tremendous.

Exactly the same thing is done at the bull fights. The horns and testicles of the animals are protected, so that they may not be injured, and that when they toss the dogs in the air they may not wound them.

It is really a very fine sight to see the dogs tossed up into the air, and then, after performing several evolutions, fall down to the ground again. More de-

lightful still it is to see their owners rushing in, who are generally butchers, or that class of folk with whom the lower part of the theatre is generally filled; these men rush in stooping down, so as to receive the dogs on their shoulders, and break their fall on the spot where they see they are about to descend, for it often happens that the impetus is so severe, that they come to the ground with a tremendous bang. Sometimes several of the owners will rush at the same moment to the same spot, and form most absurd groups, and it is most ridiculous to see how, when the infuriated bull is about to rush upon them, they tear away shouting and in a great scare.

The places made for the cock-fights are a sort of little theatre, where the spectators sit all round on steps under cover.

At the bottom of these is a round table six *braccia* in diameter, or thereabouts, and raised about two *braccia* from the ground; it is covered with matting all stained with the blood of cocks.

The days on which they are going to have the contests are always advertised by large printed bills, stuck up at all the corners of the streets, and distributed through the city. When a large crowd of people has been got together, two cocks are brought out in sacks by two of those men whose business it is to breed them and look after them. One of these men goes in at one side of the theatre, and the other at the opposite entrance, and having taken their cocks out of the bags, they hold them in their hands whilst the first betting is going on, which everyone does without any rule or regulation whatsoever, being solely actuated by his own judgment, which makes him fancy one cock more than another.

The cocks have their wings cut and their crests removed. They are not generally finely-grown birds, but are very strong, and of extraordinary pluck. Half-way up their legs they are armed with a kind of spur, of very sharp steel, with which, when they flutter up into the air, and come to close quarters with their beaks, they wound each other severely.

As soon as they are set at liberty the combatants glare at each other for a little while, and fix each other with their eyes. They then proceed to the contest with their necks stretched out, and all their feathers ruffled. At first they approach one another slowly, step by step; then all of a sudden they dart at one another, flapping their wings to raise themselves from the ground so as to attack each other in mid-air, and wound one another with their beaks with such fury that at the commencement you would think that a very keen contest was going to ensue. However, the truth is that they tire themselves by degrees, and the end becomes very tedious—simply reducing itself to this: that one sets to work to kill the other by the sheer fury of its pecking on the head and eyes of its enemy, which part of the scene will last over a quarter of an hour, and sometimes nearly half an hour.

During the time that the contest lasts you hear a perpetual buzz amongst those who are betting, who are doubling, trebling—nay, even quadrupling—their original bets; and there are those who make new ones, according as they see how the cocks are getting on. It often happens that when one of the birds appears to be conquered, and on the point of death, it will become restored to such wonderful vigour that

it vanquishes the stronger and kills him, and when it happens, as in the last case, that the beaten cock seems roused up to courage again, then are the wildest bets made—twenty, thirty, or a hundred to one. Sometimes it happens that both birds are left dead on the field of battle; sometimes when the first is dead, the other will drag itself on to the body of its enemy, and with the little breath that remains to it will flap its wings and crow for victory. After this he will lay himself down to die.

When one duel is finished, other cocks are brought on as long as there are people left to ask for them. You pay a shilling to enter, which goes into the purse of those who for this end breed the cocks. So that six or eight couples of cocks, which do not always die on the same day, are paid for with the sum of from forty to fifty crowns. This race of animal is not so plucky when once it is taken out of the island, it having been proved that in Normandy they do not do as well as in England. The hatred between them is natural, so that immediately they cease to be chickens they have to be fed separately, otherwise they would quickly kill one another.

In London there are several places where you can go and take walks with ladies, and these are St. James' Park, Gray's Inn Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the Temple, which are universities for students of law. Here you may always find masked women, with whom, if you wish to enter into conversation, you are certain not to be refused. It sometimes happens that in the course of conversation you may chance to touch on subjects of a tender nature.

Driving about in carriages does not commence till after Easter, and by the first of May the great meadow of Hyde Park is very full. They drive around in divers concentric circles, in rows which are sometimes four deep.



Legends, Traditions, and Superstitions of Mecklenburgh.

BY JESSIE YOUNG.

PART II.



AS may well be imagined, in any part of the native country of *Faust*, the dismal story of men selling themselves to Satan, sealing the compact by signing their names in their blood, and enjoying wealth and prosperity for a number of years, but being ultimately carried away by the evil one, is a tale that frequently occurs in all German folk-lore. Herr Bartsch gives us numerous stories of that description in his collection of Mecklenburgh legends. Here is one in which, wonderful to relate, the man escaped his doom. It is related as having taken place at Ankershagen:

In the pastor's garden at Ankershagen (so runs the

tale) there stands a venerable lime-tree, probably the oldest and largest in all Mecklenburgh. The following tradition is related of it :

A fisherman, who plied his calling in the neighbouring lake, signed away, in a period of great need, his soul to Satan, in order that he might obtain the necessaries of life. Rescued from the cruel grip of want, and indeed enabled for some years to live in comfort, the man saw, however, to his horror, the time drawing near when the evil being he had invoked in his distress would claim his rights upon him. Despairing of escape in any other way, on the evening of the fateful day the man fastened himself to his anchor, in the hope that the devil would be unable to carry him away with such a weight attached to him. But he was disappointed, the evil one managed to carry both him and the anchor away ; but the lime-tree put a stop to his flight, the anchor stuck in its stem, and though Satan tugged with all his might and main, he could not loosen its hold there. Morning broke, and the fisherman was saved. The hole which the anchor made in the stem of the tree is still shown. As a memorial, the anchor was fastened on to the church-door, and the name of the village, Ankershagen, is said to have been derived from the circumstance.

More likely, we think, the legend was invented to account for the name. Such has often occurred in various places, in connection with some rather peculiar local name. In the following grim story, the compact with Satan had to be literally carried out. It is one of the numerous stories of stains of blood still visible as ocular proof of the truth of legends, but has this peculiarity, that the stain here is only visible during a continuance of rainy weather.

Between Rostock and Ribnitz, about a quarter-of-an-hour's walk from the high-road, lies the estate of Niederhagen. Many years ago, so runs the tale, this estate was inhabited by a certain Herr von Hagemeister, who had led a wild, dissipated, ungodly life. He was a hard, tyrannical landlord, who treated his tenants very ill, and rumour said that he and his wife had made a pact with Satan.

On a certain stormy and rainy day, the evil one got the mastery over Herr von Hagemeister, and flew away with him through the ceiling of the sitting-room. Frau von Hagemeister, who had tried to escape into the cellar, was pursued by the fiend, and found dead upon the cellar staircase. Of her husband no trace was ever found, except a large spot of blood upon the ceiling, which marked the place through which Satan had carried him after their struggle. To this very day they continue to show you, after there

has been a long continuance of rain, a moist spot.

That there should be a moist spot in a room after wet weather seems a phenomenon scarcely requiring a tale of horror to explain it ; but there are several varieties of this legend. According to one of them it was a farmer who entered into an agreement with Satan. In this story the man one day told his wife, that when he was gone she was to travel in the same cart, drawn by the same horse he had himself used. Shortly after he had said this, a man came riding on a grey horse, and asked to see the master of the house. When he had gone they found the farmer dead, and stains of blood were perceived in the room. The wife was soon after carried away by the evil one.

In one of the stories the man gets the better of Satan, instead of Satan getting the better of the man, and the fiend is ultimately imprisoned.

On the way from Dreilützen to Wittemberg (so runs the story) you pass a thicket which lies close beside the high-road. Everyone passing along this road without repeating a paternoster, used formerly to be breathed upon by the evil one, and to get in consequence a swelled face or singing in the ears. If horses or cows passed along that way, the fiend would drive them about with such diabolical energy that the former went lame in consequence, and the latter lost their milk.

Now there was at one time living at Dreilützen, a peasant proprietor, who had a good deal to suffer from those visits of the evil one, because his cattle had often to pass through that particular thicket. He determined to take the enemy by stratagem, and accordingly dug, with the help of his labourers, a deep pit, and hearing that the evil being had a good human liking for food prepared with eggs, got his wife to bake a large batch of pancakes. As soon as the pit was dug, he sent his men into a neighbouring wood, where they were to lie in ambush, and when he called them, to come quickly to him, armed with good stout sticks. He then procured a sack large enough to hold six bushels of wheat, put the pancakes inside it, and stretched the mouth very widely open. It was not long before the devil made his appearance, and jumped into the sack to get at the pancakes. The man, however, with great presence of mind, tied up the sack and cried out to his men, who came speedily at his call with their big sticks, and gave the foul fiend such a drubbing that he began to writhe and wriggle about like a worm. At last he began to cry for mercy, and promised mountains of gold, and even greater things, if he were released ; but our farmer would not allow himself to be bribed, knowing well that the devil never keeps his promises. He was flung, sack and all, into the pit, and one shovelful of earth after another was thrown upon him, until sack and pit were alike full. The

fiend lay in his sack in the pit, with eight feet of earth upon him. How long he lay there is not told, but ever since then he has avoided the neighbourhood of Dreilützen.

¶ This highly material and realistic view of the being whom Scripture shadows forth to us as a spiritual agency, a principle of evil, is thoroughly North German. The device of clapping Satan into a sack by means of tempting pancakes, is one that would never have occurred to one of a more imaginative, or at least less realistic nation. The following story is very sabbatarian in its tendency. Plucking nuts on Sunday morning seems to have been regarded in Mecklenburgh as plucking the ears of corn on the Sabbath was by the Pharisees. The story is variously related—in some versions it is a boy, in some a woman, that is the subject of it. We will give what Herr Bartsch evidently thinks the most correct version.

A boy went on a Sunday forenoon into the wood to get nuts. He was perceived by the evil one, who would have carried him away or done some harm to him, but was unable to do so, because the lad had got some of the plant valerian* in his shoes. The fiend therefore took his departure, but exclaimed as he went along :—

Harrest du nich den Bullerjan
Ik wult mit di Noetflücken gan,
Dat di dei Agen sullen in 'n Nacken stan.

Which precious piece of patois may be freely rendered—

If thou hadst not the valerian worn,
Plucking those nuts on the Sabbath morn
Would cause thine eyes to thy neck to be torn.

Among the numerous versions of this story, one relates that the boy had brass buckles to his shoes, which caught the saving plant; another, that some children were plucking nuts as they went along, when they met an ugly man who stretched out his withered hands towards them, but retreated on seeing the valerian, exclaiming "*Wie widert das ! Wie widert das !*" According to a third version it was a woman, who, hearing something rustling in the bushes, was greatly alarmed, and on running away, heard some one uttering a rhyme similar to the one we have quoted.

* German superstition doubtless endows this plant with the possession of magical virtues. It is described in Hill's *Herbal* as being efficacious against headaches, low spirits, and trembling of the limbs.

This story, so widely spread, is of little interest, except from the sabbatarian feeling shown, and the belief in the virtues of the valerian.

Akin to the subject of satanic influence is that of witchcraft, concerning which, as may be imagined, Mecklenburgh folk-lore has much to say. Perhaps no country was so strongly affected by the witch-mania of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Germany. These witch-stories have no particular individuality to distinguish them from legends current in other localities. One, in which the unfortunate victim to this cruel superstition was a poor *man*, not *woman*, has a certain sort of poetry beyond what is generally to be found in this collection. It is as follows :—

Of the old castle at Penglin many terrible stories are told, in connection with persons apprehended on the charge of witchcraft. A vault is still shown there as "the Witches' Cellar," which lies from eighteen to twenty steps below the actual cellar of the castle. The niches are still shown there, to the walls of which the witches were fastened by means of an iron stake placed over the breast. In the upper cellar is shown the so-called "burning oven," in which persons accused of witchcraft were burnt. The last who so perished is said to have been a cowherd, who took charge of the lord of the manor's cattle. One of the cows under his care not giving her milk so well as before, an evil-disposed woman declared the animal to have been bewitched, and accused the poor cowherd of having done it. The man stoutly denied the charge. He was condemned to die at the stake. Before his death, however, he declared his conviction that God would make his innocence manifest, and behold, on the following morning, three marvellously beautiful flowers, which no one had ever before seen, were growing before the castle gate.

The latter and more poetical portion of this legend has parallels in other parts of Germany and the north. One, which has furnished Dr. Simrock with his ballad of "God's Tears," is striking. A maiden, brought to the scaffold under a false charge, declared that if no mortal wept for her, God would. No mercy, however, was shown to her, but after her execution large drops of rain fell from an entirely cloudless sky. But the sad circumstance in these tales is that the victim's innocence is never represented as being vindicated *before* death.

From witchcraft we naturally turn to the belief in animal-transformation, a branch, indeed, of the same subject. Lycanthropy, that strange superstition which at one time prevailed

over Europe, and had its counterpart in other parts of the world, is represented by several instances in this collection, but it is not only into wolves that persons dealing with occult science are here represented as being transformed; horses, cows, dogs, owls, foxes, hares, especially *three-legged* hares, share the same honour. The transformation is detected by some one wounding one of these mysterious animals, and then finding that the witch has a wound in the same identical part of the body as the creature has. On one occasion a woman, who has been in the habit of going about bewitching the live-stock of her neighbours in the shape of a fox, returns home to find her husband back from his day's work, and, in great alarm at being discovered, rushes through the back door, and tries to hide herself in bed, but the tail of the creature hangs out. The man seeing this, runs for his axe to kill the fox, "but before he returns his wife is in her bed, and the fox, tail and all, has disappeared."

This singular belief has scarcely yet died out among the common people of Mecklenburgh. At a place called Klein-Luckow, near Teterow, it was believed so recently as the year 1850 that an old woman living there had the power of transforming herself into a three-legged hare. In the village of Karbow, near Lütz, a man and his wife were in the habit every year of stealing cabbages from the neighbouring gardens. If surprised in the act, they had the power of transforming themselves into hares, which were without the right hind-leg. If any one injured either of these hares, he was sure on the third day after to die a miserable death.

Another superstition was that these magic, or, as we may call them, possessed, animals, could only be wounded by some particular kind of silver bullet. Herr Ackermann, of Schwerin, communicated the following legend on this subject to Herr Bartsch:—

Some men working on the estate of Gülzow, in misty weather, saw several times through the haze a hare running along upon three legs. They asked a sportsman to shoot the animal, but he was unable to hit it. At length an old woman gave it as her advice that the gun should be charged with silver that had been inherited. Accordingly a silver button that had gone down from father to son was put in it. The mysterious animal vanished, but a thresher in the farm-yard at Gülzow, who had the reputation of being

a wizard, fell down bleeding upon the threshing-floor, and in his wound was found the silver button.

Of course there are the usual stories about black dogs, grey pigs, red cows and calves, and black horses, though a grey horse, "Schimmelpferd," seems the most uncanny. Odin, it will be remembered, rides on a "Schimmel" when he appears among mortals. There is also a curious story about a ghastly black goat haunting the neighbourhood of Gustrow.

Haunted houses appear to be as common in this part of Germany as they are in England. Especially frequent are the white ladies who "walk," to use the technical phrase of the believer in ghosts. The Blücher family (we do not know whether it is that of the great Prussian general) possess the privilege of a white, or rather grey lady, who comes before any member of their family is going to die. This ancestral lady, "banshee" one might almost say, appears in a grey dress and white cap, and is distinguished by having a sharp-pointed nose. This not very beautiful vision appeared when the sister of the last Blücher of Wietow died. "The mother of the invalid," writes Herr Bartsch's informant,

had quitted the sick room for a few minutes, and on her return found the grey lady bending over her daughter's bed. On the mother entering the apartment she got up and made with her hand a gesture to enjoin silence. On the following day the daughter died. The ghostly ancestress is often seen, especially about midnight. The servants of the castle rose on one occasion at an unusually early hour in the morning to get some baking done. One of them, leaving the bakehouse for the dwelling, to procure something, beheld a female figure, whom he at first took for the housekeeper, to whom he had something to say. He followed the figure, therefore, but after leading him on from room to room she suddenly disappeared.

The guardian-ancestress (*Ahnfrau*) who appears from time to time in the mansions and castles of her descendants, particularly when there is to be a death in the family, seems to be an especial privilege accorded to noble German houses. The reigning imperial family of the Hohenzollerns have, we believe, a white lady of their own, appearing before every death in the family.

The river Elde at Slaten, near Parchim, is believed to be the abode of a singular being, something like the Scotch Kelpie, only of the female sex, known as the "Water-

Mohm.* There are two versions of her legend related by Herr Bartsch; one is as follows:

As the pastor of the parish was one evening walking along the banks of the river, he heard a hollow voice rising out of it and saying: "The hour is at hand, but the boy not yet" (*De stunn is da, awer de knaw noch nich*).† The clergyman felt much alarmed, and turned his steps homewards towards the village, when there met him a boy, who, on being asked where he was going, replied that he was on his way to the water-side to get snails and mussels. "Don't do that," replied the pastor. "I'll give you a shilling if you go to my house and fetch me my Bible." The boy hurried away to execute the commission, and speedily returned, Bible in hand, just as the pastor was passing a road-side inn. "I'll go on to the water-side now," said the boy, but the pastor again begged him not to do so, but to go into the inn and get himself a glass of beer. Again the lad obeyed, but as soon as he had drunk the beer he fell down dead. "The hour had come of which the voice had prophesied, and the boy also."

This story, in spite of its very German and prosaic element of beer-drinking, and collecting snails for food, has a certain vague, grim ghastliness about it, which makes it the more striking. The following is very similar, though with a less tragical ending.

A miller, living at Hohen-Luckow, near Doberan, was on his way home from Schwerin. It was winter-time, and as his road led him past the Schwerin Lake, he perceived that the surface of the water was covered with a thin coating of ice. As he went along his way, he heard a voice, apparently rising from the depths of the water, which said, "Tid und Stund is da, awer de Mensch noch nich" (The time and the hour have come, but not the man).‡ While he was thinking over these strange words, and pondering over what the meaning of them could be, he saw a figure rapidly approaching him. In spite of the severe cold the man was in his shirt sleeves, his coat being thrown over his arm. The miller, astonished at this strange apparition, tried to stop him, and inquired the cause of his urgent haste.

"Good friend," he said, just as a pretext for stopping him, "can't you give me a little fire to light my pipe with."

But the stranger paid no attention to his request, and the miller, struck with the wildness of the man's demeanour, determined by some means or other to stop him. Accordingly he endeavoured to draw him into conversation, and began asking him what he was in such a hurry about. The stranger replied that, cost

what it might, he must be in Schwerin by a certain hour. On the miller telling him that that would be impossible, the man replied that he would walk there across the lake. Now, thought the miller, I must use force with him. He seized hold of the man, who wrestled with him with the energy of a maniac, and only sheer bodily exertion caused the stranger at length to yield. At last the mysterious man heaved a deep sigh as if he were just awakening from a bad dream, and he then told the miller that he had, as it were, been driven by an irresistible force to cross the lake, but that there was no necessity for his going to Schwerin, and that he would turn back with him. Before they parted he thanked the miller in the warmest manner for his preservation, and told him that had it not been for his arrival at that moment, he would then have been at the bottom of the lake.

Numerous are the spectre-stories in this collection, "Blue Mantle," "Jäger Brandt," "Jäger Glaudt," "Jäger Jenns," "Juch-hans," "Klatt-hammel," "Klas Panz," "The headless one," and numerous other hobgoblins being supposed to appear from time to time to the solitary and belated traveller, though it seldom or never appears that they do any mischief to anybody. Most of these seem to be the ghosts of men and women, who in life enjoyed no particularly good reputation. Jäger Jenns is only one of the many versions of the Wild Huntsman. None of these legends seem in any way connected with history, except the following, which relates to comparatively recent historical events.

At Herzberg, in the Lubzer district, a Frenchman was, in the year 1812, buried alive by the exasperated peasantry. His ghost is said to appear as a light that floats upon his grave every night from September to November, at ten o'clock. A shepherd from Herzberg, who tried to strike at it with his staff, was immediately struck dead.

The following legend has its parallel in various other localities:

In the neighbourhood of Parchim stood formerly the castle of Kiekindemark. A high-born damsel, residing in this castle, once dared a knight who was in love with her, to prove his courage by galloping on horseback up and down the steepest part of the castle hill, promising, if he complied with this request, that she would become his. The young knight paid for his foolhardiness the penalty of his life, and the lady found no rest for the agony of her remorse, even in the grave. She still appears in a white dress, sometimes in the Sonnenberg Hill, sometimes in the neighbourhood of Kiekindemark, most frequently on dark nights, but sometimes also in the middle of the day, because it was at noon that the fatal ride took place.*

* Mohm is evidently from Muhme, female relation, old woman. Water is one of the instances in which words, different from the English equivalent in correct modern German, are identical with it in North-German patois. The Scotch would translate Water-Muhme as "Water-wife."

† "Die Stunde ist dort, aber der Knabe noch nicht."

‡ Zeit und Stunde ist dort, aber der Mensch noch nicht.

* An interesting and romantic tale, turning on this or a similar story, appeared in *London Society* some nineteen or twenty years ago.

Here is a tragic-comic sort of legend :

On the road between Eldena and Bresegard, you come to a little brook, the bridge over which goes by the name of the Spööken Brügg (Spuken Brücke, haunted bridge), or more commonly, for shortness, merely Spööken. This bridge does not enjoy a very canny reputation, it being supposed that an ox appears on it at night, preventing persons from crossing over it.

The story of the origin of this apparition is as follows :


A girl was on her way home one night from Bresegard to Eldena, where her friends lived. A young fellow from Bresegard, thinking it would be fun to give her a fright, drew an ox-skin over his head, and leaned on all fours over the bridge. The girl, who was not at all timid, came to the bridge, and seeing the apparent ox, called out, "Step on one side ! " "That I won't do," replied the human quadruped, "I shall only go on straightforward." The girl then pulled up a stake that stood near the bridge, out of the ground, and as repeated requests would not induce the apparition to budge, she struck it between the horns, and down it went into the water. The girl continued her journey to Eldena, and told her parents the story, and when, on the following morning, search was made, the body of the youth from Bresegard was found in the brook. His ghost, however, is said to have appeared since then on the bridge in the form of an ox.



Celebrated Birthplaces.

THE FOUNDER OF THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

By J. J. FOSTER.

" HE sara sara" ("What will be, will be"), such is the motto of the ducal house of Bedford, which has been used by so many generals, admirals, ministers, and diplomatists ; and such may have been the words on the lips of John Russell one winter's morning in 1506, as he descended the steps of his birthplace—the old manor-house of Kingston Russell, Dorset—in answer to a summons from his neighbour Sir John Trenchard, of Wolverton, to attend upon a shipwrecked King and Queen. We say such may have been his words, for it was he who, according to the *Anecdotes of the House of Bedford*, changed the ancient war-cry of the Norman Rozels or Rousells, "*Diex aie*," for "*Che sara sara* ;" and John Russell was, the same authority assures us, one of the most complete gentlemen and best scholars of his

time. He had entered the army when very young under Henry VII., and visited most of the courts of Europe. He was distinguished for bravery, and ultimately lost one of his eyes at the siege of Montreuil.

Probably he little thought that this visit to his kinsman would lead to his becoming a gentleman of the Privy Chamber of Henry VII., and an adviser of Henry VIII.

Yet so it was to be, and the gale which raged for six or seven days, and drove Philip "the Fair," Archduke of Austria and King of Castile, with Juana, his consort, into Weymouth Bay, blew John Russell straight to Court, and was the direct origin of all the greatness of his family. Henry VIII. made him a Baron of the Realm, under the title of Lord Russell, Baron Russell of Cheynes, co. Bucks.

This incident of the compulsory visit of Spanish royalty to our shores is well known to students of the history of the period, for it is related at length in Bacon's valuable *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth written by the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount St. Albans. London, 1622.*

From the above-named record we learn how Philip and Juana set sail from Middleburg in the Low Countries, January 30th, 1506 ; how their "navy of 80 ships" was dispersed by tempestuous weather ; how "the ship wherein the King and Queen were (with 2 other small Barkes onely) torne and in great peril, to Escape the Furie of the weather, thrust into Waymouth, King Phillip himselfe [being] all wearied and extreme sicke ;" how "the rumour of the arrivall of a puissant Navie upon the coast made the Countrie arme ;" how "Sir Thos. Trenchard with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Waymouth, where, understanding the accident, he did in all humblenesse and humanitie, invite the King and Queen to his house at Wolveton,* and forthwith despatched posts to Court. The King as soon as he heard the news, commanded the Earl of Arundel to go to visite the King of Castile. The Earl came to him in great magnificence with a brave troupe of 300

* A fine old fifteenth century house close to Dorchester.

horse, and for more state came by torch-light."

Then follows the invitation of John Russell to attend their Majesties and to act as interpreter; and we may be sure that he must have had no mean graces of mind and person to have so soon ingratiated himself with the proud and ceremonious Spaniards.* The Dorset squire was taken to London, introduced to Henry VII., and, as we know, rose rapidly to power, rank, and wealth.

Before dismissing this opening scene in the drama of Russell's life, it may be noted that Philip the Fair died prematurely within

clear that it was no ordinary man who was made Treasurer of the Household to three successive sovereigns, and one of these Henry VIII.!

And here may, perhaps, be worth mentioning a high tribute paid to his character by the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who, in the dark hour of her fall and abandonment, with the shadow of death already thrown upon her, found herself treated by him with a respect and courtesy which leads her "to name Mr. Comptroller as a very gentleman." Indeed chroniclers of the time call him "the gentle and the good."*



KINGSTON RUSSELL HOUSE, DORSETSHIRE, AS IT STANDS AT PRESENT.

eight months of his visit to Wolverton, after but eight months' enjoyment of his kingdom of Castile; and that Juana's mind became a complete wreck from the shock it thereby received.

John Russell not merely knew how to take advantage of his opportunities, but, what is perhaps more difficult, he knew how to retain the favour of princes; for, not to dwell upon the details of his career, it is

* As Mr. Wright reminds us (in a paper on this visit of Philip to the English Court in the *Archæological Association Journal*, vol. xxviii.), Spain was then at the height of her greatness.

In Lloyd's *State Worthies*† there is a quaintly-worded description of the man, from which we learn that

he had a moving beauty that waited on his whole body, a comportment unaffected, and such a comeliness in his mien as exacted a liking, if not a love, from all that saw him,—the whole set off with a person of middle stature, neither tall to a formidableness, nor short to a contempt, straight and proportioned, vigorous and active.

There are three portraits of him, and all by Holbein; one in the royal collection, the

* Kingston to Wolsey. Cavendish's *Wolsey*, p. 456.

† Page 443. London, 1670.

others at Woburn. One has been engraved in Lodge, and another by Houbraken, the latter from a fine picture which gives him regular, well-cut features, marked by great decision of character. He is represented as sitting in a chair of state, with his wand of office as Comptroller of the Household, a "Tudor" cap on his head, and wearing the order of the Garter.

John Russell died in 1555, and was buried at Chenies in Bucks, where, no doubt, he lived in the state befitting a great noble such as the first Earl Russell was; for we are told his liberality was great, his hospitality unbounded, he having 205 servants in livery, for all of whom he provided at his death.

Of his birthplace and parentage there is but little to be gleaned. He was the son of James Russell and "Alys his wyfe, daughter of J. Wise, Esquier" (who came from a good knightly family). The house in which he saw the light is situated in a remote and thinly-peopled part of Dorset. By the kindness of Mr. Pouncy, of Dorchester, we are enabled to show a capital illustration of its present appearance, reduced from an etching made on the spot. The deeply-recessed windows show the thickness of the original walls, and point to an old structure; but the front is evidently Italianised, and the building has probably undergone many changes.

Although, perhaps, there may be many places more celebrated than Kingston Russell, in Dorsetshire, as birthplaces of men whose names have lived in English history, yet it may be difficult to find one which has become distinguished by such associations as the roll of celebrated Russells makes this to be.



Oiron Ware.

"La Fayence est fragile, en est-elle moins belle ?
La plus riche cristal est fragile comme elle,
Un émail délicat et qui charme les yeux
Par sa fragilité devient plus précieux ;
La porcelaine enfin où le bon goût réside
Se feroit moins chérir en devenant solide."

PIERRE DEFRANAY, 1735.



THE sale of the remarkable Fontaine Collection a short time since at Messrs. Christies' embraced, amongst other choice objects, no less than

three specimens of the Oiron, or, as it was formerly called, Henri Deux Ware.

The artistic merit and the extreme rarity of this famous *fayence*, together with a certain mystery about its origin, have combined to give it a very high pecuniary value. A brief description of the pieces which recently changed hands, and a short account of the history of the manufacture, taken from reliable sources,* may prove not unwelcome to readers of THE ANTIQUARY.

For a long while this much admired and precious ware was a puzzle to amateurs. Some supposed it to have originated in Italy, but it is now generally admitted to have been made in France, viz., at Oiron in Poitou. 1520 to 1537 may be assigned as the date of its manufacture, since some of the earliest pieces bear the emblems of Francis I.; on others (and the greater number) we see the device of Henry II., with crescents interlaced, said to refer to Diana of Poitiers.†

At length, in the year 1860, Le Comte de Ris noticed in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* that a great resemblance exists between the interlaced ornaments of the Henri II. ware and the book-bindings of Grolier and Maioli: but the credit of the solution of the problem is due to Benjamin Fillon of Poitiers, who published a pamphlet on the subject in 1862. His death is recorded in THE ANTIQUARY, vol. iv., p. 27.

The paste used for modelling this ware is a true pipe-clay, fine, and very white; so that it does not require, like the Italian *fayence*, to be concealed by a coating of opaque enamel; the decorations are merely glazed with a very thin varnish, yellowish and transparent.

These decorations consist of initial letters, interlacings, and arabesques impressed upon the paste, and the cavities filled in with coloured pastes, so as to present a smooth surface of the finest inlaying, like the damascening of metal work.

The ornaments, which are drawn with wonderful clearness and precision, are not traced with a brush (as might be at first sight supposed), but are engraved in the paste, and the colouring substances have been then encrusted in the depressions, so as to leave no inequalities upon the surface; after the completion of this operation the object was baked and then glazed.

* We may refer to the useful manual on *The Industrial Arts*, published for the Committee of Council on Education; Chaffers' *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain* (1874); and Wheatley and Delamotte's *Art Work in Earthenware* (1882).

† Mr. Chaffers, however, is of opinion that Diana never used these crescents.

In addition to these elegant niello-like decorations, the Oiron ware was enriched with raised ornaments in bold relief; masks, escutcheons, shells, wreaths, etc. The forms are always pure in outline and in the style of the renaissance, so that this exquisite pottery may be justly compared with the chased and damascened metal work of the sixteenth century. . . . Whilst displaying great variety in their forms and details, the pieces are all conceived in the same general style, typical of a well-known and brilliant epoch, and in the highest degree personal and local. In fact, there can be no doubt that this famous pottery, as is the case with the Palissy ware, was the work or conception of one artist, perhaps by the hand, certainly under the patronage, of a woman, Helene de Hangest Genlis.*

The actual authors of the ware were François Charpentier and Jehan Bernart.

The rarity of Oiron ware is shown by the fact that only some eighty pieces are known, none is a duplicate of another. Of these France and England boast of about equal proportions. The Rothschild family are the fortunate possessors of several. The Louvre claims a few specimens, and our South Kensington Museum five, including a tazza and cover, a candlestick, salt-cellar, etc. These cost the nation £1,800, but would now undoubtedly fetch far more, as the subjoined particulars and prices of the Fontaine sale will demonstrate.

On the 17th June, 1884, three pieces of Oiron ware were sold at Messrs. Christies', forming, as stated, a portion of the celebrated collection made by Sir Andrew Fountaine, a courtier of the time of William III., and successor to Sir Isaac Newton as Master of the Mint in 1727. This collection has been kept intact at Narford, in Norfolk, ever since. The following account of its dispersal is taken from the *Times*, which remarks, *apropos* of the sale catalogue, that it was taken almost verbatim from the private list written by the late Mr. A. Fountaine, who was an accomplished connoisseur, and a large purchaser at the famous sale of the Bernal collection in 1855.

296. Henri II. ware.—Flambeau, or candlestick, lower part of the stem of architectural design, three figures of children on a bracket, one bearing a shield with the Arms of France, each of the figures standing on a bracket supported by a mask, forming a tripod on a large circular plinth, the upper part of stem formed as a vase; the Montmorency Laval Arms

painted on top and plinth, 12½ in. high, the plinth 6½ in. in width. This celebrated piece was put up at 1,000 guineas and speedily rose to 2,000, the two contending bidders being M. Clément and M. Manheim, of Paris. After a very spirited encounter the winner was M. Clément, at the enormous figure of 3,500 guineas (£3,675).

297. A mortier à cire, the lower part of the bowl spirally fluted with a rosette ornament and projecting shield with mask on each side, the upper part of the bowl having a broad band of ornaments with four cherubs' heads in relief; four pillars with Doric capitals in green glaze and lions' heads coloured in imitation of marble surround the bowl, which is 8 in. in diameter and 5½ in. high. This was put up at 500 guineas, and was bought by M. Manheim at 1,500 guineas (£1,575).

298. A biberon, formed as a vase, handles on each side and across the cover; children's heads in relief, and a mask under the spout. Ornamentation of pink and yellow. The cypher "A. M." in Gothic characters repeated round the mouth of the vase; 9 in. high. The same opponents contended for this, but M. Clément obtained it at £1,060 10s. It was said by those likely to be correctly informed that M. Clément had purchased these costly works of the rare *faïence d'Oiron* for M. Dutuit of Rouen, the well-known connoisseur and collector of works of art.



Reviews.

Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered. By DR. GEORGE STEPHENS. (London and Copenhagen, 1884: Williams & Norgate.) Folio, pp. xxiv. 281.



EVERY student of old English life has long ere this sent his word of heartfelt thanks to our gifted countryman at Copenhagen for this treasure-house of knowledge. As Dr. Stephens tells us in his forewords, many could not afford to purchase, and many could not find time to read, the three handsome folio volumes in which he has so ably and exhaustively treated of runic monuments; and therefore this handbook, of goodly size too, giving us the benefit of his latest researches and amendments, is more than ordinarily a welcome addition to the antiquary's stock of books. What does it practically do for us? It takes us into an earlier home-life than we get in England, with its mixed influences, Celtic, Roman, Teutonic, and Scandinavian, and it pronounces, in terms very unmistakable in the force with which they appeal to us, that the Scandinavian influences in the settlement of England are far more powerful and far more thorough than has yet been established by English historians. When Dr. Stubbs opens the story of the English constitution, he opens it in Teutonic Germany; when Mr. Freeman opens the

* Such is the conclusion which M. Fillon arrived at after a careful study of the subject, and by aid of a chronological arrangement of the monograms, ciphers, and arms with which the ware is adorned.

same story, he opens it in Switzerland ; when Mr. Coote does so, he opens it in the splendid consolidation of the old Roman empire. But admitting that each of these great authorities is right in claiming that English constitutional life has a close connection with the several phases of older continental life which they represent, there still remains the fact that Dr. Stephens so forcibly puts before us in his runic researches, that the rune-monuments of England and Scandinavia are of one family, that in Germany there is nothing like them to be found, and that the Scandinavian influence which these facts proclaim must have been neither sudden nor transient. The rune is not confined to one particular spot in each northern land ; it was not, says Dr. Stephens, the special heirloom or invention of one single northern clan, one conquering northern tribe, and communicated by war or peace, by force or fraud, to the other northern races nearest them. The Runes meet us in Sweden from the north to the south, in Norway from the north to the south, in Denmark from the north to the south, in England from the north to the south. And everywhere from the oldest northern days and at one common period. There is therefore neither time nor place for a certain Runefolk to convey its letters from land to land. All the northmen had these staves everywhere, and at the same time. Now these are conclusions given in Dr. Stephens's own words, and we must admit that they carry an enormous weight of evidence with them. They are not the hasty conclusions of a novice, nor the incomplete conclusions derived from a narrow circle of study. They come to us from a master-mind, and are drawn from a land which includes all Scandinavia.

We wish we could adequately convey half the interest and value of this marvellous study as it is presented in the book before us. There are engravings of the rune-blocks on almost every page, and there is no excuse if the student of the future neglects the lesson which is thus conveyed to his mind. Let us take the illustration on page 49. Rising up from the ordinary land-level near the sea shore is the cliff front, and about 16 to 20 feet above the highest water-flow is a runic inscription. How eloquent does this writing from old days appear ! "To the Lord (captain) Thewæ Godægæs wrote these runes." There was hand and heart and brain here, and simple though the words are, the grandeur of the surroundings allows us to imagine that some great sea victory, some great event in this man's life, no doubt leading to events in Scandinavian history, dictated the beautiful reverence and worship which we ought to well appreciate, for it is dying out from amongst us. The English collections of runes are well represented, and Dr. Stephens tells us that in one rune "London" is mentioned. Dr. Stephens does not appear to have given this, which personally we regret very much, for London history is, we consider, so much indebted to Scandinavian influence, that all objects bearing upon this phase of the question are of more than ordinary interest to London topographers.

It is needless to say that all parts of Dr. Stephens's book are worthy of the subject—word-list, index, and everything to make the work of permanent interest to students of old days. And we part from it as from an old friend, for Dr. Stephens should know that many

an Englishman's thoughts are now enabled, through his studious care and learning, to travel into ages that until lately have been unknown.

The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain. By JOHN H. INGRAM. (London, 1884 : W. H. Allen & Co.) 8vo, pp. vi., 319.

Ghosts just now are popular enough, and Mr. Ingram may be congratulated upon his useful compilation. It is very remarkable how old traditions have lingered round old houses and old families, and it is possible, when we have them collected together into one volume, that something may be obtained whereby the scientist may gain insight into the origin of this phenomenon of human belief. We must confess that the one or two tests we have made with the instances here given have completely failed, but we think that there must be some explanation of the very widespread belief. Either it is *traditional*, or it is owing to local phenomena. Of the former class is the Brownie, a typical example of which is the "Cauld Lad of Hilton." And the question becomes, are not the family ghosts degenerate descendants of the archaic belief ? Setting aside these questions, however, the book is intensely interesting to all who love the marvellous. No one, nowadays, believes that ghosts have any foundation in real and sober observable fact ; but still there are plenty, and we must confess ourselves to belong to the class, who take an interest in ghosts, even if only from their very weirdness. We are giving up a great deal of the romance of life in this matter-of-fact age, and it is pleasant to think that romances are preserved which can still be read. This perhaps is not the occasion to discuss the origin of this species of stores, but we cannot but think that the folklorist is the rightful owner of this domain ; and if Mr. Ingram's book should be the means of inducing any one to work out the question of the origin of ghost-legends and stories it will have served a purpose which he should reckon among its chiefest honours. Certainly this subject could not be taken up in the spirit we have indicated without the help of such a collection as Mr. Ingram has given us.

The Barony of Ruthven of Freeland. By J. H. ROUND. (London and Aylesbury : Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Lim.) 8vo.

Mr. Round having entered into a discussion about the barony of Ruthven in *Notes and Queries*, and his final reply having been declined by that journal, he availed himself of Mr. Foster's *Collectanea Genealogica* to place on record his view of the controversy and the baronage which gave rise to it. A reprint of Mr. Round's article is now before us, and we have risen from a careful perusal of it with the conviction that he states his case fairly and succinctly, and proves it beyond a doubt. It is a remarkable instance of the loose way in which peerages have been claimed and allowed. As Mr. Round says, it began with a joke. Several theories have been started to account for it, and yet Mr. Round clearly proves that taking any one of these theories it will not fit in with the known facts of the succession—a proof which does not seem to us to be capable of refutation. Mr. Round's ability as a herald, and his capacity for close reasoning, are

thoroughly shown in this admirable contribution to the history of the peerage.

Folk-Lore of Modern Greece: The Tales of the People.

Edited by the Rev. E. M. GELDART, M.A., author of *The Modern Greek Language in its Relation to Ancient Greek, A Guide to Modern Greece, etc., etc.* (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1884.) Small 8vo, pp. 190.

This very interesting collection of popular tales is taken from the *Contes Populaires Grecs publiés d'après les Manuscrits du Dr. F. G. de Hahn 1879*, and the stories are translated from the original Greek text of that book. Von Hahn himself, although he collected the stories in the original by the means of native amanuenses, translated them into German for his own book, *Albanische Studien*, Jena, 1854, and *Griechische und Albanische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864. In doing this he was not very careful to be accurate to the original, so that in the present volume the reader will find a more genuine text than if he were to turn to Von Hahn's German versions. Moreover the stories are short, and not worked up into a literary form. Many are old friends, with a difference; thus on the first page we come to *The Two Brothers and the Forty-nine Dragons*, which is a version of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, then farther on is *Little Saddle-slut*, the Greek Cinderella. Evidently these tales come from many sources, as one would naturally expect from the characteristics of the Greek nation; most of them have, however, some local colouring. Mr. Geldart draws attention to the great prominence of the solar and stellar elements in the stories, which, he says, point to considerable antiquity. We can strongly recommend this agreeable volume for the value of its contents.

In the Land of Marvels: Folk-Tales from Austria and Bohemia. By THEODOR VERNALEKEN. With a Preface by E. JOHNSON, M.A. (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1884.) Small 8vo, pp. 363.

Professor Vernaleken collected these stories from Lower Austria and Bohemia as a sort of supplement to *Grimm's Tales*, which were mostly derived from North-Western Germany. The volume is largely made up of variants of stories with which we are familiar; for instance, *Winterkolble* is an old dwarf who will not give up his adopted daughter to be married to the king till his majesty guesses his name, and then skips about the fire singing out

"Boil, pot, boil,
The king knows not—all the same—
Winterkolble is my name."

Kruzimügel, another dwarf, does the same foolish thing. He promises a charcoal-burner's daughter that she shall be queen, but at the end of three years if she does not know his name she is to be his. The queen of course forgets the name, but the king's forester hears the stupid dwarf singing

"She knows not—oh what jollity!—
My name is Kruzimügel."

We most of us know the silly fellow under the name of Rumpelstiltskin. A large number of the

stories relate to the change of boys and girls into animals, such as *The Seven Roes*, *The Seven Ravens*, *The Three White Doves*, etc. Mr. Johnson has added an interesting preface concerning folk-tales in general, and the notes at the end are of considerable value. Many a pleasant half hour may be spent "in the land of marvels."

Christian Legends. By WILLIAM MACCALL, author of *The Newest Materialism*, *Foreign Biographies*, *Elements of Individualism*, and other works. (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) Small 8vo, pp. 320.

Although this book is stated on the title-page to be by Mr. Maccall, we find by the preface that it is a translation of an enlarged edition of a work by Karl Eduard von Bülow. We are too apt as Protestants to pass over the beautiful legends that are to be found in the lives of the saints, and the contents of this volume therefore gives us much in a convenient form which we ought to know, and which we might have to seek in some unwieldy volumes. The legend of the three holy kings, and that of St. Christophorus, associated as they are with art, are particularly interesting. Some of the stories, such as the *Faithless Bride of God*, tell of a code of morality far removed from that accepted in the nineteenth century. As showing us what was once believed we can read these pages with pleasure, and we are not annoyed by that sceptical spirit in which some writers think it proper to write of such legends as these. Of course we don't believe them to be true, but our interest in them is sadly marred if the narrator continually tells us that they are not true. Such is not the spirit of Von Bülow or of his translator.

Gloves, their Annals and Associations: a Chapter of Trade and Social History. By S. WILLIAM BECK. (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1883.) Small 8vo, pp. xix., 263.

Mr. Beck, who is favourably known by his *Drapers' Dictionary*, has followed up that valuable book by the publication of an excellent work on gloves. The author says that when he proposed to take up this subject he was met by the question, "What can there be in gloves to make a book about?" No reader of *THE ANTIQUARY*, we think, is likely to echo this question. We all know how much of interest has gathered round almost every article of costume, and gloves in an especial manner have been so distinguished. Used as ornaments, they are, probably, of comparatively late introduction, but for use as a protection they must be of the greatest antiquity. It is supposed that the word translated *shoe*, in Psalm cviii. 9, "Over Edom will I cast out my shoe," should be glove, and this would be more in accordance with our ideas of the symbolism of the glove. But a much greater antiquity than this has been found for gloves, for Professor Boyd Dawkins proves that the early cave-men wore them reaching up to their elbows. If we suddenly drop down to more historical times, we shall find gloves holding a very respectable place in the world, with a patron saint of their own. This was St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary.

The glovers of Perth honour St. Bartholomew as their patron saint, and he is said to owe this position to the supposed fact that he was flayed before being crucified. The Society of Glovers show a picture of the saint with a flaying knife in his hand, and the tools of the craft, knife, shears, and bodkin, by his side, which picture is dated 1557.

Gloves have been made of a multitude of materials; thus Evelyn, in his *Mundus Muliebris*, writes:

"Some of chicken skin for night,
To keep her hands plump, soft, and white."

Still later the same material is mentioned in the *New Bath Guide* :—

"Come, but don't forget the gloves
Which, with all the smiling loves,
Venus caught young Cupid picking,
From the tender breast of chicken."

We learn that the majority of the gloves sold as kid are made from lambskin, those known as doe, buck, or dog skin from the skins of sheep or calves. Still, kid-skins are largely used. The kids in France are not allowed to roam about and injure their skins by pushing through prickly hedges, but are carefully confined under a coop. Here they are fed with milk only, and the result is that the French skins command higher prices than any others in the market.

Mr. Beck treats his subject both from the historical and the symbolical points of view. He tells of gloves in the church, on the throne, and on the bench, of hawking gloves, of gauntlets, and of perfumed gloves, of companies of glovers, and of the glove trade. He then passes on to tell of gloves as pledges, as gages, as gifts, and as favours. At betrothals and weddings gloves were formerly very profusely given away. The clown in *Winter's Tale* complains: "If I were not in love with Mopsa, thou shouldst take no money of me; but being enthralled as I am, it will also be the bondage of certain gloves." For the wedding in 1567 of the daughter of Mr. More, of Losely, there were purchased—

One dozen of gloves	10s.
One other dozen of gloves	5s.
iiij dozen of gloves at iiij ^s a dozen	9s.

There is, however, a less agreeable side in the symbolism of gloves. To bite the glove was a sign of hostility, and the certain prelude of a quarrel; and we can all call to mind the many instances in history and fiction where the glove figures as a gage of battle.

We must refer our readers to Mr. Beck's book itself for further particulars of the history of gloves, promising them that they will find there a most interesting chapter in the history of costume.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

British Archæological Association.—June 4th.
—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a Roman mortar of bronze found

recently in the City, its silver covering showing the marks of intense heat from burning, the silver being fused into granules over the surface. A bronze lizard from Palestine, probably a Gnostic emblem, was also described.—Mr. Morgan produced some interesting relics from Cagliari, Sardinia, recently found there.—Mr. Hughes exhibited a facsimile of the charter granted by Richard III. to the Wax Chandlers' Company of London, which he has reproduced in colours.—Mr. J. W. Grover read a description of a tumulus still existing in the grounds of one of the modern houses in the Cedars Road, Clapham Common, which is shown on old maps prior to the district being built over. It is called Mount Nod; but there is no evidence to show if it is of comparatively modern or prehistoric date. The old house of Sir D. Gordon, where Pepys died, stood close to the spot.—Mr. R. Smith contributed a paper, read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, on Old Winchester, in which he showed that the so-called Roman camp is in reality an ancient British oppidum of considerable size.—Mr. L. Brock read a paper on a chapel of thirteenth-century date, which still exists at the entry into Dover, close to the Maison Dieu, hidden behind the modern houses of Biggin Street, and hitherto unnoticed. It is used as a blacksmith's shop and for various other purposes.—The Rev. Prebendary Scarth forwarded a paper, read by Mr. Birch, on an ancient harpsichord which formerly belonged to Tasso. It is at Sorrento, and is dated 1564. It is decorated with paintings of Apollo and the muses, and is in fair condition.

Archæological Institute.—June 5th.—The President in the chair.—Mr. T. G. Waller made some interesting observations explanatory of the costume and other features on a number of rubbings of brasses, ranging from 1325 to 1483, presented to the Institute by Mr. Huyshe.—Mr. Micklethwaite described some fine wall paintings discovered in Pinvin Church, near Pershore, of which tracings were exhibited, made by Canon Wickenden as long ago as 1855.—Mr. A. H. Church drew attention to some specimens of Roman pottery lately found at Cirencester.—Miss Ffarington exhibited a number of Roman coins lately found in Lancashire, and some very remarkable Chinese figures used for wall decoration.

July 3rd.—The Rev. F. J. Spurrell in the chair.—Precentor Venables communicated a description of the Roman burying-place recently discovered at Lincoln.—Professor B. Lewis read an able paper on the Roman antiquities of Switzerland.—Mr. F. Helmore read a paper on two fine coffin lids at Great Berkhamstead and Tring, which there were good grounds for supposing belonged to two stone coffins lately discovered at Northchurch.—Prof. Lewis and the Rev. S. S. Lewis exhibited a remarkable collection of Roman gems and coins; and the Earl of Aberdeen a fine cinerary urn recently found in Aberdeenshire.

Philological.—June 6th.—Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Prince L. L. Bonaparte read two papers: (1) "On Modern Basque and Old Basque Tenses," showing the peculiarities of the Basque translation of the New Testament; (2) "On the Neo-Latin Names of Artichoke," giving

the forms which it assumed in the various Neo-Latin languages.—Dr. Murray gave the result of his investigations into the history of the plant and word.

June 20th.—Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—A paper on "Irish Gaelic Sounds" was read by Mr. James Lecky.—Mr. Sweet, who is at present in Germany, sent a communication dwelling on the importance of having the Irish dialects analysed and recorded while they were yet spoken.

Anthropological Institute.—June 10th.—Prof. Flower, President, in the chair.—A paper was read "On the Deme and the Horde," by Mr. A. W. Howitt and the Rev. L. Fison, in which the authors traced a close resemblance between the social structure of the Attic tribes and that of the Australian aborigines. The word "horde" is used to indicate a certain geographical section of an Australian community which occupies certain definite hunting grounds. Its members are of different totems—in fact, all the totems of the community may be represented in any given horde. Descent being through the mother, as the general rule the child is of its mother's totem, not of its father's, but it belongs to the horde in which it was born. So, too, the children of aliens are admitted into the exclusive organization by virtue of the right derived from their mothers. In Attica there were also two great organizations; one based originally on locality, and another whose sole qualification was that of birth—the demotic and the phratric. Both included the freeborn citizens, and therefore coincided in the aggregate, but no deme coincided with a phratia or with any subdivision of a phratia. The naturalized alien was enrolled in one of the demes, but there could be no admission for him into a phratia. If, however, he married a freeborn woman, his children by her were not excluded, they were enrolled in her father's phratia, the relationship between a child and its maternal grandfather being looked upon as a very near tie of blood. Thus, making all necessary allowance for the difference of culture in the two people, it appears that the phratric is analogous to the social organization in Australia, while the demotic divisions correspond to the Australian hordes.—A paper by the Rev. C. A. Gollmer "On African Symbolic Language" was read.

Society of Antiquaries.—June 19th.—Dr. C. S. Perceval, Treasurer, in the chair.—Mr. C. J. Elton exhibited and presented two manuscript volumes, one the speeches of Sir John Eliot, small quarto, and the other reports and other legal documents drawn up or collected by Sir J. F. Aland while Solicitor-General, viz., 1715–1716, with a list of contents in the handwriting of Sir J. F. Aland.—Mr. E. Peacock exhibited rubbings of book stamps of Archbishop Usher and of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, from the *Bibliotheca Thysiana* at Leyden.—Major Cooper exhibited some clay bars and fragments of bone and pottery from Willud's Bank, Leagrave Marsh, Luton, Beds. Major Cooper believed that the clay bars had served as supports to the fuel used in sepulture by cremation, so as to introduce a current of air underneath the burning pile.—Dr. E. Freshfield communicated a paper on the palace of the Greek emperors at Nymphio, a village about fifteen miles from Smyrna.

June 26.—Dr. E. Freshfield, V.-P., in the chair.—

Mr. W. H. Richardson exhibited some fragments of heraldic tiles which had been found under the floor of Fenny Compton Church, Warwickshire, and a drawing of a tile bearing the same inscription from Worm-leighton Church. The arms on the tiles appeared to be those of Butler and Beauchamp respectively.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson communicated some notes on the tomb of Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, which had recently been moved from its original position in the church of St. Lawrence, Appleby, to a spot more convenient for the performance of divine service. He also reported on recent discoveries in Cumberland, and exhibited some of the early Rolls of the City Court of Carlisle. In connection with this paper Mr. L. Gower exhibited an interesting portrait of his ancestress the Countess of Cumberland.—The Rev. W. F. Greeny exhibited a third instalment of rubbings of foreign brasses, thirty-four in number, which he had executed with his own hand during a summer trip last year, in which he traversed over five thousand miles.

Asiatic.—June 16th.—Sir W. Muir, President, in the chair.—Prof. T. de Lacouperie read a paper "On Three Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom, and on the Trade-Routes thither 3,000 Years Ago."—Dr. T. Duka exhibited forty pieces of Tibetan printed books and MSS. which the late A. Csoma de Körös gave in 1839 to the Rev. Dr. S. C. Malan, then secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and which this gentleman has just presented to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Buda-Pesth.

Hellenic.—June 26th.—Annual Meeting.—The Bishop of Durham, the President of the Society, for the first time took the chair.—The Honorary Secretary read the report on behalf of the Council: "As pointed out in the report of last year, the resources of the Society do not as yet admit of much being done towards the fulfilment of its objects other than the publication of the *Journal*. The fourth volume of the *Journal*—containing an unusually full and varied collection of papers—is the chief fruit of the Society's labours in the year now ended. The publication in the volume of 1883 of more of the valuable series of papers in which Mr. W. M. Ramsay has from time to time recorded his researches in Asia Minor, suggests a reference to the remarkable success of his work, with which the Society has from the first been at least indirectly associated. Mr. Ramsay has now started again into Phrygia, and has been joined by another member of the Society, Mr. A. H. Smith.

New Shakspere.—June 13th.—Mr. F. J. Furnivall, Director, in the chair.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison read copies of letters from the Earl and Countess of Pembroke and the Earl of Oxford to Lord Burghley, showing that as early as 1597, when William Herbert was only seventeen, his parents had in hand a scheme for his marriage forthwith to Bridget, granddaughter to Lord Burghley. This correspondence, preserved in the Record Office, removed the difficulty which has been felt as to Shakspere's Sonnets, 1 to 17, being addressed to a youth of eighteen.—Mr. T. Tyler read his second paper "On Shakspere's Sonnets."

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.—June 26th.—The members made an excursion to Rochester. At half-past eleven they held a meeting in the Guildhall, by permission of the Mayor, when

Mr. C. Roach Smith gave an address upon the Roman and Norman antiquities of the neighbourhood, followed by Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope, who described the city regalia, including the ancient maces, and at the conclusion of the meeting he conducted them over the Norman Castle keep and the Cathedral. The party, numbering considerably over one hundred, next visited "Restoration" House, by permission of Mr. T. S. Aveling. It was here that Charles II. slept on the eve of the Restoration. Next they visited the museum of Roman curiosities at the residence of Mr. Humphrey Wickham, Strood.

PROVINCIAL.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—June 24th.—The third excursion of the season was to Wardour Castle. Entering the six-sided court forming the centre of the castle, with its now disused well,—a relic of the tenure of the castle in the period of the Civil War,—the various portions of the interior were pointed out; the kitchen with its huge open chimney, the hall and vaulted chambers beneath, the portcullis groove and other indications of its former purpose. An exit was made through the north-east doorway, a Jacobean structure, bearing marks on the outside of the siege it had undergone in troublous times. The members passed through the park, visiting a fine ancient and historical oak-tree on the way, and entered the chapel of the modern house, the present proprietor, Lord Arundell of Wardour, having given them permission to see it, the pictures being unfortunately closed to them owing to domestic reasons. The party returned to Tisbury and saw the church, a fine cruciform structure, with old wooden roofs and good brasses inside. On the chancel wall was hung up a helmet, trophy of one of the earlier barons, a brave and successful soldier who warred against the Turks, and was for this created Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, 1595. A black marble slab in the chancel records this. A fine sixteenth-century brass on the north side of the above records the resting-place of Lawrence Hyde, grandfather of the Chancellor, Edward Earl of Clarendon.

Banbury Natural History Society.—June 14th.—The members of the above society visited the county of "Spires and Squires," as Northamptonshire has been called. The first halt was made at Edgcote Church. The church is of various dates and styles, with a tower at the west end. The general character of the tower is of the fifteenth century, but the west door appears somewhat earlier. It has an ogee head crocketed with bold mouldings of the fourteenth century; the window over it has similar mouldings, but the tracery bars in the head run in vertical or perpendicular lines, and it must be considered as transition work between the Decorated and Perpendicular styles. The nave has three arches on the south side, of Transition Norman work, the pillars Norman, and the arches more like Early English. The south aisle is Early Decorated, with a good plain door. On the north side there are two Decorated windows and door. The chancel is of the fifteenth century, with two windows having Perpendicular tracery, and

a piscina of the same character. The fine monuments of the Chauncy family were inspected with interest, and particular attention was paid to a curious inscription on one of the slabs of the floor, and of which the following is a portion:—"Under this marble stone lyeth whatsoever was mortal of Bridget Chauncy, of whom man was not worthy." The church and the front of Edgcote House having been viewed, the party again took to the vehicles, and proceeded to Eydon by way of Trafford Bridge. The excursionists then went to the seat of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart. (Canon's Ashby). Conducting the party inside the grounds, he gave some details with reference to the house, stating that the earliest part was the hall and the tower, which were believed to have been built between 1551 and 1584, and that a great change was made in the house about 1710, when many of the mullioned windows were stopped up and sash windows inserted. The party then went into the house, being conducted to the drawing-room, where Sir Henry said the date of the chimney and the ceiling was 1632. Some tapestry in one of the rooms was much admired. The tower was ascended, and a capital view of the surrounding country obtained. The church was next visited, and Sir Henry explained the position of the old monastery of the order of Black Canons, and which he said was probably taken down at the Reformation. The church consists of a nave, north aisle, and a tower attached to the north side of the aisle. The western doorway and the arcade are the earliest parts of the church, probably 1250. The tower was built about 1350, and the present west window was inserted about the same time. There are two fine arches in the nave. After leaving the church the party visited an old monastic well, which formerly supplied the monastery, but now furnishes water to the house. Apart from the interest of Canon's Ashby in an archaeological point of view, it has a peculiar interest to literary men, for besides its connection with "glorious John," Spenser was a frequent visitor here, and in later days Samuel Richardson wrote much of *Sir Charles Grandison* here. In reference to John Dryden's connection with Canon's Ashby, it has been said:—"It is pleasant to think that a name so intimately connected with the county should still survive there, though in a collateral and female line, in the present baronet of Canon's Ashby; and as the poet certainly courted his cousin, Honor Dryden, the eldest daughter of the then baronet, we may well believe that the old clipped yews and formal terrace and walled courtyard, which yet remain, have looked upon the light-hearted pair, as they strolled along in that cousinly flirtation, so presumptuous in the eyes of Sir John, who saw nothing but a poor cadet in the future author of *St. Cecilia's Day*." Sir Henry stated that it was by the marriage of one of the Drydens with the sister of Sir John Cope in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the Dryden family came into possession of Canon's Ashby.

Midland Union of Natural History Societies.

—June 25th.—The seventh annual meeting and conversazione of the above was held at Peterborough. The chairman having apologised for the absence of the Dean, proceeded to read the Dean's address, which contained the following remarks:—In the name

of the Peterborough Natural History and Scientific Society, and as their president for the year, he offered a most hearty welcome to the delegates and members of the Midland Union of Natural History Societies. In considering what should be the subject of his address, his thoughts naturally turned to the cathedral. Under ordinary circumstances he would have had nothing new to say on such a subject, but recently much had been learned about the central tower and the adjacent parts, which was not known before. Toward the upper part of the lantern the filling in of the wall presented to those engaged upon its demolition curious fragments of earlier and later work, bits of Decorated carving, pieces of marble shafts,—perhaps from the west end,—one of the large keeled angle stones from the west front which had been placed in the extreme angles north and south, and a portion of Decorated plaster screen work, covered and ornamented with black plaster inlay. There was also found a very large quantity of fragments of monumental cross slabs of Early English and Decorated work, some presenting good and elegant designs, and two curious foot stones with incised line double crosses. Several of the window jamb stones had been wrought out of these, the words “*hic jacet*” being plainly discernible on one of them, and the use of tombstones was carried so far as to include the use of stone coffins for ashlar in two or three instances. Very considerable remains of the old Norman lantern had been recovered, and the history of the “three storeys” of the tower had been fully made out. First, there were the bases, caps, jambs, and arches, of what appears to have been the lower stage, or blind storey, which was shielded from the light on all sides by the roof. Secondly, almost all the caps, bases, and parts of jambs, arches, and pillars of what formed the second internal stage, and also quantities of the jambs and external arcades, as well as the small blank arcades over them—a feature similar to what is seen on the present transept gables. Thirdly, there were considerable quantities of the caps, jambs, and arches, etc., of the upper stage. This in the interior presented a design of three arches, precisely as in the windows of the clerestory on the east side of the transept, and like these had probably a small blank arcade above on the exterior. Further, large portions of the richly zig-zagged string over the Norman arches of the crux had been found, as well as of the two moulded strings over it, and also fragments of the shafts at the angles of the interior and of the attached half columns which formed the interior upright column lines of the composition. In a similar way, a great quantity of the external strings and half pillars had come to light. Of the outside work a part still retained the lichen coating with which it became covered when it was in its original position. It was well worth considering whether in rebuilding the lantern it would not be desirable to make some use of this Norman arcading. There was enough, or nearly enough of it to reconstruct the whole of the tower, or first stage immediately above the arches of the crux. If that was thought desirable, and he confessed it appeared to him to be very desirable, the next point that required consideration was whether the two pointed arches on the east and west sides of the crux should be rebuilt, or whether Norman arches should be substituted for

them. The pointed arches, as they originally existed, had an historical interest; they would hardly have the same as merely rebuilt. They would cease to tell any tale beyond the fact that they were an exact reproduction of the arches which stood there when the reconstruction of the tower became necessary. They would have no meaning in relation to the new structure. The addition of this stage of arcading would, of course, raise the tower to the height of the arcading. On this the fourteenth-century tower might still be erected. But could nothing more be done? Such a tower would still be low, and out of proportion to the great length of the church. Surely something more should be done, and a spire would be a grand feature. There were now spires on two of the western towers, and there was, as late as a century ago, a third spire. To erect a lofty and noble spire on the great central tower would be a triumph of architectural skill, and would give a dignity and an elevation to the church which nothing else could impart. The Dean then went on to refer to the remains of the supposed Saxon church, which were discovered at the foot of the south-eastern pier, and which he said were probably the lower portions of the church, the upper part of the building, perhaps, being built of wood. How far the remains of this Saxon building extended, and whether the lines of walling indicated the existence of one or more buildings, it was at present impossible to determine. This could only be done when the immense shoring and scaffolding were removed. In the foundations of the eastern piers a few fragments of Saxon moulded work were found, such as perforated slabs of windows, door jambs, two lintels, and one very interesting and richly-carved fragment of a capital, almost unquestionably Roman. This might have been brought from Castor, but it was curious no other fragment of Roman work had been discovered. [We are obliged to postpone the remainder of our report until next month.—Ed.]

Newcastle Antiquarian Field Meeting.—July 3rd.—A party of members, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Bruce and the Rev. J. Low, vicar of Haltwhistle, proceeded to Greenhead Station, and from thence visited the ruins of Thirlwall Castle and walked along the line of the Roman Wall over the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall. The party visited the site of the camp of Magna at Cavora, and inspected the interesting inscribed stones and other relics preserved in the farmhouse, which were described by Dr. Bruce.

Shropshire Archaeological Society.—June 25th.—The annual summer excursion of the members of this society visited the Montgomeryshire border of Shropshire. The well-preserved tumulus of Hên Domen was noticed, and the course of Offa's Dyke was traced in the meadows below the left side of the road. On arriving at Montgomery, the castle, hill, and ruins were visited. This once formidable fortress stands on a bold cliff, with scarped sides. A steep, winding path leads to the top, where a few blocks of solid masonry are all that remain to mark the outline of the castle walls. An inner and outer court, protected by four deep fosses, are clearly traceable. These fosses and the escarpments of the almost perpendicular rocks mark the castle as one which modern science might have rendered impregnable. In 1644

the castle was garrisoned by the Parliamentary troops, and Sir John Price was governor. The fortifications were shortly after this date dismantled. On a wooded eminence on the north side of the castle, from which even a finer and more extensive view is obtainable than from the castle mount, are the well-defined remains of a British encampment known as Tre Faldwyn, but time did not allow of a visit to it. On arriving at the church, which stands on an eminence facing the castle, the town occupying the valley between, the party was received by the Rev. F. W. Parker, the rector, and Dr. Wilding. The church of St. Nicholas is an Early English edifice, rendered cruciform by the later additions of north and south transepts. The roof is very remarkable, being divided into three spaces, the woodwork and ornamentation of each differing. There is a fine but cumbrous altar-screen and rood-loft, said to have been brought here from Chirbury. The south transept, or Lymore Chapel, contains a splendid canopied altar-tomb with the recumbent figures of Richard Herbert, Esq., and Magdalen, his wife, the daughter of Francis Newport, of High Ercall. These were the parents of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Chirbury and George Herbert, the poet. George was born at Blackhall, just below the town. Other effigies in armour are believed to represent some of the Mortimers, Earls of March. The grave in the churchyard, known as "The Robber's Grave," over which grass is said to refuse to grow, was inspected. The party next drove to Lymore Park, a remarkable specimen of the timbered mansion, with a splendid staircase, large panelled rooms, tapestried walls, and superb oaken floors. By directions of the owner, the Earl of Powis, the whole of the features of this remarkable building are carefully preserved. The figures on one of the gables are placed 1 over 67 and 5 underneath, which may be read as 1567 or 1675. The panelling of the rooms conclusively points to the latter date, although at first sight the house would seem to be much older. In the park Offa's Dyke may be traced.—Re-entering the carriages, the party drove to Marrington Hall, a curious black-and-white timber house, the residence of Mrs. Price. Very little is known of the history of this mansion. Over the doorway are the arms of Bowdler, of Hope Bowdler, with three quarterings and supporters. On the lawn is a finely-preserved sun-dial, carved with quaint masks resembling Egyptian deities. The date of the dial is 1505, and on one side the Bowdler arms are carved. The sententious inscriptions on the column are well worth recording. One runs thus: "Ut hora sic vita" (As the hour so life). The other: "Fui ut es, eris ut sum" (I was as thou art, thou shalt be as I am). On the lawn is an ancient oak, girthing, at five feet from the ground, upwards of twenty feet. Marrington, it is conjectured, was formerly a residence of the Bowdler family, descended from Baldwyn de Bollers, castellan of Montgomery Castle in the time of Edward I., and afterwards of Hope Bowdler and Shrewsbury. More recently it belonged to a Shrewsbury merchant named Lloyd. The Rev. J. Burd now drove with them to Chirbury, where the finely-restored church of St. Michael, with its massive square tower and noble arcades, was inspected. Some ancient tiles, some incised and others in relief, which

were found at the restoration of the church, have been placed in the space beneath the tower. Mr. Burd exhibited the churchwardens' accounts, which date from 1511, and a small bronze mould of the Virgin and Child, discovered in the churchyard. The mould yields a remarkably well-drawn and clearly-cut impression. Such moulds were in use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for the production of waxen images of saints, and for the moulding of "the pax bread." Chirbury once boasted of a castle, erected in the tenth century by Ethelfleda, Queen of the Mercians, to repel the incursions of the Welsh. The site near the church is still visible. Here also was a Benedictine priory, founded by Robert de Bollers in the time of Richard I., but all traces of this building, like those of the castle, have vanished.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—June 14th.—The society visited Jedburgh, Kelso, and Floors Castle, under the guidance of Mr. John M'Lachlan, who pointed out the historical and architectural points of interest connected with Jedburgh Castle, the site of which—a richly-wooded terrace on the banks of the Jed—is one of the most attractive in a very pretty district. In like manner Mr. M'Lachlan gave a graphic account of Kelso Abbey. After the inspections were completed, on the motion of Mr. M'Gibbon, the president, Mr. M'Lachlan, was accorded a cordial vote of thanks. The party also visited Floors Castle, the princely residence of the Duke of Roxburghe. The building was originally designed by Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect of Blenheim, but it was remodelled by Playfair in 1838.

Northamptonshire Natural History Society.—June 19th.—The geological section of this society had an excursion to Finedon Gardens. Finedon village was reached between two and three o'clock. The fine church was first visited. This church is a handsome building of the fourteenth century, and contains several interesting points. In the church is a square sided Norman font with figures on each of the sides. The company admired the fine buttresses.

Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Field Club.—June 25th.—The members of this club began their summer meeting at Oxford. Under the leadership of Mr. James Parker they looked through the fossils in the Museum, which had been found in the Oxford and Kimridge clay, the coral rag, the ironsand and Portland. On Thursday the party drove out west, up Cumnor Hall to Cumnor Clump, on the way to Besseleigh, whence the party proceeded to Fyfield, where they were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Parker, at the old fourteenth-century Manor House. This most interesting house was inspected, with its various alterations from Charles II.'s time until now. The church was built in the reign of Edward II., by the same man who built the Manor House, and is most interesting. It has, besides its fourteenth-century work, some fifteenth and later period features. The house, which was built for a chantry house, in which some old pensioners were provided for, and who had to attend the daily services in the chapel, is now a public-house.

Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Architectural Societies.—July 3rd.—The annual meetings of these societies were opened in Hull on Thursday. The com-

pany visited the Parish Church, and were afterwards received by the Mayor at the Town Hall. The party proceeded in the afternoon to visit Holderness and the churches in the district.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—June 25th.—The club left Berwick on board the Leith steamer, *Fiery Cross*, for the Farne Islands. After passing Holy Island, Captain Norman read a paper on the history, lighthouses, geology, botany, and ornithology of the Farne Islands. After mentioning that the islands numbered from fifteen to twenty-five according to the state of the tide, he said their names were mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and given to them for some real or imaginary feature. The islands formed a retreat for saints, monks, and hermits of old, and are intimately connected with ecclesiastical worthies, as, soon after the introduction of Christianity into Northumberland, they were selected by religious men as a station and retreat. Aidan, first bishop of Lindisfarne, occasionally retired there; but St. Cuthbert, originally a shepherd boy, gave celebrity to the islands. He lived there for nine years, and died there in 687. Referring to later times, he alluded to the heroic feat of Grace Darling, who died in 1842, and was buried at Bamborough.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 2nd.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce in the chair.—The chairman read the following notes on the discovery of a grave cover:—A few days ago, I was informed by Mr. Reavell, resident architect at Alnwick Castle, that in cutting a drain in the abbey grounds in Alnwick Park, he had come upon a tomb, which he asked me to come and see. I went accordingly, and was accompanied in my inspection by Mr. Hindmarch, solicitor, Alnwick. The slab covering the tomb is an elegant one. An elaborately-carved cross occupies its centre, and an inscription in ecclesiastical Gothic runs round the margin. The letters are clearly cut, but to eyes unaccustomed to their form the reading of them was a matter of some difficulty. With considerable care and pains we made it out as follows:—“*Obruta loreta de botry per fera leta hac jacet in meta vivat redimita q: leta.*” These words form two lines of hexameter verse. I was at some loss how to translate them. Mr. Hindmarch made a near approach to a correct reading of them. I sent a copy of them to our friend and associate Canon Raine. Writing to me in reply, he says: “The inscription is curious. It is a fair sample of a style of epitaphs not uncommon in the thirteenth and the earliest part of the fourteenth century. No lady would be buried in the graveyard of a house of monks or canons unless she was a person of distinction as a benefactress. The translation presents no great difficulty:—‘*Loretta de Botry overthrown by cruel death lies in this trench (or grave); may she live and be joyful crowned—i.e., have a crown of joy.*’” From the records of Alnwick Abbey, which are in the possession of Mr. Hindmarch, several persons of distinction, besides ecclesiastics, have been buried in the abbey grounds. William de Vescy, son of Eustace, was buried before the door of the Chapter House. Burga, his wife, was buried near him. John de Vescy was buried here on February 7th, 1288. Henry de Percy, second lord of Alnwick, was buried here in 1351. Lady Mary Plantagenet was buried in the abbey in 1362, and Henry Percy, third lord, in 1368. In

cutting the drain already referred to, the foundations of the walls of the conventual buildings were in several places laid bare, and were found to be in an encouraging condition. His Grace the Duke of Northumberland has given orders for a complete examination of the foundations of the abbey buildings to be made. In this way not only may some more tombs of illustrious personages be found, but the whole structure of the abbey will probably be ascertained, of which only the gateway at present remains above ground.—The chairman read a paper on “The Recent Discoveries in the Roman Camp on the Lawe, South Shields.”—Mr. J. V. Gregory read a paper “On the Place-Names of the County of Durham.”—The Rev. J. R. Boyle read a paper on “The Windows in the South Wall of the Chancel of St. Paul’s Church, Jarrow.”

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—June 21st.—The purpose of the meeting was to hear a statement of the recent excavations at the Old Bridge, and also an account of Lincluden Abbey. Mr. Starke, in introducing his subject, said he would confine himself to a short sketch of its history. The bridge which spanned the Nith where the Old Bridge, as we called it, now stood, was erected by the Lady Devorgilla. That lady was daughter of Alan, one of the Lords of Galloway, married John Baliol of Barnard Castle in Yorkshire, and became the mother of John Baliol, afterwards King of Scotland. She founded, in conjunction with her husband, Balliol College in Oxford, and, for her munificence was great, several other monasteries and colleges in other parts. Among these, and previous to her erecting the Old Bridge, was the Franciscan or Greyfriars’ Monastery in Dumfries. That monastery occupied a large extent of ground between where the Greyfriars’ Church stood at present, on the one side, a point half-way down Friars’ Vennel, and, on the other side, in a sloping direction, a point near Moat House. After this—and Mr. McDowall fixed the period in the thirteenth century as historically authentic—the building of a bridge to connect Dumfries with the province, or rather, as it then was, independent kingdom of Galloway, took place. It was generally stated that it was done for commercial purposes and as a convenience to the inhabitants of the burgh of Dumfries, and especially of the inmates of the monastery. He did not know where they could get a better idea of where the Monastery originally stood than from a point of view in College Street. There they could see the spire of Greyfriars’ Church, on the lofty ground at the head of Friars’ Vennel, where the castle stood, and the Moat House farther to the left, and the ground sloping towards the river. In those days the moat was a sufficient natural, or it might be artificial, defence to the town on the north side, and the old town wall ran from the Moat round by St. Mary’s Church (where used to stand St. Christopher’s Chapel, built by a sister of King Robert Bruce, widow of Sir Christopher Seton), and on past St. Michael’s Church and where the Royal Infirmary now was, towards the river. Thus Dumfries was sufficiently protected on its north, east, and south sides, and beyond the wall on the south there was a natural defence in the rocky height of Castledykes, opposite to which, on the Galloway

side of the river, there was another moat. But on the west side of the town the ground was all open except for the river, and the river, though wide, was shallow, save in winter, and crossed by fords. A few years ago, when the Caul was in course of repair, the track was plainly seen of one of the ancient fords, partly paved, so as to facilitate the passage of carriages. Then there was a ford higher up—the Stakeford—and one lower down. This then was the weak side of the town for defensive purposes. Galloway was a friendly province, however, and there was no likelihood of attack in that direction, and the advantage of a bridge was this, that it afforded great facilities to a friendly party, and opposed the greatest possible difficulties to an enemy. Well, that bridge existed, in fact, no more. Except for the foundations, and one or two of the piers, and some of the stones which might have been used in the work of reconstruction, Devorgilla's bridge disappeared in the year 1620, when it was carried away by a flood; so that what we now called the Old Bridge dated from the seventeenth century. It would take some years to build it. What we called the New Bridge took three or four years, and it was built with greater facilities in the end of last century. The Old Bridge was, however, erected on the foundations of the original structure; and it was only right and proper that Devorgilla's name should be continued to it, for the purpose of preserving, in the minds of the people of Dumfries, the memory of her munificence. Very probably, too, its form would be made closely to resemble the original; and to us it was pre-eminently the Old Bridge of Dumfries. On that bridge there was a little port-gate at the end of the third arch from the Galloway side. That marked the boundary division between the two districts of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, and at that point certain dues were taken by those who had authority in the burgh. Originally the bridge dues were assigned by Devorgilla to the Monastery. Subsequently, when the bridge was rebuilt by the voluntary efforts of the burgh, out of the common good, assisted by the liberality of private individuals, the king was so much surprised and gratified by that praiseworthy conduct that he gave a grant of all customs and tolls to the burgh, and these were conveyed as effectually to the burgh as they had previously been to the Monastery. Such was, in brief, the history of the Old Bridge, excepting that some of its arches were renewed in subsequent years, and there were those still living who could remember when, forty years ago, there were seven arches. Most of them, however, had seen no more than six, and the sixth they had seen in so frail a condition that it had to be taken down, and the society had to step forward, when the process of reconstruction was about to begin, and ask that the lines of the old arch be closely followed. The seventh arch referred to was, he might mention, taken away to widen the road and increase the area of the cattle market. There was no doubt that exaggerated accounts would come down from generation to generation of so notable a structure as the Old Bridge of Dumfries. There is no record of Devorgilla's bridge except occasional references in old books; but there was a tradition that the present bridge had thirteen arches at one time. That, he thought, was manifestly imaginary. No doubt, look-

ing at it from a distance, if it had ten arches, and still more if it had another, it would have the appearance, with the river flowing under it and over the flat land, of a bridge of great extent and endless arches. In 1866 search was made in Brewery Street for traces of the building there, and none were found to show that it could ever have had more than nine arches. It had been their good fortune to come within the last few days upon what they conceived to have been the ninth and last arch. That was a matter about which Mr. Barbour would give them more exact and scientific information than he was able to do. At the Dumfries end of the bridge there were also grain mills formerly—the town mills, which were afterwards removed to where they now were on the Maxwelltown side of the river. And besides the spring of the ninth arch they had come across what seemed to be the remains of a mill lade.—Mr. Barbour then read the following paper:—Following out the wishes of the committee of this society, I beg to make a short statement in reference to certain masonry which has been found in the course of excavations at Mr. Muirhead's property, Bridge Street. The old buildings which abut upon the narrow street, extending between Bridge Street and Brewery Street, at a point exactly opposite the Old Bridge, were being demolished to make way for improvements, and in excavating the foundations the masonry referred to was brought to light. The masonry consists of a wall starting from the east side of Bridge Street, and extending eastwards 10 feet 5 inches, thence in a direction south-east 6 feet 3 inches, and again eastwards 40 feet 4 inches, terminating in a line with the Brewery Street end of the building belonging to Mr. Foster, situated on the opposite side of the narrow street before mentioned. The depth at which the wall is founded varies, being upwards of 10 feet below the surface of the street, and 4 feet below the present water-line of the river opposite, 4 feet below the surface and 9 inches above the water-line at Brewery Street, and 6 feet below the surface and 9 inches below the water-line midway between these points. The top line of the wall is also irregular, and the work varies in height from 9 feet or more at Bridge Street to about 4 feet at its centre, and 2½ feet at Brewery Street; and it measures about 3 feet in thickness. The masonry is solid and strong. It is composed of the red sandstone of the district, well cemented together with lime mortar, in which is a mixture of shells, and it is faced on one side, the south one, with hewn ashlar, in regular courses about 11 inches in height. The westmost part of the wall is in a line with the south side of the Old Bridge. At a point 27½ feet east of the line of Bridge Street the wall is divided in length by an opening 4 feet 3 inches wide, the floor of which is 9 inches below the present water-line of the river opposite. The opening is continued northwards beyond the thickness of the wall, under the narrow street; its sides are of ashlar, similar to the facing of the wall, and rest on their flat foundation-stones, the edges of which are splayed and hewn, and project like a base course; and its top appears to have been closed by arching. The west end of the masonry is terminated by the remains of a large arch, consisting of a springing course, 12 inches in height, which projects, and is splayed on the top, and 13 thin arch-courses, their thickness being

about 6 inches, which extend northwards in the direction of crossing the end of the narrow street. The arch ring is about 18 inches deep, and its south-west angle is chamfered; it is of good and tasteful workmanship, and in excellent preservation. [We are compelled to postpone the remainder of our report until next month.—ED.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Restorations at Westminster Hall.—The pulling down of the excrescences of some recent centuries, but more particularly of those brick and mortar and plaster adjuncts to the Ancient Hall at Westminster, erected at the beginning of the present era for the Law Courts lately swept away, has laid bare some of the oldest portions of the venerable structure. Before the Law Courts were erected, there existed some mean dwellings abutting on the western wall of the Hall. The original work of Rufus was so far embedded, that in 1834 only a couple of windows and a portion of the string course told of its existence. During the restoration of the north front, when Cottingham's drawings were made, considerable portions were for a short time uncovered, and again at a later period the whole of the Norman walls were laid bare, to be recased by Sir Robert Smirke. It has remained for the removal of the Law Courts to uncover permanently the earlier Norman walls, fortunately in a fairly perfect state of preservation. The plans for the reconstruction of the west side of the hall have been drawn by Mr. Pearson, R.A., whose object, in accordance with the wishes of the First Commissioner, has been to recover the aspect presented in the time of Richard II., whilst at the same time the existing evidences of the earlier historical work should be preserved, and not be again obscured. It is proposed, therefore, to build the wall between the buttresses in its original position, making an open cloister with a gallery over it extending nearly the whole length of the hall. This cloister will be

formed by a series of arches, which are suggested by the wall arches inside, by the jambs found against the large buttresses, and also by the evidences supplied by Capon, and which latter indicate what might have been the original treatment. The height of this work is accurately marked by the returns of the parapet on the buttresses, and from the position of these the parapet was probably embattled. On the foundation of Henry III.'s work the architect has designed a two-storeyed building projecting westward, of the same height and appearance as the two-storeyed cloister, having a high-pitched roof and gable towards St. Margaret's Church, but in character with the Richard II. work. There is evidence of a former high-pitched roof in this position. The lower floor of the cloister will be arranged to form a stand for horses, to supply the purposes of the shed at present occupying the site. The upper floor of the cloister may be one

large chamber similar to the old Exchequer Court, and there will be ingress to it by a flight of steps from the hall, and also an approach from New Palace Yard by an octagonal turret at the north-west angle, which will occupy a position not far from one built by Elizabeth. The plans also show the completion of Sir Charles Barry's work on the north side of St. Stephen's Porch in such a manner as to make accordance between



WESTMINSTER HALL, BEFORE THE LAW COURTS.

the two works.

First Auction Sale of Books.—"The first catalogue of books sold by auction was the library of Dr. Seaman; the second was that of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Kidner, A.M., rector of Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, beginning Feb. 6, 1676-7."—Bliss's *Reliquie Hearniane*, ii. 155.

Library at the Castle of Wrexhil.—Leland has the following quaint account: "One thing I likid exceedingly yn one of the Towers that was a study caullid Paradise, wher was a closet in the middle of 8 squares latisid aboute; and at the Toppe of every square was a Desk ledgid to set Bookes on, and cofers withyn them, and these semid as yoinid hard to the Toppe of the Closet: and yet by Pulling one or al wold cum downe, briste higthe in rabettes, and serve for Deskes to lay Bokes on."—Leland's *Itinerary* (edit. Hearne), vol. i., p. 54.

Ancient Municipal Offices.—Some interesting allusions to these, at "merry Caerlel" (Carlisle), are

to be found in the ballad of *Adam Bel, Clym of the Cloughe, and Willyam of Cloudeisle*. At line 173 we read:

"That lytle boye was the towne swyne-herd."

See for "the town swine-herd" Mr. Gomme's valuable *Index of Municipal Offices*, pp. 32, 74. Again, at lines 557-560, we read:

"Of all the constables and catchipolles
Alyue were left not one;
The baylyes and the bedyls both,
And the sergeauntes of the law."

It would seem more likely that these last were the (town) sergeants than the serjeants-at-law. It should also be noted, as bearing on the origin of the mace, that the mayor's weapon and its use is specially alluded to.

"The mayre of Caerlel forth com was,
And with hym a ful great route,

The mayre came armed a full great pace,
With a pollaxe in hys hande,

The mayre smot at Cloudeisle with his bil,
Hys bucler he burst in two."

(Lines 349-50, 353-4, 357-8.)

Compare Thompson's description of the mace: "Originally an implement of war, invented for the purpose of breaking through the steel helmets or armour of the cavalry of the middle ages. It was borne by the chief magistrates of boroughs as a weapon; sometimes at the head of the townsmen called forth to battle, at others to strike down the rebellious townsmen in civil turmoils." (ANTIQUARY, vii., p. 42, cf. p. 108.) Thus, in this "pollaxe" we may here recognise the predecessor of the mace.—[Communicated by J. H. ROUND.]

First Use of Iron Bedsteads.—Oct. 3, 1733. "I hear of iron bedsteads in London. Dr. Massey told me of them on Saturday, Sept. 29, 1733. He said they were used on account of the buggs, which have, since the great fire, been very troublesome in London."—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, iii. 105.

Maidstone Burghmote.—"It was usual to give notice of the *Burghmote* in the church; but Mr. Barrel, the Minister,* not permitting it any longer, this court was afterwards proclaimed in the Morning it was held, by a *Base Horn*, in several parts of the Town; as it is now by Notice in Writing put up in a publick place."—Newton's *History of Maidstone* (1748), p. 51.—[Communicated by J. H. ROUND.]

A Lesson from Plutarch.—In the *Life of Pericles*, this writer begins by saying:—"One day in Rome, Cæsar seeing some rich foreigners nursing and petting young lapdogs and monkeys, inquired whether in their parts of the world the women bore no children,"—an inquiry which might have been made with singular pertinence to Henry III. of France. But let us proceed a little further, and we shall find another passage, which comes nearer home both as to place and time. "That was a clever saying of Antisthenes," observes Plutarch, a few lines

* He was, as might be expected, a Laudian, and was silenced as such in 1643 (Walker's *Sufferings*, p. 202).—J. H. R.

lower down, "who answered, when he heard that Ismenias was a capital flute-player, 'But he must be a worthless man, for if he were not, he would not be such a capital flute-player.' And King Philip of Macedon, when his son played brilliantly and agreeably on the harp at an entertainment, said to him, 'Are you not ashamed to play so well?' It is enough for a king if he sometimes employs his leisure in listening to musicians, and it is quite a sufficient tribute from him to the muses, if he is present at the performances of other persons." But H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh is of a different opinion.—[Communicated by W. C. HAZLITT.]

Book Curses.—"The ancients did not only add anathemas at the end of their books to any that should steal or abuse them, but oftentimes they pronounced a curse upon such as should carp at the composition of the book. Thus in the Bodleian Library there is a paraphrase on the Psalms in English verse, and at the end this anathema: *Quicunque alienaverit anathema sit. Qui culpât carmen sit maledictus. Amen.*"—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. i., p. 166.



Antiquarian News.

The "Vandals" are busy in the quaint old town of Ludlow. During the last few weeks a fine old domicile, situated in the "Narrows" (so called from the limited width of the thoroughfare), has been pulled down to make room for a more elaborate establishment in the shape of a nineteenth-century grocer's shop. This old house was one of the links of the past history of the town, being one of the ancient workhouses of our old boroughs erected in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was in this building that the overseers of the poor kept at work the indigent inhabitants of the town, upon a stock of hemp and wool which was provided by funds raised by the more wealthy householders. There were one or two interesting old marks upon the premises. The tablet upon the front stated that "Thomas: Hanky Bvylded This Howse: Robert Wryght Beying Over: Seer 1576." The coat-of-arms of Sir Henry Sydney, the governor of Ludlow Castle. Some good oak panelling in one of the lower rooms and a circular oak staircase.

The old annual festival, Shrewsbury Show, was celebrated after a fashion on June 16th, the whole of the proceedings being a mere burlesque as compared with what the show was when at its best. There was a procession through the streets about noon, consisting of a couple of bands, with the "Black Prince," "Rubens," "Queen Catherine," and a number of show people, and they proceeded to the field next the cricket field, where there was a large number of shows.

On 27th June reopening services were held at the parish church of Llangendeirne to celebrate its reopening after partial restoration. This building is one of more than usual interest. It is dedicated to

Cyndeirn (English, Kentigern), who is said to have been the son of Arthog ab Caredig ab Cunedda. The church contains many ancient monumental relics, and each of the three bells bears an inscription dating back to the seventeenth century. Prior to the recent restoration, the building had fallen into a greater state of decay than any of the many decayed churches in this district which have been restored during the time of the present bishop and his predecessor, Dr. Thirlwall. The roof was worn out and leaky, the old pews were rotten, the floor was always damp, and the whole atmosphere of the place unwholesome and depressing. At the startling a ghastly discovery was made in excavating the floor of the nave and off aisles, in which no less than 497 skeletons were brought to light and removed to the churchyard.

The Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck has unearthed among the corporation records of Andover some most interesting early guild rolls, which will probably be published *in extenso*.

The parish church Sheriffhales has recently been restored and reopened. The old high square pews have been removed and the west gallery taken down. The chancel, which was on a level with the rest of the church, has been raised three steps, and divided from the nave by a low stone wall. The pews in the chancel have been replaced by choir stalls. The old wooden windows in the north aisle have been removed and stone tracery-headed ones inserted. The flat ceiling of the north aisle has been removed, leaving the old oak roof exposed, which has been repaired as far as possible. The hacking off of the old plaster revealed some frescoes, illustrating the Creation and the Fall of Man, as well as the Sacraments of the Church. These were so decayed and imperfect that it was impossible to retain them.

The ancient church of Llangadwaladr, which has been undergoing a complete restoration, was reopened on 26th June. Describing the unrestored fabric, Canon Thomas, in his history of the diocese, says, "The church is one of three dedicated in memory of Cadwaladr Fendigaid, King of the Britons, the wake or festival being held on October 9th. It is small and plain, of early date, with a south porch and western bell-gable. The east window a trefoiled triplet. It was restored in 1849, at an expense of about £300, to which fund the Viscount Dungannon was the chief contributor. The massive communion plate, consisting of flagon, chalice, and patten, were the gift of his ancestor, Sir John Trevor, of Brynkinalt, Master of the Rolls. In the churchyard are some very fine yew trees of great size and age." The church, which was in a very dilapidated condition, has been thoroughly repaired; the roofing entirely renewed, the old semi-circular plaster ceiling removed, and the rafters boarded to the apex of the roof. The old principals have been cleaned and strengthened and the west gallery removed. The old wood window-frames have also been removed, and trefoil-headed stone windows inserted.

At a late meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society at Lancaster, it was announced that the Duke of Devonshire has undertaken, at his own cost, to publish the cartularies of Furness Abbey.

A silver coin, rather larger than the ordinary sixpence, and in tolerably good condition, was on July 1st shown to the correspondent of the *Yorkshire Gazette* by Mr. William Thompson, a paper maker, employed at the Richmond Mills, who had found it in a slip of earth from Richmond Castle yard. On one side the date 1572 was very distinct, whilst on the other side was the crowned head of Queen Elizabeth, a representation of a rose being placed just behind the crown of Her Majesty.

An interesting discovery is reported from Gibraltar, a diver having found at the bottom of the sea from 80 to 100 large guns and two anchors. These articles are believed to be relics of the battle of Trafalgar.

Saturday morning, June 28th, the day fixed for the historical pageant in commemoration of the legend of the Piper of Hamelin, opened favourably. The weather was magnificent, and crowds poured into the town, many of the visitors coming from long distances. All the streets were decorated, in many instances with much artistic taste. The procession was the chief feature of the festivities.

Bickington Church has been reopened after being completely restored. The first thing to be noted, we believe, in the restoration is the charmingly quaint lych-gate on the south side, through which the worshipper approaches the church. It is of half-timbered fifteenth-century oak-work, and is an excellent example. The actual gates themselves have gone; but the "oldest inhabitant," and several of his more juvenile companions, distinctly remember their existence, and carved oak joists of the originals still remain *in situ*. Over the lych-gate is a parvise-chamber, in which, in the old days, resided the officiating priest. The ancient font, which is octagonal, has been removed from the midst of the north arcade, and placed at the south-west end of the church. It is surmounted by a remarkably quaint oak cover. This belongs to the Debased period, but is of interest as a characteristically conceived sample of Jacobean work. Its panels are alternately ornamented by foliage carving and the heads of seraphim. This font-cover was placed in the hands of Mr. Harry Hems, and has been renovated by him. All the old mural tablets have been carefully preserved. Of the sacred vessels the flagon is pewter, and dates from early in the last century. The chalice and paten are more ancient, the former dating from 1575. In the vestry are two very old oak-chests.

On July 1st the Rev. J. J. Christie, vicar of Pontefract, opened a museum of great historic interest, Lord Houghton being engaged in London and unable to perform the ceremony. The building devoted to the preservation of relics in connection with Pontefract Castle and the district, including many objects of Roman times, is situated at the entrance to the Castle grounds, and in a portion of the ruins of the Castle building remodelled for the purpose.

The good old term "scot" is still in full use in Sussex. The annual "Watercourt" for the Lewes and Laughton levels was held at Lewes on the 11th June, and "a general scot of 8d. an acre" was sanctioned. The interests of the "scotpayers" were much discussed.

The report of the British Museum submitted to Parliament shows that during 1883 the number of persons admitted to view the general collections (exclusive of readers) was 660,557. The number of visits to the reading-room and other departments for the purpose of study or research was 859,836. Dealing with the general progress of the Museum, the report says:—"The removal of the natural history collections to the new museum in Cromwell Road having been completed, the rooms in Bloomsbury in which the zoological collections had been exhibited have been applied to the accommodation of the departments remaining there. This has enabled the keeper of the department of Oriental antiquities to make a more extensive exhibition of Egyptian objects of various characters in a system of instructive classification; the ancient vases and terra-cottas, the bronzes and the ancient paintings have been rearranged and more fully displayed by the keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities; British and mediæval collections have been placed on exhibition; the glass and porcelain collections have been brought together in one room; an extensive ethnographical collection, including the contents of the Christy Museum, transferred from Victoria Street, is in process of geographical arrangement in the long gallery formerly occupied by the collection of birds. In the gallery lately occupied by the British zoological collection, coins and medals of all countries, together with photographs of drawings of the old masters, and of early engravings of the Italian and Flemish schools, have been exhibited."

On 21st June Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge concluded at their rooms, Wellington Street, Strand, London, the sale of a fine collection of coins. Prices ruled high, but the sums paid for Scottish silver pennies and other Scottish coins were extraordinary. The most interesting lots were as follows:—*Scottish Silver Coins*.—David I. penny, £4 15s. (Rollin); another specimen from the same dies, but differently struck, £5 2s. 6d. (Verity); uncertain penny, attributed by Lindsay to Malcolm IV., usual type of David I. on reverse, £7; 2 pennies, Roxburgh Ravl. On. Roc; Ravl. Der Lig; 3 William the Lion pennies, double cross, Roxburgh, £4 15s.; William the Lion penny, bearded head to right, £5 12s. 6d. (Rollin); Alexander II. penny with the sceptre with legendary circle, £9; Alexander II. penny, beardless head to right, name of mint obliterated, unique and unpublished, fractured, £12; Alexander III. penny, same type, Berwick, £6 15s.; six David II. groats, Edinburgh, £3 15s.; David II. groat, Aberdeen, £4 4s.; Robert II. penny, Perth, good state, £7 (Rollin); James II. groat, Edinburgh, fleur-de-lis, pellet type, £3 3s.; James IV. half-groat, good portrait, in splendid condition, £22 18s.; James IV. half-groat, full face, £14; Mary testoon 1553, crowned head, £7 7s.; Mary, pattern of jetton, undated, M under a crown between thistles, both crowned, £12; Mary testoon, with widowed bust, 1561, £12 5s.; Mary and Henry, one-third ryal, 1565, £3 10s.; Mary sola ryal, with *veris* for *vires*, £3 3s.; James VI. two-thirds sword dollar, 1568, £6; James VI. thistle dollar, 1579, £6 7s. 6d.; James VI. two shilling piece, 1581, arms of Scotland on the obverse, crowned thistle between I.R. on reverse, £55 10s.;

James VI., first coinage after the English Accession, six shilling piece Scottish or sixpence sterling, 1625, £7 7s. *Scottish Gold Coins*.—Robert III., St. Andrew, close nimbus like a cowl round the head of the saint, £7 15s.; Robert III., St. Andrew, short cross, £6 10s.; James III., rider, £6 2s. 6d.; James IV., unicorn, old English lettering on the obverse, £8; James IV., unicorn, crown, £17; James V. ecu, words on both sides divided by two annulets, £26 10s.; Mary lion, or forty-four shilling piece, £4; another, the escutcheon, smaller than on the usual variety, £33; Mary portrait ryal, or three pound piece, 1558, fine, £13; James VI. thistle noble, £3 10s.; James VI. hat piece, 1593, £12 5s.; James VI. rider, 1594, £2 10s.; James VI. sword and sceptre piece, 1594, rare, £22; Charles I. half unit, by Falconer, £12.

Thorvald Stolberg has supplied a bibliography of important English works on Scandinavian Literature, which has been added to F. W. Horn's work, recently translated by R. B. Anderson, under the title of "History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North." The bibliography includes over a thousand separate works and editions covering nearly one hundred pages of the book, which is a manual for scholars, and not intended for popular reading.

The city of Winchester, on 26th June, commemorated the seven hundredth anniversary of its incorporation by a series of festivities, in which the Lord Mayor of London, the Bishop of the diocese, and a number of provincial chief magistrates, including the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne, took part. The proceedings included a procession to the cathedral, where the Dean delivered an address, in which he traced the gradual growth of freedom under municipal institutions. The day's engagements included a luncheon at the Castle Hall, which dates from the reign of Henry III., an exhibition of ancient charters and documents relating to the early history of the city, extending over a thousand years, and a torchlight procession, in which tableaux illustrative of various remarkable scenes in the history of the city formed a prominent feature. The joint committee of the corporation and citizens will publish *A Collection of Charters and Other Records Illustrative of the Municipal History of the Town*, a proposal which we hail with pleasure. Mr. Stopher could not signalize his year of office better.



Correspondence.

PLACE-NAMES.

[*Ante*, p. 6.]

It is at all times dangerous and sometimes very misleading to generalise on place-names. The writer of a paper entitled "Field-Name and Toponymical Collections" has ventured very widely a-field on this subject. Thus, to single out one only of his speculations, at p. 7 of *THE ANTIQUARY*, we find an assumed sept or tribe of Hollings evolved from the place-names Hollingsbury, Hollingdean, and Hollington, all in Sussex; but we have also Hollingbourne

in Kent, Hollingdon in Bucks, Hollinghill in Northumberland, Hollington in Derbyshire, also in Staffordshire, Hollingworth in Cheshire, Hollingwood in Lancashire; truly all these Hollingas were very wide-spread! But that is not all; as variants we have: Hayling in Surrey and Hants, which lead up to Halling in Kent, Hallingbury in Essex, Hallington in Lincolnshire and Northumberland; then again, Hillingdon in Middlesex, Hillington twice in Norfolk. Now, on this scheme, we must either assume that the one tribe of Hollingas has mutated by vowel change with *a* and *i* or admit two other tribes, viz., Hallingas and Hillingas, and so on throughout the whole alphabet. Let us, however, rather bury Mr. Kemble's theory, and start afresh.

Brighton.

A. H.

CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.

[*Ante*, p. 38.]

I cannot agree with the remarks of your correspondent upon the colouring of the effigy of Sir John Hautville in Chew Magna Church. I think instead of painting the figure according to the taste of the then incumbent of the parish or of the architect, the old and, as far as was apparent, the original colouring should have been strictly preserved and no indulgence allowed to fancy. I have a good drawing of the figure as it appeared before the "restoration."

With respect to the tomb of Sir John St. Loe, I cannot endorse the opinion of the gentlemen who made the "careful inspection," and found that the head and legs had been restored, and that the latter had been crossed. I believe the head to be the original one, with the exception of the nose, which was very badly restored about twenty years ago. The hands were also restored at the same time, and very badly done. I believe the legs are original; the supposition (from whatever source derived) that crossed legs had formerly occupied the place of the present ones, I think must be erroneous, as the monument is long posterior to the epoch of crossed-legged figures.

One word about the iron railing which formerly surrounded the Baber tomb, the removal of which appears to have exercised the minds of some of the visitors not a little. It may be gratifying to them to know that the supposed "handsome hammered iron screen" was in fact a simple iron railing, and possessed neither beauty nor interest.

WM. ADLAM

(Of Chew Magna).

The Hurst, Bournemouth.

ESSEX AND SUFFOLK.

[*Ante*, p. 38.]

Being interested, like Mr. Hamblin Smith, in the antiquities of these counties, I am glad to be able to inform him that it is proposed to start an antiquarian column, about a month hence, in one of the very papers he mentions, namely *The Essex Standard and*

West Suffolk Gazette, published weekly at Colchester. It will include, as suggested by Mr. Hamblin Smith, copious extracts from old papers, such as the *Ipswich Journal*.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

SILCHESTER.

(viii. 134.)

CALLEVA.

(viii. 39, 85.)

No doubt Calleva existed in the time of Augustus, and long before; but after the time of Ptolemy and Antoninus the name is only mentioned or heard of in history in the Revennas, of unknown date.

But it is not so with Caer-Segout. No doubt this also "was a town in the very earliest times of the Roman rule"; but the inscriptions found on its site (Silchester) refer probably not to the emperors Septimius Severus (A.D. 194 to 212), nor Alexander Severus (A.D. 222 to 235), but to the Roman governor, Severus, sent into Britain A.D. 367, when the city, newly built by Constantius twelve or fifteen years before, would be "in its glory"—but Camden states that A.D. 407 Constantine was made emperor at Caer-Segout; and this shows that at *that date* Caer-Segout was known and recognised by *that name*.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, gives a map of England A.D. 491, where there appear Caer-Gwent (loco Winchester) and Caer-Segout (loco Silchester).

In a subsequent map of the Anglo-Saxon Empire he gives Winton-ceaster and Reading as places of most importance; and in a further map A.D. 1051, Winton-ceaster and Reading again appear; so that in the interval between 491 and 1051 Caer-Segout, *alias* Silchester, or the Great Camp or fortified city, had disappeared as a place of any importance in history.

But Caer-Segout, after being enlarged and fortified with stone walls by Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great (*circa* 353), no doubt became the capital or seat of government of the province of Britannia Prima, and was evidently a place of first class importance, and if, as is probable, a large army-corps were stationed or assembled there, it is not improbable that the army might take on itself to elevate whomever it thought proper to be its commander.

Accordingly, we learn that A.D. 407, the Vandals threatening Britain from Gaul, as well as the Picts and Scots, the Roman army in Britain for some reason revolted, and declared Marcus emperor, who was murdered almost immediately, and Gratian, a Briton, was named, who was deposed and killed four months after; when the army elected Constantine, a private soldier, who was made emperor merely for the sake of his name, in the hope of success against the enemy. Now to do all this implies an army of great numbers, and a castrum or fortification of great extent, such as we know of Silchester, to contain it; but, nevertheless, it is recorded that it took place at Caer-Segout and not at Calleva. The inference is too plain to need pointing to.

The Romanized Britons naturally continued to occupy Caer-Segout until driven out, and it was destroyed by the Saxons or Danes; but to this day their descendants, the Welshmen, know and recognize Silchester by no other name than Caer-Segout. This seems conclusive that Silchester is not Calleva; and

we are therefore at liberty to look for another site for the latter.

Then as to Calleva, last autumn I made a second exploration at Calvepit Farm, Reading; and I found that the farm homestead, which is very ancient, is built and stands in a large disused marl-pit, and the entire locality is chalk marl; and there are two other large pits, one near a furlong in length, and some smaller, from which it is difficult to believe that all the marl taken could have been used solely for the purposes of husbandry.

Under the head of Tadcaster, Yorks, which Camden considers to be the Roman "Calcaria," he derives that name from *calx*, chalk, or lime. So likewise the name Calleva may have come from the same root.

I must confess that on this occasion I could find no indications of any city having existed there. But on the other hand I must say also that there is not the slightest reason to doubt that a great city may have existed there without leaving any such indications. First consider that seventeen and a half centuries have elapsed since Hadrian's journeys. Next, that a British town would not have a stone, nor brick, nor tile or slate used in its houses, but only timber and wattle, made of the marl and thatch; and so nothing to leave any remains. Again, admitting for the sake of argument the latest theory, "that every station which leads and "every station which terminates an Iter was walled," it does not follow as probable that only forty years after the subjugation of the island by Agricola all the stations would have walls of stone masonry. Palgrave says even that London wall was built, it is supposed, about the age of Constantine (312 to 337). In 924 Edward "timbered" the burgh of Witham, and *temp.* Edward Confessor the great towns of England were quite open, or fortified only by stockades and banks, or perhaps a ruinous Roman wall. Therefore it is not probable that A.D. 120 a town near Reading on this marl subsoil was fortified by anything better than a timber stockade filled in with marl; which, together with the houses, would account for the large quantity excavated and removed from the various pits.

The destruction of the city and its defences would be no doubt by fire; and in the ages of years since elapsed, both the ashes and marl have become merged in and amalgamated and levelled by cultivation with the soil; and thus most or all trace or indication of the site lost, and nothing remains to attest that it ever existed there, but the coins scattered about the fields of Calvepit (Callevapit) Farm and the gardens of Southcot Manor House, which have been, and are being, found—*How else are these to be accounted for?*

In due time a successor and new Roman town was founded, but not exactly on the same spot, and that successor, as indicated by Palgrave, is Reading.

H. F. NAPPER.

Loxwood, Sussex.

DOUBLE PLURALS.

[*Ante*, ix., p. 143.]

Mr. Fry can add to his double plurals "hollins" (=hollies), as used in the West Riding. There are

many old houses called "Hollins." One commonly so called is written in an indenture, dated 1624, "Thick-hollinges," to which my attention was called two days ago.

THOMAS COX.

Hipperholm, near Halifax.
May 7th, 1884.

CURIOUS MARRIAGE BILL.

[*Ante*, p. 27.]

I am sure many of the readers of THE ANTIQUARY would like to know more of the remarkable Bill to legalize the marriage of men with *as many wives as they please not exceeding twelve*. Who was Mr. Mallet, and for what constituency did he sit?—What became of the Bill?
R. B. P.

CHURCH PLATE DISCOVERED AT SHORE-DITCH.

[*Ante*, p. 239.]

In reply to your correspondent, Veargitt W. Maughan, I beg to say that the following particulars of an alleged discovery on the site of the "Bonnet Box" were published at the time. A chest 6 feet long, 3½ wide, and 3 deep, was found buried at a considerable depth from the surface, in that part which had not been built upon. It was with difficulty the chest was removed, the weight being very great. On being opened, it was said to contain a large quantity of church plate, consisting of a ciborium, two silver pyxes, an antique chalice, an elaborately chased sanctuary lamp of great size, and a number of other articles. Opposite the spot stood Holywell Priory, and it is known that at the dissolution of the monasteries many objects of art which decorated the churches disappeared, and were never accounted for.

I have been informed, however, that, though the report became current in the public papers, the whole thing was a fabrication and an imposition—no plate whatever was found.

JOHN ALT PORTER.

Blackheath.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

CORRECTION.—*Ante*, p. 28, col. 1, "Jasper W. of Bedford" should be, of course, Jasper Duke of Bedford. ROBINSON (G.).—Thanks for the report; we hope to use it next month.

SMITH (H. W.).—We are sorry the report came too late for this month.

BOWKER (JAS.).—We have forwarded your letter to Mr. Barclay.

HARRISON (RICHARD).—We should be glad to hear from you on the subject you suggest.

HALL (HUBERT).—We regret your letter (in reply) could not be inserted this month.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

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Practice of the Exchequer Court, with its several Offices and Officers, by Sir T. F. London, 1658, very quaint. The Manuscript Journal of His Majesty's ship *Ocean*, 1780-81-82. Also have other book curiosities.—Address D. G. G., Buildwas, Ironbridge, Salop.

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Jones, Rev. Wm.; Kettle, John; Kinderley, George; Kyle, Samuel, F.I.C.D.; Lansdowne, Marquis of; Lashmar, Chas., M.D., F.G.S.; Lawrence, George; Lee, Dr., of Hartwell; Legge, Henry; London (Bp.), A.C.; Long, Charles M.; Long, Chas., Esq.; Luck; Lyons, John, Clk.; Macfarlane, W. A. Comyn, Coll. D. Jo. Bapt., Oxon; Madras (Bp.), Thomas; Markland, James Haywood, D.C.L., etc.; Marsh, Edward, Holly Lodge, Muchmore Hill; McLeod, Donald, of Geames, Esq., Advocate; Mereweather, Henry Alworth, Serjeant-at-law; Meteyard, H. W., Middle Temple; Morgan, Capt. Richard, Royal Navy; Morier, John Philip; Morley, Earl of; Nimmo, P., M.D.; Nott, John, B.D.; Nugent, Edward, Esq.; O'Malley, Peter Frederick; Owen, Hugh; Palmer, Elizabeth; Palmer, George; Palmer, James; Palmer, Richard, Esq.; Parker, Robert, F.A.S.; Parry, Charles Henry; Pattison, W. H.; Percy, Hugh; Phelps, James; Phillips, John, F.R.S., St. Mary's Lodge, York; Phillips, Thomas; Pigon, Charles Edward; Polhill, Frederick; Portington, Henry; Pott, Charles; Prat, R.; Pryor, Wm. Squire; Pym, Horatio Noble; Radcliffe, John Netten; Ramsay, Sir Alexander, of Balmain, Bart.; Ridley, Hambleton, Henley-on-Thames; Robarts, Nathaniel; Ross, Charles; Scafe, W., *Int. Templi Sodalis*; Scott, James John; Shelburne; Shute, Thomas Deane; Skinner, James; Skinner, Joannes, A.M., Camerton; Smallbone, Wm.; Smith; Smith, Hy. Porter; Smith, Richard Travers; Spence, Robert, North Shields; Stainforth; Standish, Wm. Standish; Staunton, Sir George, Bart.; Steele, Thomas Henry; Strachan, James M.; Surman, Wm. Henry; Sutherland, John, M.A.; Sykes, William Henry.—Post free, 3d. each, from Briggs and Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Tooting. (Letters only.)

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Notes and Queries, 5th Series. Journal of Archaeological Association, any vols. after 1864. Journal of Archaeological Institute, any vols. after 1880.—Rev. W. A. Leighton, Lucifefelde, Shrewsbury.

Gentleman's Magazine, between 1846 and 1868, either in volumes or in parts, any portion taken.—J. Briggs, 122, High Street, Sevenoaks (letters only).



The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1884.

The Griffin.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

THE griffin is "a fictitious animal compounded of the eagle and the lion;" thus curtly is this beast or fowl, for we must be careful that we do not speak unadvisedly in a matter of classification, dismissed by the best of our modern heraldic writers.*

Guillim is more reverential, though he indicates scepticism by classing the griffin with the wivern, the mermaid, and the cockatrice, telling us also that Saint Augustine says (where we are not informed) that such "monsters cannot be reckoned among those good creatures that God created before the transgression of Adam: for of these did God, when He took the survey of them, pronounce to be *valde bona*."†

From the number of heraldic bearings he gives, in which the griffin or parts thereof figure as charges, we may be quite sure that its existence was fully credited in the middle ages. A bird under that name, probably the *Grypaetus barbatus*, is mentioned in the Vulgate version of Holy Scripture among the fowls of the air that are unclean: "Immundas ne comedatis: aquilam scilicet, et gryphem, et halicæctum."‡

The Douay version renders this "the eagle, the grype, and the osprey." Bartholomew Glanvil in his *De Proprietatibus Rerum* gives but a meagre account of the griffin, almost every word of which is taken from the old *Glossa ordinaria*, which was the popular commentary on Holy Scripture before the publication of the great commentary of Nicholas

de Lyra. He says—we quote John Trevisa's version, which he tells us he made for "Syre Thomas Lorde, of Berkeley," a work which, we may remark by the way, deserves careful editing and reprinting almost more than any of the remains of our older literature,—

A Grype hyghte Griphes, and is accounted amonge volatiles, Deutronomi xiiii., and there the glose saythe, that the grype is foure fotedde, and lyke to the egle in heed and in wynges, and is lyke to the lyon in the other parte of the body, and dwelleth in those hylles that ben called Hyperborei, and ben most enmyes to horses and men, and greueth them moste, and layeth in his nest a stone that hyght Smaragdus agaynste venemous beastes of the mountayne.*

Marco Polo and the writer of the book of travels which passes under the name of Sir John Mandeville, both mention the griffin, but neither of them had ever seen one. We do not indeed remember ever to have heard of any person who professed to have come in contact with the creature alive, though its portraits, heraldically treated, must have been very common in the middle ages. Not to mention any of the very numerous coats of arms in which the griffin figures, it was a common object of adornment of jewellery and embroidery, and often appears on seals. The Black Prince possessed a set of hangings ornamented with eagles and griffins,† and Richard II. had brooches with griffins on them.‡

A very curious griffin-seal was found in the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Stratford-Langthorne, in Essex, in 1792. The animal is represented in the ordinary heraldic manner, with the lion's body and the wings and head of an eagle. Around the margin is inscribed "Nuncio vobis gaudium et salutem." In whose possession this interesting seal is at present we know not. An engraving of it is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.§ The correspondent who sent the drawing signs G. B., and dates his communication from Dover. He says, "Whether it was the abbey seal or a private one I must leave better judges to decide." Its character gives us no room to doubt that it was a private *sigillum*. The question is, however, removed into the region of certainty by the fact of an impres-

* Book XII., chap. xix., edit. 1535, fol. 171.

† *Archæologia*, xxix. 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

§ 1793, Part II., p. 985.

* *Gloss. of Terms in British Heraldry*, 1847, p. 152.

† *Display of Heraldry*, 1679, p. 192.

‡ Deut. xiv. 12.

sion of the conventual seal, bearing a figure of our Blessed Lady with the Divine Infant in her arms, and inscribed, "Sigill com . . . de Stretforde," being in existence, attached to the surrender of the house.*

Although no man had ever, as far as we have ascertained, the effrontery to tell the world that he had really seen a live griffin, objects relating to griffins were not uncommon. There were no museums in the middle ages. The churches seemed to our forefathers, who had no idea of a hard line separating science and religion, the proper home of all such objects of art or of nature as were in their eyes holy, beautiful, or curious. In the church of St. Denis there was formerly preserved the claw of a griffin which had been sent by a monarch of Persia to the Emperor Charles the Great.†

We have several times come across the mention of griffins' eggs among ecclesiastical treasures, but have failed to note exact references. In one case only has our memory not played us false. In an inventory of the goods of the guild of the Holy Trinity of Coventry, taken in 1442, there occurs, "A whyte grypes eye that weyeth xxi unce."‡ We do not think that there is here absolute certainty, but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that this was the egg of an ostrich. That it was a custom to suspend the eggs of ostriches near to shrines is known from many sources. We ourselves possess an egg of this kind, which a long train of traditional evidence affirms to have once hung in York Minster.

The most interesting griffin relic of which we have any knowledge has but recently been brought under notice. If we said discovered we should not much overstate the case, for although it has long rested in the British Museum, we think that we are right in saying that its existence was unknown to those antiquaries to whom it would have been an object of especial interest. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, held on February 22nd, 1883, Mr. C. H. Read exhibited a drawing of a griffin's claw, the original of which is preserved in the British

Museum. How it came there is now unknown, though, as will be seen, it was, in all probability, at one time a part of the Cotton collection, and was passed over with the manuscripts. The report of the meeting at which this griffin's claw was exhibited has appeared in the number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* which was circulated among the fellows a few weeks ago. The object is described by the gentleman who exhibited the drawing as appearing to be "the horn of some animal, considerably curved like that of an ibex, but with a smooth surface." What, however, gives special interest to this relic is an inscription on a silver mount, which appears to be of the sixteenth century,—

✠ GRYPHI VNGVIS DIVO
CVTHBERTO DVNELMENSIS
SACER.*

The great church of Durham was renowned for its vast collection of rare, costly, and beautiful things, at a time when our large churches were vast treasure-houses. We had hitherto entertained the sad conviction that every one of the lovely and glorious things which it contained had perished in the spoliation of Henry VIII.'s days, or passed into the maws of the greedy cormorants who batten on the Church's remaining treasures, during the short and most unhappy reign of his son. That these treasures must have been scattered in all directions we knew. Surtees, the Durham historian, thought he had discovered a trace of one of them in the inventory of the goods of a certain Anne Swift, who was the daughter of Thomas Leaver, a noted minister of the Reformed faith. This lady possessed "one figure of Sent Cudbert with jewels and ivory." At the risk of being blamed by unimaginative folk for a digression, we must quote the picturesque verses which this short entry in an old law paper suggested to the northern poet-antiquary. They are almost unknown to readers of this generation, who are not so fortunate as to possess a copy of the very scarce volume from which we make our extract.† It is entitled,

* *Mon. Ang.*, v. 586.

† William Jones, *Credulities Past and Present*, p. 349. No reference is given for this statement.

‡ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 11 S., vol. v., p. 122.

* 11 S., vol. ix., p. 250.

† Taylor's *Memoir* of Robert Surtees, Surtees Soc., No. 24, p. 256.

THE VISITORS THREE.

Before them lay a glittering stone,
The Abbey's plundered wealth,
The garment of cost, and the bowl emboss'd,
And wassail cup of health.

And riches still from Saint Cuthbert's shrine,
The chalice, the alm'r'y, and pix ;
The image where gold and where ivory twine,
And the shatter'd crucifix.

And the visitors three, with wicked glee,
Sit feasting full and high ;
And still as they drink, they sit and think
Of the devil and King Henery.*

The inscription on the claw, if taken alone, would furnish most persons with sufficient evidence for believing that this object is a relic that has been most unexpectedly preserved to us from the hands of the sixteenth century spoilers. The inscription, however, does not stand alone. Mr. Read quotes evidence which proves that in 1383 there were upon the third shelf of the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, in Durham Cathedral, "two claws of a griffin," and in a notice of the Cotton library, written early in the last century, also quoted by Mr. Read, we find that there were at that time in the library many relics which had belonged to the dissolved religious houses, and that among others was "the claw of a griffin with a silver hoop." The annotator goes on to speak of a Saxon inscription, which has either been lost or was a mistake on his part, probably by confounding this claw with some other object he saw there. The Cotton library was much injured by a fire which occurred in the house where it was kept, in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, in 1731. It is probable that at this time most of the monastic relics perished. The persons who rescued the books that were not consumed, would feel that their first duty was to preserve them. The griffin's claw was probably saved by accident, perhaps it was in a more secure place than the others, it was almost certainly of much less inflammable nature than many of them.

Of the age of the claw it is impossible to speak. If there were a Saxon inscription upon it that has now perished ; it may be of very remote antiquity—brought over perhaps by some pilgrim from Rome, in the early days of Northumbrian Christianity. If, on the

other hand, the Saxon inscription be a mere mistake, or an error of interpretation, we have no means whatever of fixing its date, beyond the fact that it must have been acquired by the Church at some period before Saint Cuthbert ceased to be an object of public devotion. Such objects were, we believe, frequently brought home from the Holy Land by crusaders. It is of course mere fancy, but we ourselves are inclined to dream that it may have come from the East, among the baggage of some one of the great northern houses ; a Percy, a Scrope, a Nevil, a Grey, a Heron, or a Swinburne may have picked it up in some far eastern land, and have presented it to the great wonder-worker of the north, who, a wanderer like himself,

Chose his lordly seat at last
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear.

Marmion, II., xiv.

Such a man would be full of faith not only in spiritual things, but in things natural also. Though he had never seen a griffin in his own wanderings, he would no doubt have met with many an eastern story-teller who assured him that he himself had been far more fortunate. Such a traveller would have no doubt whatever as to the genuineness of the relic which he imported, and it would be received by the guardians of the shrine with equally simple faith.

The inscription it appears is certainly not older than the sixteenth century. Mr. Read suggests that possibly the original mount may have been removed, and this latter one put in its place. We think it highly probable that whatever gold or silver there was may have been swept away with the other precious objects, the absence of which we deplore, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The only thing that would be valued would be its garniture of precious metal ; if this were reft away the griffin's claw would be of no interest to its new owners, and may have been cast aside, or given away as a child's plaything. When the rites of earlier times were restored under Queen Mary, we may be sure any of the objects that had been valued in earlier times would, if recovered, be reverently preserved. We believe that the modern mount was added at that time to replace something that had

* The northern pronunciation of Henry.

been torn away by unhallowed hands when the shrine furniture was secularized.

A Dutchman, whose delight is in reading the German poets, once said, addressing an English friend, "You Englishmen cannot write on any subject in the world without spotting the pages of your books with quotations from Shakespeare." At the risk of incurring the censure of this gentleman, we will, in conclusion point out that Mrs. Cowden Clarke's *Concordance to Shakespeare's Plays* only gives two references under "Griffin." In one instance—

A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulted raven,
A couching lion, and a ramping cat.

Hen. IV., pt. i., Act III., Sc. i.,

and other things of the like sort are given as examples of "skimble-skamble stuff."

In the other place where the griffin appears it is used as a strong contrast. The griffin which is dangerous to men and horses is represented flying from the gentlest of creatures—

Apollo flies and Daphne holds the chase,
The dove pursues the griffin, the mild hind
Makes speed to catch the tiger.

Midsummer Night's Dream, Act II., Sc. ii

Lord Byron knew little of symbolism, either religious or secular, still less, probably, of folk-lore. Cæsar, however, in his song in *The Deformed Transformed*, in praise of his magic horse, says—

In the stall he will not stiffen,
But be winged as a griffin.

The idea may have been suggested to him by sculptures or paintings he had seen in Italian palaces.



A Journey to Manchester and Liverpool in 1792.



R. WILLIAM PHILIPS, of Broadway, in the county of Worcester, left his home on the 13th of May, 1792, on a visit to his brother Thomas in Manchester, the father of the late Sir Thomas Philips, 1st Bart. He wrote a diary

of his adventures by the way, and of all he saw, which forms a valuable memorial of the state of commerce and enterprise at that date in our large northern towns.

Mr. Philips set off on horseback with a friend, Mr. Russell, and gives us small items of his experience by the way, which are occasionally interesting; it is especially consoling to read his account of the weather, which, day by day, seems to have been wet and cold, proving, beyond doubt, that the climate of our island has not so materially changed during a hundred years as many would have us believe.

On the third day after leaving Broadway, he arrived at his brother's house at Shepley, seven miles from Manchester, and thereupon he begins to relate his amazement at the activity and life into which he is thrown, as follows:—

Wednesday, went round the fields and villages about Shepley, saw several coalpits, and a steam Engine that Pumps the water out of some of the Pits: strange and amazing invention I think this is!

On Friday our traveller paid a visit to Ashton-under-Lyne, with a view to seeing the carding and spinning machines, about which the Worcestershire gentleman thus quaintly writes:—

It is very curious and surprising to see the spinning Mules and Jennys, as they call them, spin 144 threads at once, and will spin one Pound of cotton to so fine a thread that it will reach, according to calculation, 168,000 yards, or 95 miles and a half; then it is weaved into aprons, handkerchiefs. Likewise saw the Iron works where they Cast Iron Rolls and Cylinders and Bore through an Iron Pipe the same as Boring through a wood Pump; it goes by Water, and the Wheels as large as any Mill Wheels, all Cast Iron except the water Wheel; they also turn large Iron work in a Leathe, the same as our Carpenters turn a piece of Wood. Very wet this afternoon.

On Saturday Mr. Thomas Philips took his guests into Manchester for the first time; it was market day, so probably he had reserved this treat for them until the bustle of the manufacturing town could be seen to the best advantage. They visited a pin manufactory on the way, and lionised the old church, and then, quoting from our diary, they

went and saw a large Old School or Colledge given and supported by one Cheatem; upstairs we saw many Rooms full of Books piled up like Mows to the Ceiling, and many Serpents, Lizards, Monkeys, etc., with

many stones and Balls of Hair that had been taken out of Cattle when killed, with Skeletons of several sizes, and many curiosities of different sorts; we then went down in the cellar and tasted the Beer that the boys drink, which was very good; saw some remarkable large Loaves of bread, and a Large Knife that's fixed to a Bench, to cut the Bread for Milk or Broth, which they have in wooden Piggins.

Mr. Philips then went to the quay, where the vessels used to load and unload; but he calls the river the Mersey, poor man, showing how dazzled he was with all he saw. Then he went

to the Sugar House, where they make Sugar, but they are leaving of Business, had not made any for three weeks. We saw about twenty or thirty loaves, and the Potts they make them in. This very dirty place, eight story high.

His visit to the quay of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, where all the traffic was carried to Manchester before the railway came, is interesting. "We saw," he writes,

the vessels sail into the Warehouses to load and unload; very large Warehouses, and a great Quantity of Corn in them, of all sorts, tradesmen's goods, etc.

After visiting the fustian works, where, unfortunately, the people were absent at dinner, so that he could not see the process, Mr. Philips was next taken to the new prison. "This," he says,

is a new-built Place, and very grand it is, too Good for some that are brought there; it's more like a Nobleman's House and gardens (walled round on the outside) to appearance, than a Prison. There are several Cells, with looms in for those that are fustian weavers to work in, and some for fustian cutters; there is a hundred and twenty-four separate Cells, and kept very clean and neat.

After dining with Mr. Lowe, and being detained for an hour, after dinner, by the rain, Mr. Philips was taken to the infirmary to see the baths.

Here is a hot and cold Bath for the ladies and a hot and cold bath for the Gentlemen, with private dressing Rooms for both; kept very clean and neat. The Infirmary is a very large, handsome Building, with pleasant gardens to walk in, and a large water, with iron Pallisadoes before the front; went and drank tea with Mr. Lowe, and then to Shepley to supper.

On Monday Mr. Philips came into Manchester again and went a second time to see the business that was going on at the Bridgewater Quay, "for," says he,

it's astonishing to a Person that never saw anything of

the Kind to see the business that is going on here. there's such Quantities of Slate, Timber, Stone, and Merchandise of all sorts; the Warehouses are very extensive, but they are very well filled with one thing or other; there's not less than thirty or forty Thons and Bushells of corn in them at this time, and large Quantities of Flower, etc.

Tuesday was occupied in a ride over the Cheshire hills and fields, and about this day Mr. Philips does not say much, only that their sheep struck him as curious, being small and horned, and that he was pointed out the house where Parson Cook was born, "that invented Drill Ploughs."

On Wednesday he started for Liverpool, first riding in from Shepley to Manchester in time to catch the eight o'clock boat. The usual mode of transit from Manchester to Liverpool, by the Bridgewater canal, at that time, is especially curious, so I will here give Mr. Philip's account in full:—

We got in the Boat about eight o'clock, and when we had gone four or five miles breakfasted in the Boat; a very fine Morning and pleasant riding. Between Manchester and London Bridge, the place where we got out is twenty-one miles, and we went under twenty-three Bridges and over nine or ten. There's the River Mersey runs under it, and several Roads and Brooks goes under it. There was a Gentleman went under it in a Phaeton and pair, just at the time we were going over him in the Boat. Horsemen, Waggons, and Carts we see in other places go under. This was a very great undertaking of the Duke, and must cost an amazing sum of money.

Got to London Bridge about one o'clock; there is four Coaches stand ready every day to take the Passengers on to Liverpool and other places.

After dining at Warrington and a long coach drive, our traveller reached Liverpool at six o'clock,—rather different from the hour's run now between these commercial capitals. He returned by the same route, and gives us further details about this journey. Every coach was full, so they had to be driven to London Bridge in a chaise, where they met the boat at one o'clock. He seemed to enjoy this mode of travelling by canal boat excessively, and contrasts it forcibly with the jolting of the coach; and what made it more pleasant on the boat, he adds—

was one Passenger in perticular that played with the French-horn, and entertained the Company very much, likewise the Violin at the same time, which I thought was very Extraordinary and worth noticing. for he seem'd to do it with as much Ease as any Person could play one!

Mr. Philips gives us further information about this boat, as follows :—

This Boat has seldom less than thirty or forty, sometimes sixty, eighty, one hundred, one hundred and twenty, and the Captain told us he once took one hundred and twenty-nine at one time. A Gentleman that was in the Boat said that these Boats, being three or four of them, every day brings the Duke in £1,500 a year, and the whole trading on the Canal £80,000 a year : this was confirmed by the Captain and others. The Boat sets off every morning from Manchester at eight o'clock, and returns in the evening at six.

Liverpool made a great impression on our Worcestershire traveller :—

We stopt none at the Inn (he says) but went directly to see the Shipping, which is a very fine sight indeed, and what is very extraordinary to see them Sail along the Streets, which they do for a great way, and in several Places which I could not have believed if I had not seen it.

Liverpool must then have been in a transition state from a mean, dirty seaport town, to the place it is now. Mr. Philips saw the demolition of the old streets going on around him, and the building of grand streets “with Houses just alike,” perhaps not altogether in accordance with the present fashion, for we should have probably kept more of the old. The buildings near the docks greatly astonished him.

There's some of the highest Buildings I ever saw down at the Docks, where the Ships load and unload. There's Warehouses eight, nine, ten and eleven story high, I saw a sack of corn drawn up to the top of it, and in at a Door in the upper story, there's door places to every story to draw the Goods in at. There was at the time upwards of a thousand ships, some very large and some small, that trade to different Nations.

After sleeping at an excellent inn, called the Golden Lion, Mr. Philips went next day to see the fort where the soldiers were exercising, and was much struck with the cannon balls he saw “built up like the Roof of a House.” About here and on his way back to the town, Mr. Philips was struck with the quantity of windmills he saw, sometimes as many as five or six in one spot. He visited the theatre, and tells us quaintly—

There's a very grand House a being Built for the Mayor to live in Joining to the Exchange, which is a very grand building of Stone. The town in general is Brick with stone cornice and window frames.

Mr. Philips enters a curious table of statistics in his diary to prove the increase of Liverpool—

		Christened.	Married.	Buried.
In the year 1660	...	3	0	0
„ 1700	...	132	35	124
„ 1750	...	972	290	1075
„ 1789	...	2366	819	1662

On his return to his brother's house at Shepley, Mr. Philips spent a few days in visiting points of interest in the neighbourhood, and on May 28th set off on his homeward journey, passing through Buxton, Matlock, Derby, and other places, reaching his home in time for breakfast on the morning of the fourth day, “at the end of a very pleasant journey.”

J. THEODORE BENT.



On Some Ancient Trees.

BY WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.

HOWEVER ancient certain structures may be, and however interesting to the eye of the archæologist, it may yet be allowed that trees claim a kindred allegiance in virtue of their classic associations. We know how thoroughly implanted in the minds of the Greeks was the solemnity of a forest-grove. Xerxes, when he passed through Achaia, would not touch a grove dedicated to Jupiter. So venerable was the Minturensian grove, no stranger was suffered to enter it. The oak was dedicated to Jupiter ; it was held sacred by the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, and Britons. Heroes returning from victory hung the weapons of war taken from the enemy, on the knotty boughs of an oak. Assyrian sculptors present us with representations of the tree of life, which bear a perfect resemblance to the oak. Then there is the tree of the thousand images, spoken of by Father Hue in his *Journey to Thibet*. Husbandmen crowned themselves with oak leaves before harvest. An oracle predicted that a city should be impregnable until a tree brought forth armour. So, arms and armour which

had been hung upon a tree were discovered years after, the bark having grown over them, and thus the prediction being verified, Pericles sacked the city.* Pliny declares that the timber of trees grown upon mountains is better and of finer grain than that from trees on the lower ground. The spear of Agamemnon was formed from a tree so exposed. The gathering of the mistletoe was a part of the religious worship of the Britons, who went in procession to cut it with a golden sickle from the oak, at the approach of the new year.†

Trees of gigantic growth are found near Glacier Point in the Yosemite Valley beyond San Francisco. Some of these have been the production of centuries. There is one called the Grisly Giant, which is three hundred feet in height and one hundred feet in girth. A black poplar at Willany, near Warsaw, which five men could not reach round, was known to be an old tree in the past century.‡ There is a place called Gli Tre Castagni upon Mount Etna in Sicily, where three chestnuts of almost mammoth dimensions were standing in 1669, whose capacity for holding sheep and men in their interior was the subject of marvellous stories. The eruption of the above-named year did not destroy them. A fossil tree of the cactus tribe was found at Cresswell, a village on the North Sea, in Northumberland. It consisted, when found, of alternating layers of schist and softish sandstone. It measured seven feet six inches in girth, at three feet from the ground.§ The Ruminal Fig Tree must not be forgotten in a record of old trees, for under it the she-wolf suckled the twins Romulus and Remus.

In England there have existed many remarkable trees of great age, and indeed at the present time there still may be seen many having great historical interest. The BRAMFIELD OAK fell to the ground on the 15th June, 1843. It was noted as a way-mark to Roger Bigod in his flight from the king,

* *Diod. Sic.*, lib. xii.

† Mistletoe is now not often found on oaks, more commonly on the ash, maple, whitethorn, and crab apples. A remarkable example was until recently to be seen close to the Regent's Park.

‡ *Lady Bloomfield's Reminiscences*, vol. i., p. 340.

§ *Hodgson's Northumberland*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 205.

Henry II., in 1174. An old country ballad has the following amongst its verses:—

When the Baily had ridden to Bramfield Oak
Sir Hugh was at Ilksal bower;
When the Baily had ridden to Halesworth Cross,
He was singing in Bungay tower.*

An enormous oak stood in the gardens of Magdalen College, Oxford. This tree was older than any one of the colleges in that city. Dr. Stukeley declared that William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, ordered Magdalen to be founded near this tree in 1457, and that the oak was standing five hundred years before the bishop's time, possibly even in the days of Alfred the Great.†

Damory's Oak, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, was converted into a kind of beer-shop, during the progress of the Civil Wars. It measured sixty-eight feet from the ground.‡

The interior of an oak at Kidlington Green, in Oxfordshire, happening to stand near the house of Judge Morton, was utilised by his order as a prison for rogues and vagabonds, until such time as they could be put into gaol.

In a charter granted to the monks of Waverley Abbey, in Surrey, by Henry de Blois, leave is given to enclose their lands from the Oak at Tilford, three miles from Farnham. This oak is the frequent object of attention of tourists.

The Shelton Oak, near Shrewsbury, has a girth of forty-four feet close to the ground. Sometimes called Glendower's Oak, it is said to have been the tree from whose branches Owen Glendower witnessed the battle between Henry IV. and Sir Henry Percy on July 20th, 1403. In 1853 it bore a large number of acorns and oak-apples. §

The Oak of Reformation at Mousehold Heath, near Norwich, sheltered a popular leader of the people, who held his councils under its branches. Different chroniclers place the trysting-tree in various localities, some asserting that it is still existing in the road leading from Norwich to Wymondham.

* Suckling's *History of Suffolk*, vol. i., p. 135.

† Dr. Plot's *History of Oxfordshire*, chap. vi.

‡ Hutchins' *Account of Dorsetshire*, vol. i.

§ Oak-Apple-Day was, and may be still, kept at Starcross, in Devonshire, by children carrying little dolls, which they call May-babies.

The Parliament Oak (now only a stump) stands about a mile from Clipstone, at the corner of the park between Mansfield and Edwinstowe. It holds a place in history by two reputed events. Under it, King John summoned his councillors in 1212, to debate on a revolt amongst the Welsh, the news having reached him while enjoying the pleasures of the chase. In 1296,* Edward I. held a council under the tree, also in consequence of a disturbance amidst his newly-conquered Welsh subjects.†

In and about Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire, are many large examples of oak trees of great age. The Greendale Oak has the reputation of being seven hundred years of age. Its breadth from bough end to bough end diametrically was eighty-one feet. In 1724 a hole was cut through the trunk. The height of the arch thus formed is ten feet two inches. A road was made through this opening, and there is an engraving extant, drawn by S. H. Grimm in 1775, of this oak—a man on horseback is shown riding through the tree, which is now a mere ruin.‡ Two stag-headed trees, called the Porters, stand on each side of an entrance-gate, and one, called the Duke's Walking-stick, is one hundred and eleven feet high. The Major Oak is a magnificent forest giant. It stands near Budby, and has a circumference of thirty feet, the branches spreading out to the extent of two hundred and forty feet.§

The Shire Oak, near Worksop, has a circumference of great dimensions. From bough end to bough end is ninety feet. It owes its name to the fact of dropping into three shires, York, Nottingham, and Derby. It is recorded of an oak in Worksop Park, then the seat of the Duke of Norfolk, that its branches spread three thousand feet square, and that a troop of a thousand horse might commodiously stand under its shade at one time.|| Was it from the limbs and trunk of this tree alone that one John Garland built a barn, containing five bays, with posts and beams, as asserted in Evelyn's *Sylva*?

The Yardley Oak stands in Yardley Chase, on land belonging to the Marquis of Northampton. The tree is hollow, and much injured by the senseless practice of carving names on the bark. A tradition exists that it was known as Judith's Oak, so named in memory of Judith, niece of William I., who became the wife of Waltheof, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. She was Lady of the Manor of Yardley.* An oak in Ampthill Park is denominated the *Yardley* Oak; it has a date, 1791, affixed to it on a metal ticket, together with some verses. From a survey taken of trees in this park in 1653, two hundred and eighty-seven trees are registered as too old and decayed for use in the navy.†

Camden, in his *Britannia*, records a famous oak that grew in the New Forest, in Hampshire, which put forth leaves at Christmas which withered again before night, and which was ordered by the king, Charles II., to be enclosed with a pale.‡ Another oak received the attention of James I., but the common people cut and hacked it to death. So, too, the oak known as the Boscobel Oak was treated in the same way.

Some pollard oaks in Moor Park, Hertfordshire, are said to have been originally lopped by order of the Duchess of Monmouth, when she heard of the execution of the Duke, her husband. This county has always been celebrated for its fine oaks. At this day we find the following: the noble Panshanger Oak, in the grounds of the Earl Cowper at Hertingfordbury, was a venerable tree in the time of Charles II. Its circumference is now, at three feet from the ground, exactly twenty-three feet, and the extension of its branches is to the extent of eighty-five yards. Some of the top branches are showing signs of decay, being leafless and seared.§ Within a few miles may still be seen Goff's Oak, which tradition declares to have been planted in 1066, by Sir Theodore Godfrey, or Goff, who came over with William the Conqueror. Its girth, at three feet from the

* *Visit to Sherwood Forest*, by James Carter, p. 79.

† Spencer T. Hall's *Forester's Offering*, p. 75.

‡ Evelyn's *Sylva*, vol. ii., chap. viii., p. 199.

§ There is a masterly painting of this oak by Mr. MacCullum.

|| Evelyn's *Sylva*, with *Hunter's Notes*. Edition 1776.

* Strutt, in *Sylva Britannica*.

† Lyson's *Bedfordshire*, 4to, 1806, p. 39.

‡ The White Thorn at Glastonbury was reported to bud in a like manner and time.

§ This tree is full of solid timber, in that respect surpassing all other living examples.

ground, is twenty-three feet nine inches; although it bears acorns it is a ruin.*

The once notorious Fairlop Oak had a singularly rough and fluted stem. It stood in Epping Forest, in Essex; its branches spread three hundred feet, and its girth, at three feet from the ground, was thirty-six feet. It was accidentally set on fire in 1805. A part of it was used in the manufacture of St. Pancras New Church.† Gilpin, in his *Forest Scenery*, says tradition traced this oak half-way up the Christian era.

The Minchendon Oak stands in the village of Southgate, Middlesex. Nine centuries are said to have passed over it. It is still thriving, and bears acorns. Its grandest feature is its royal top. Some of the limbs are twelve feet in circumference at their base; its girth twenty-one feet from the ground.

The Marton Oak is in the township of Marton, in the parish of Prestbury, Cheshire. This tree had an immense girth, and, according to one authority, a height of thirty feet.‡ Much of the tree has crumbled away. Only three great fragments remain.

The Watch Oak, which stood at Battle, in Sussex, took the name because it marked the spot occupied by a detachment of Harold's army on the watch for the approach of the Normans.

The Cowthorpe Oak is in the valley of the Nidd, near Weatherby, Yorkshire. It is estimated to be over sixteen hundred years old. At three feet from the ground it measures forty-four feet six inches. Close to the ground it measures over fifty-three feet. It is full of foliage, and bore acorns in 1883. It is kept up by artificial support. In the beginning of the last century a limb of the tree fell, and on weighing it turned the scale at five tons.§ In addition to its great age, the tree is remarkable for having afforded the idea of the Eddystone lighthouse to the engineer Smeaton, who was born at Whitkirk, near Cowthorpe.

There are many oak trees of very great age in Hatfield Park, Herts. One of these,

called the Lion Oak, is thirty-four feet in circumference; another has a diameter of over thirty-three feet. Queen Elizabeth's Oak takes its name from the circumstance of the death of her sister, Queen Mary, having been communicated to the Princess Elizabeth whilst she was sitting reading under the shade of its branches.

There were three large oaks at Donnington Park, called respectively the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chaucer's Oak.*

Herne's Oak, in the Home Park at Windsor, has long since disappeared. The legend runs to the effect that Herne was a forester here-about, who hung himself on a branch of the tree called after him. Shakespeare makes Sir John Falstaff disguise himself "with huge horns on his head," and, with what results all readers of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* remember well, encounter elves and fairies at the foot of this oak. The poet says—

There is an old tale goes that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor Forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak.

Sir Philip Sidney's Oak at Penshurst, in Kent, is stated to have been cut down in 1768. In the picturesque park there are yet remaining trees of ancient growth, which have been celebrated in the verses of both Southey, Waller, and Ben Jonson.†

Junius, in his forty-ninth letter, writing to the Duke of Grafton, says, "Make haste, my lord; another patent applied in time may keep the oaks in the family; if not, Birnam Wood, I fear, must come to the Macaroni.‡

Yews attain great longevity. In the churchyard at Crowhurst there is a yew which, in Evelyn's time, measured ten yards in compass. The Fountain's Yew boasts a high antiquity. Tradition declares that the monks took shelter under it when rebuilding Fountains Abbey. It stands between the back of the ruins and Fountains Hall. It is recorded to have been a large tree in 1133.§ The yew at Ankerwyke House, near Staines, is believed to be one

* There is a sonnet on this oak in Hone's *Year Book*, 1832, p. 1598.

† It is figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1806.

‡ Mr. George R. Jesse.

§ The tree is figured in Evelyn's *Sylva*, York, 1786, vol. ii., chap. iii., p. 197.

* Evelyn's *Sylva*. Speight notices the "eldest oak" at Donnington, called Chaucer's Oak."

† The Earl of Leicester's tenants used to meet him with boughs cut from this tree.

‡ Letter, dated 2nd June, 1771, edition 1779.

§ Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*, is silent on the subject, but Henslow mentions it in the *Foreign Quarterly*, vol. ii., p. 368,

thousand years old. Mr. Strutt describes it as twenty-seven feet round at three feet from the ground, but later writers give it as twenty-eight feet. It witnessed the signing of Magna Charta, and was used by Henry VIII. as his trysting-place with Anne Boleyn when she was residing at Staines. The yews at Kingley Bottom, near Chichester, form a feature in the view. It was on this spot that a famous battle was reported to have been fought between the Saxons and the Danes about the year 900.

The Hethel Thorn, which was in existence in 1851, stood on a farm belonging to the Gurney family in Norfolk. Legend has it that in the reign of King John a meeting of rebels took place underneath this tree.*

The Tortworth Chestnut has been long celebrated. It stands near Tortworth New Court, in Gloucestershire, and is credited with being over seven hundred years of age. It is mentioned in the annals of the reign of King John, and was a boundary-tree in King Stephen's reign. It measures fifty-three feet round, and bore chestnuts in 1788.† In a village near Hitchin, in Herts, a chestnut tree stood in 1789, which had a circumference of fourteen yards at five feet from the ground.

The Hampstead Elm had a girth of twenty-eight feet near the ground. It had a great name, and was the subject of some verses written by Robert Codrington, who lived in the time of Cromwell. A flight of forty-two steps was formed within it. It is figured by Hollar in a print dated 1653. The New Forest Groaning Elm was an object of great curiosity for upwards of two years. The cause of the noise produced was never discovered.‡ The Bletchington Elm in Oxfordshire must have been a tree of size and age, inasmuch as it gave shelter to a poor woman who had been refused admittance into human habitations. In this sylvan dwelling the poor creature was confined of a son, who lived to be a fine fellow.§

Fig-trees boast of great longevity; Evelyn

speaks of one of great age, which measured seventeen paces in circumference. The fig-trees in the grounds at Lambeth Palace were planted by Cardinal Pole. At the Deanery at Winchester there is a Fig-tree, which bore fruit in 1623, and figs from it were eaten by James I. At West Tarring, in Sussex, is a fig-tree of great size and age, said to have been planted by Thomas à Becket.

The tomb of the Lady Anne Grimston at Tewin, in Hertfordshire, has been for years one of the county curiosities. Long limbs of some ash and sycamore trees have shot up from the vault below, and pierced through the stone work above, and also encompassed part of the iron work.*

The beeches at Knole, in the New Forest, at Gatton, on Enfield Chase, and many other places, evidence great antiquity, but yield in interest to the Burnham Beeches. Gray, the poet, writing to his friend Horace Walpole in 1737, says, "Both vale and hill are covered with most venerable beeches." These trees are all pollards, and owe their condition, so runs the fable, to the necessities of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers, who wanted the tops for staves.

The Enfield Cedar is an unequalled specimen of its kind. It was planted by Dr. Uvedale, a schoolmaster at Enfield, at the time of the Great Plague in 1665. It stands in the garden of the old palace at Enfield, Middlesex. The body, exclusive of the boughs, contains about one hundred and three cubical feet.† It suffered damage in 1703 and 1794, through violent gales of wind. It flourishes still, and has a girth of eighteen feet at three feet from the ground, whilst close to the earth it is twenty-four feet in circumference.

A court-leet used to be held under a maple tree for the Manor of Epping-presbyter. This tree stood in the road between Epping-bury and the church.‡

Wesley's Tree is an ash, standing at Winchelsea, Sussex. Under its shade John Wesley

* A legend current in the locality declares that this lady, being an unbeliever, asserted that if the Scriptures were true, seven ash trees would spring from her vault. Probably the story followed the circumstance.

† Notes to Evelyn's *Sylva*, by Dr. A. Hunter, vol. II., cap. i., p. 3. See also Robinson's *History of Enfield*, vol. i., p. 113, and the *Archæologia*, vol. xii.

‡ Wright's *Essex*, vol. ii., p. 459.

* Sir Thomas Beevor stated that the tree is mentioned as a boundary in a deed dated 1200.

† Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*.

‡ The sound ended when busy inquirers opened out the branches and killed the tree.

§ Dr. Plot's *History of Oxfordshire*, p. 487.

preached his last open-air sermon in 1790, when eighty-seven years old.

The disposition of the trees in Blenheim Park is said to represent the order of the battle which gave its name to the estate.

The precise age of a living tree is to be reckoned by massiveness only, according to Humboldt, the age of fallen trees by the number of annular rings; but this is not always to be relied on when the interior is not sound at the heart. Decandolle says the yew, of all European trees, attains the greatest longevity. The Hampton Court Vine is a tree in a certain sense of the word. It is the largest and longest of its species, and was planted in 1769. With this last word we bid adieu to Old Trees.



The Adelphi and its Site.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

III.

THE Act of Parliament obtained by the brothers for the purpose of disposing of their property by lottery was 13 Geo. III., cap. 75 (1773):—

An Act for enabling John, Robert, James, and William Adam, to dispose of several houses and buildings in the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. Mary-le-Bow, in the County of Middlesex, and other their effects by way of chance in such manner as may be most for the benefit of themselves and creditors.*

In accordance with this Act the lottery was arranged. The scheme was as follows:—

There were 4,370 tickets at £50, making £218,500. The prizes numbered 108, arranged thus:—

I	£50,000
I	40,000
I	30,000
I	20,000
I	10,000
I	5,000
100 of different values from £10 to £800	33,500
The first drawn ticket was entitled to	5,000
The last drawn to	25,000
	<u>£218,500</u>

On Thursday, March 3rd, 1774, the drawing

* *Statutes at Large*, vol. ii., p. 838.

of the lottery began at the great room, formerly Jonathan's Coffee House in Exchange Alley, when No. 3,599 was drawn a blank, but being the first drawn ticket it was entitled to £5,000. Nine other prizes were drawn on that day, six prizes were drawn on Friday, and at this rate the drawing continued for some time. The newspapers of the period were full of information and advertisements respecting the lottery; and the art of advertising appears to have been very thoroughly mastered at that time. Tickets were sold in all parts of the town, as well as at the Messrs. Adam's Office in Robert Street, and intending purchasers were told that there was a great demand, and early application was necessary,—in fact, that the demand began to be prodigious. Then they were informed that Messrs. Adam proposed to keep their office in Adelphi open till 12 o'clock on Wednesday next (9th March) for the sale of tickets at £50 each, after which the price of the small quantity remaining in the market must be considerably raised, on account of the consumption of tickets by the wheel. Portions of tickets were sold at the various lottery offices thus,—a half cost £25 5s.; a thirty-second, £1 13s.; and a sixty-fourth, 17s. Then there are little bits of gossip in the papers, intended to whet the appetites of the public. Thus we are told that No. 3,599, the first drawn ticket, entitled to an estate of the value of £5,000, was sold by Messrs. Richardson and Goodenough not half an hour before the lottery began drawing, and what is very remarkable, was the only ticket they had left unsold. Soon afterwards the winner of this ticket sold it by auction.

It is to be noted that the prizes were not instantly realizable, for the houses were to be divided among the prize holders, and the houses were not yet finished. Those who could not wait for their money sold their prizes by auction, and it may be presumed that in course of time the tickets got into a few hands. The following is the explanation by the Adams of their action:—

The Messrs. Adam having received a letter signed A. B. C., which the writer says is sent to be inserted in the public papers, requiring to know the state of the mortgages on the buildings which constitute the Adelphi lottery, and also what security the public have for their completing the unfinished buildings?

In answer to these questions the Messrs. Adam, desirous to satisfy the adventurers in the lottery, and the public in all reasonable demands, think it necessary to inform them that the mortgagees have already been paid one half of their money, but as it is requisite that they should join in assigning the prizes to the fortunate adventurers, they defer paying the other half till such assignments are completed. The Messrs. Adam, ever since the obtaining of the Act for their lottery, have proceeded with an amazing rapidity in finishing their houses, in the same substantial manner with those formerly finished and sold in the Adelphi; they are happy to think the whole will be completed, and ready to be assigned, by the time they have ascertained in their scheme and allotment, as no attention and no expense shall be spared for that purpose.

When the buildings were finished they were eagerly sought for, and if we consider how superior they were in beauty and general agreeableness to the rest of London, we shall not be surprised at this.

David Garrick moved from Southampton Street to No. 4 on The Terrace in 1772, and there he remained until his death in 1779. His widow lived on in that house for many years, even till 1822. Garrick also obtained the corner house of the Strand on the east side of Adam Street, for his friend the bookseller Becket, and his interesting letter begging the favour has been preserved by Hone in the *Every Day Book*.

Topham Beauclerk was another resident on the Terrace. These names remind us of that scene when Johnson and Boswell were standing by the railings, looking on the river below them. Boswell remarked that he could not but think of the two friends they had lost, who once lived in the buildings behind them. Johnson answered tenderly, "Ay sir, and two such friends as cannot be supplied." Of other inhabitants may be mentioned Dr. Vicesimus Knox, a once famous essayist, at No. 1, Adam Street; Tommy Hill, the Hull of Theodore Hook's *Gilbert Gurney*, and the *Paul Pry* of Poole's play of that name, at No. 2, James Street; and the King of the Sandwich Islands (Kamehameha II.), at Osborne's Hotel, John Street, in 1824.

The notorious quack, James Graham, M.D., lived for a time on the Adelphi Terrace, before he became still more known at Schomberg House, Pall Mall. In the sixth edition of his *General State of Medical and Chirurgical Practice Exhibited*, 1779, he gives a full

description of his house, in which occurs the following passage:—

The stately and highly ornamented pilasters which run up in the front, distinguishing this and the other two centre houses, give my house a temple-like appearance. Over the entrance, therefore, in a white compartment with gold letters is written, *Templum Æsculapio Sacrum!* a building consecrated or devoted to the great purposes of preserving and restoring Health.

Gibbon was at the Adelphi Hotel in 1787, when he brought to London from Lausanne the remainder of his history for publication, and in 1805 Benjamin Disraeli was born in the Adelphi, but in which house is not known.

Towards the end of the last century Dr. Monro, who had inherited from his father a valuable collection of drawings and had himself greatly added to the collection, opened his house on the Terrace to the young artists of the day. Girtin, Turner, Varley, and others availed themselves of the privilege. Another celebrated artist—Rowlandson—died in the Adelphi on the 22nd of April, 1827.

When the Adelphi was first planned by the Adams, a chapel was built at the corner of James and William Streets, which was some years ago taken by Messrs. Coutts, who still occupy it as a part of their bank. When this change of occupation took place, Mr. Bottomley, an old resident, and an authority on the history of the district, tells me that the congregation removed to the Hackney Road, and erected a chapel there which they called by the old name—Adelphi chapel, a name it still bears. In William Street there is a covered bridge which connects together the Strand portion of Coutts's bank with that in the Adelphi. In order to build this, Thomas Coutts obtained an Act of Parliament, 39 Geo. III., 1799:—

An Act to enable Thomas Coutts, Esq., Banker, to make a communication between the buildings on the opposite side of William Street, in the parish of Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, within the City and Liberty of Westminster, by a passage to be built over the said street.

Coutts did not wish the view from his drawing-room window spoilt, so he built a low house in John Street, and arranged with the Adams that the opening, now Robert Street, should be opposite to this, so as to form a frame for his landscape.

In 1754 the Society of Arts was founded, in 1771 an agreement was entered into with Messrs. Adam for the erection by them of "a proper building in the Adelphi for the use of the Society, and the accommodation of

but from the latter date the history of the Society has been entirely associated with the Adelphi. The structure and ornamentation of the rooms tell of the brothers Adam, and the style which they made fashionable, and



THE FOX UNDER THE HILL.

its officers;" in 1772 the first stone of this house was laid by Lord Romney, and in 1774 the Society took possession of the finished building. Between 1754 and 1774 there were many changes in the place of meeting,

which has been revived in our own days; but the chief glory of the place are the noble pictures on the walls, which were painted for the position they hold. The painting of these constituted the first attempt in England

to decorate the walls of great rooms with pictures of grand proportions. In these pictures we see the great of all ages, and also the great men more especially connected with this Society. Dr. Johnson said of Barry's pictures: "There is a grasp of mind there which you will find nowhere else." This dictum of Johnson's may remind us, that the great Doctor made his only public speech in the Society's room. The great circle who live in Boswell's pages were well represented here, —Garrick was an influential member of the Society, and Goldsmith was once anxious to become its secretary.

I have as yet spoken only of the superstructure of the Adelphi, and merely casually alluded to the arches below, which form one of the most remarkable sights in London, but it is a sight that only a few are privileged to see. I have wandered through these arches with wonder, under the obliging guidance of the custodians. Below you there is a very town, much of it filled with bottles of old vintages. The arches were many of them open for years, and formed subterranean streets leading to the wharves on the Thames. They were constructed (as stated on an old engraving) so as to keep the access to the houses level with the Strand, and distinct from the traffic of the wharves and warehouses. They extend under the whole Adelphi, including Adam Street, from York Buildings, and were also carried under the additional buildings at the end of Salisbury Street. In many places there are double tiers of arches.

Some twenty years ago the dark arches had a bad name on account of the desperate characters who congregated there and hid themselves away in the innermost recesses, but at last the place was cleared out, and the greater portion of it closed in. The extensive cellerage of Messrs. Tod Heatley gives evidence of the former state, for one of the alleys is still styled Jenny's hole—and the arch above was known as the Devil's Bridge. The disgraceful condition of the arches could not have existed for any length of time, as, some forty years ago, the place was well cared for by the wharfingers, and at nine o'clock at night a gun gave a signal for the gates to be closed.

The closed and deserted "Fox under the

Hill," which still stands on the land under the Terrace, was once a much-frequented tavern, and to the stairs close by came all the stores for the Hungerford market.

At spring and neap-tides the water rose as high as 3 feet 6 inches in the tap-room, and the tide also ran far up the arches—but the Thames Embankment has now changed all this.

When the leases of the Terrace-houses fell in, in 1867, a claim was set up by some of the leaseholders for a share of the foreshore, which had been reclaimed when the Adelphi was built, but on the case being brought into the Court of Queen's Bench, on June 24 and July 6, 1871, Messrs. Drummond and others, the plaintiffs and representatives of the original ground landlords of Durham House, proved the groundlessness of the claim, and gained their cause.

In concluding this paper I may point out that to the genius of the Adams we owe it that a site little different, in regard to distinguishing character, from the sites around, should have become a recognised district with a distinct name, The Adelphi—a name which will ever perpetuate the memory of the famous *Brothers*.



Lanarkshire Folklore.

BY WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A. SCOT.

THE value of the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* is apparent to those who refer to its pages, for although it might with great advantage have been condensed, its very liberality of editorship has enabled many of the clergy to note curious customs for the benefit of present-day students of folklore.

In the Lanarkshire volume there are numerous folklore notes, which have not yet, I believe, been brought together.* Referring first to what may be called "folk recollections of historical events," I note

* The Folklore of the Statistical Accounts of Scotland will shortly be printed by the Folklore Society. This will include both the old and the new statistical accounts.—[ED.]

that—according to the Rev. James Walker, —at one of the five fairs held in Carnwath, in August, “a foot race is run, which deserves mention, as it is one of the tenures by which the property of Carnwath is held by the Lockhart family.”

The prize (Mr. Walker continues) is a pair of *red hose*, which are regularly contended for, and the old people in the village tell me, that, fifty years ago, the laird used to have a messenger ready, whenever the race was finished, to communicate the intelligence to the Lord Advocate of Scotland. This prompt information is now, I suppose, dispensed with, but I can testify that the race has been regularly run for the last twenty-five years.*

If Mr. Walker be correct as to the time and manner of the fair, as I have no doubt he is, then the terms of the feudal grant are not strictly observed. As *reddendo* for the barony of Carnwath, two pairs of shoes, says Cosmo Innes, each containing half an ell of English cloth, were to be given on Midsummer day to the man who ran fastest from the east end of Carnwath to the Tallaw Cross.†

The Minister of Culter, describing the river Clyde, refers in a footnote to a tradition of Michael Scott, the wizard.

At Wolf-Clyde (he says) a curiosity may sometimes be seen, viz., the Clyde running into the Tweed. The vale of Biggar-water, which here stretches between these two waters, is but slightly elevated above the bed of the Clyde. During a top-flood, part of the latter river sometimes finds its way into Biggar-water, and is thereby carried into the Tweed, and this happens once perhaps in three or four years. Hence it will be seen that it were a very easy matter to send the Clyde to Berwick instead of Glasgow. Indeed a common tradition is prevalent here that the famous magician Michael Scott had nearly accomplished this. The story is, that he was marching down the vale of the Biggar, with the Clyde following at his heels, but that being alarmed by the sound of the water as it came roaring behind, he looked back, and so the spell was broken, and the vagrant waters returned into their wonted channel.‡

* *New Statistical Account of Lanarkshire*, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes, 1841, p. 91. Mr. Walker's Account of Carnwath is dated May 1834.

† *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 1872, p. 68.

‡ *Stat. Acc.*, p. 342. The Minister of Culter's Account is dated July 1835. A popular rhyme is:—

Annan, Tweed, and Clyde,
Rise a' out o' ae hill-side;
Tweed ran, Annan wan,

Clyde fell, and brak its neck owre Corra Linn.

—See Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 225.

At Biggar is preserved in a local name a tradition of Wallace. Blind Harry tells of a battle at Biggar between the English under Edward I. and the Scots under Wallace, and

Tradition (says the Rev. John Christison) points to a low-lying field south-east from Biggar, where pieces of broken armour have often been gathered.

Wallace is said, like Alfred in earlier times, to have gained access to the enemy's camp in disguise. He professed to be a “cadger” selling provisions. He learnt much that he desired to know, but aroused suspicion, and took his departure. He was pursued, and on reaching a bridge over Biggar-water, at the west end of the town of Biggar, he turned at bay. The foremost of his pursuers he put to death, and escaped.

There is still a foot bridge over the stream to the west of Biggar, which has been called from time immemorial “the Cadger's brig.”

We are not surprised to learn that tradition points out on the north side of Bizzyberry (or Bushyberry) “a hollow rock and a spring called Wallace's seat and Wallace's well.”*

Wallace is without doubt the ideal hero of Scotland, and Lanarkshire Folklore, as might be expected, has preserved remarkable tales, not only of his valour, but of his superhuman strength. Tinto hill has a familiar rhyme:—

On Tintock-tap there is a mist,
And in that mist there is a kist,
And in the kist there is a caup,
And in the caup there is a drap,
Tak up the caup, drink aff the drap,
And set the caup on Tintock-tap.

On the top of Tinto is an immense heap of stones, said to have been conveyed by countrymen from the vale three miles away, as a penance imposed by the priests of St. John's Kirk. The summit of Tinto is often shrouded in mist,

And the “kist” (mentioned in the rhyme), conjectures Chambers, was perhaps a large stone, remarkable over the rest of the heap for having a hole in its upper side, which the country-people say was formed by the grasp of Sir William Wallace's thumb, on the evening previous to his defeating the English at Boglehole, in the neighbourhood.†

* *Stat. Acc.*, p. 359. The Minister of Biggar's Account is dated August 1835.

† Chambers continues,—“The hole is generally full of water, on account of the drizzling nature of the atmosphere; but if it is meant by the ‘caup’ men-

The historian of Wandell tells us that Wallace "is reported to have once encamped on the heights above Wandell Mill, where he entrapped and cut off a party of English" (p. 818).

An historical tradition of another kind is connected with Bothwell Brig, famous for the battle between the Duke of Monmouth, with whom was James Grahame, of Claverhouse, and the Duke of Hamilton. The grammar of the historian of Bothwell is not very good, but this is the anecdote he contributes :—

According to a tradition in the village of Bothwell, when the Royal Army was lying near the bridge, a child having wandered into the camp, was found by its parents, after a long search, sitting on the Duke of Monmouth's knee, who was caressing it with great tenderness.

Mr. Patrick also tells us that an original painting of the battle, said to have been sketched by an artist on the spot, was, at the time he wrote, in Hamilton Palace. I do not know if any such picture was sold at the recent dispenishing of the palace.*

We hear, as we might expect, from the Minister of Carmunnock, that Mary Queen of Scots slept at Castlemilk the night before the battle of Langside, and that an old thorn tree is pointed out as near the spot from which she saw the defeat of her army. "A likely situation," he thinks, "is a rock on the top of Cathkin-hill," which still goes by the name of the Queen's Seat.†

The Rev. John Wylie, minister of Carluke, gives a curious tradition of the derivation of the word "Carluke," which admirably illustrates the tendency of local inquiry, and the danger of word-hunting as an amusement. He first states the supposed correct derivation (*Caer*, hill, *Luac*, Luke = hill of St. Luke); then in a footnote he adds :—

tioned, we must suppose that the whole is intended as a mockery of human strength; for it is certainly impossible to lift the stone and drink off the contents of the hollow."—*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, pp. 245-246.

Another Tintock proverb is :—

The height atween Tintock-tap and Coulterfell,
Is just three-quarters o' an ell.—*Ibid.*, p. 245.

* *Stat. Acc.*, p. 780. The Account of Bothwell (by the Rev. William Patrick, Hamilton) was drawn up in 1836, and revised in April 1840.

† *Stat. Acc.*, p. 601. Account is dated July 1839.

By the following tradition, the name of the parish is derived from a different source. The church was formerly situated in the forest of Mauldslee (hence it was sometimes called the Forest Kirk), close to the banks of the Clyde. This situation, being at the extremity of the parish, was found inconvenient, and it was therefore proposed that the church should be removed to a more central spot. This proposition met with strong opposition from a part of the population, who clung to the holy ground, and after much difficulty, could only be brought to agree that the new site should be the Law of Mauldslee, a situation not far from the old one. This, however, not meeting the views of the opposite party, it was at length determined that the dispute should be referred to the arbitration of Providence. With this view a *pow* (skull) was taken from the ancient burial-ground, and, together with a burning peat, was laid on the proposed site at the Law. If the *pow* and *peat* remained, that was to be the spot; but if they should be removed by a *guiding hand*, the church was to be erected wherever they might be found. They were removed, and the whole parish was raised to seek for the *pow* and the *peat*. After much search, they were at last, to the great joy of the people, discovered by Symeon Haddow, of Easterseat, on the spot where the church was eventually erected, about two miles nearer Symeon's house than the Law. The truth was, that the *guiding hand* was none other than that of Symeon himself, a secret which was carefully kept within his family for many generations. Hence the name Kirk-look,—looking for the kirk. The derivation is, of course, absurd, but there can be little doubt as to the reference to Providence and its result.*

In the account of Wandell and Lammington there is reference to a building on the side of Tinto, called Fatlips Castle, but the meaning of this is not explained. This castle was built by the laird of Symington, opposite the castle of Lammington, and Symington boasted that from his superior elevation he could observe everything which the wife of Lammington may do. The result was that, to escape the supervision from Fatlips Castle, Lammington built Windgate House in Keygill glen.† Fatlips Castle is again referred to in the account of Symington Parish. The account was drawn up in July 1840, and states that a piece of the wall, about two feet high, was then standing,—“its thickness is fully six feet, and it adheres so firmly, that persons building a stone fence lately chose rather to quarry stones than take them from the wall,”—which the compiler seems to

* *Stat. Acc.*, p. 564. The Account of Carluke is dated March 1839.

† *Stat. Acc.*, p. 818. The account of Wandell and Lammington, by the Rev. Charles Hope, is dated May 1840.

have regarded as much the more natural course.*

Rutherglen we know had an importance in the past in nowise indicated by its present fame. But it had also a questionable notoriety as to marriages. It was the Gretna Green of Lanarkshire. Even down to 1836, the form was simple. The account of Rutherglen was framed by Dr. Cleland, and I shall quote his words.

The couple go before a magistrate and acknowledge that they have been married without the proclamation of banns by a person unauthorized by the church, whose name they do not recollect; and in consequence of this irregularity they acknowledge a fault, and subject themselves to fine and imprisonment; on which the magistrate fines the parties, remits the imprisonment, and gives an extract of their acknowledged marriage, which is binding in law.

The magistrates frequently received a fee for their trouble.†

The most famous fair of Rutherglen was St. Luke's in October. Rutherglen, like other places, signalised its great fair by making cakes. No one who has been in Rotterdam during the kermesse in August but must have noted how many of the dealers in that madcap fair devoted themselves entirely to waffles and other cakes, which were made publicly and as publicly devoured by a mob which seemed ever hungry. Chambers in the following rhyme summarizes places in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire which were famous for their unsavoury foods,

Could kail in Covington,
And crowdie in Quothquan,
Singit sweens in Symington
And brose in Pettinain :

* *Stat. Acc.*, p. 870.

† *Stat. Acc.*, p. 396. Milngavie also seems to have had a bad social repute. In the *Scots Piper's Queries*, or *John Falkirk's Cariches*, the following appears:—

Q.—Where was the usefulest fair in Scotland kept?

A.—At Milngavie.

Q.—What sort of commodities were sold there?

A.—Nothing but ale, and ill wicked wives.

Q.—How was it abolished?

A.—Because those who went to it once would go to it no more.

Q.—For what reason?

A.—Because there was no money to be got for them, but fair barter, wife for wife, and he who put away a wife for one fault got a wife with two as bad.

See *Collected Writings of Dugald Graham*, ii., p. 169.

The assy peat o' Focharton,
And puddings o' Poneil;
Black folk o' Douglas
Drink we' the deil.*

Rutherglen cakes were more pleasantly famous.

About eight or ten days before St. Luke's fair, says Dr. Cleland, a certain quantity of oatmeal is made into dough with warm water, and laid up in a vessel to ferment. Being brought to a proper degree of fermentation and consistency, it is rolled up into balls, proportionably to the intended largeness of the cakes. With the dough is commonly mixed a small quantity of sugar, and a little aniseed or cinnamon. The baking is executed by women only, and they seldom begin their work till after sunset, and a night or two before the fair. A large space of the house chosen for the purpose is marked out by a line drawn upon it. The area within is considered as consecrated ground, and is not by any of the bystanders to be touched with impunity. A transgression incurs a small fine, which is always laid out on drink for the use of the company. This hallowed spot is occupied by six or eight women, all of whom, except the toaster, seat themselves on the ground in a circular form, having their feet turned towards the fire. Each of them is provided with a bake-board, about two feet square, which they hold on their knees. The woman who toasts the cakes, which is done on a girdle suspended over the fire, is called the Queen or Bride, and the rest her maidens. These are distinguished from one another by names given them for the occasion. She who sits next the fire towards the east is called the Todler, her companion on the left hand is called the Hodler, and the rest have arbitrary names given them by the Bride, as Mrs. Baker, best and worst maids, etc. The operation is begun by the Todler, who takes a ball of the dough, forms it into a small cake, and then casts it on the bakeboard of the Hodler, who beats it out a little thinner. This being done, she in her turn throws it on the board of her neighbour, and thus it goes round from east to west, in the direction of the course of the sun, until it comes to the toaster, by which time it is as thin and smooth as a sheet of paper. The first cake that is cast on the girdle is usually named as a gift to some well known cuckold, from a superstitious opinion that thereby the rest will be preserved from mischance. Sometimes the cake is so thin as to be carried by the current of the air up into the chimney. As the baking is wholly performed by the hand, a great deal of noise is the consequence. The beats, however, are not irregular, nor destitute of an agreeable harmony, especially when they are accompanied with vocal music, which is frequently the case. Great dexterity is necessary, not only to beat out the cakes with no other instrument than the hand, so that no part of them shall be thicker than another, but especially to cast them from one board to another without ruffling or breaking them. The toasting requires considerable skill, for which

* Focharton is an extensive barony in Lesmahagow parish; Poneil is a large farm on Douglas water; the colliers of Douglas were supposed to be dissolute. See Chambers' *Popular Rhymes*, p. 288.

reason the most experienced person in the company is chosen for that part of the work. One cake is sent round in quick succession to another, so that none of the company is suffered to be idle. The whole is a scene of activity, mirth, and diversion, and might afford an excellent subject for a picture. There is no account of the origin of this custom. The bread thus baked was doubtless never intended for common use. It is not easy to conceive why mankind, especially in a rude age, would strictly observe so many ceremonies, and be at so great pains in making a cake, which, when folded together, makes but a scanty mouthful. Besides, it is always given away in presents to strangers, who frequent the fair. The custom seems to have been originally derived from Paganism, and to contain not a few of the sacred rites peculiar to that impure religion, as the leavened dough, and the mixing it with sugar and spices, the consecrated ground, etc., etc. This custom is given up, except in the house of Bailie Hugh Fulton, vintner, where the entire ceremonies are gone through.*

We are indebted to Dr. Cleland, also, for notice of the custom of perambulating or beating the marches of Rutherglen. After the procession was over, he says, "a mock engagement with broom-besoms took place, which ended in a jollification." This custom was given up in 1830.†

It is unfortunate that the writers of the statistical accounts did not more frequently record local observances and customs. The minister of Lanark (the Rev. William Menzies), however, like Dr. Cleland, has recorded some matters of interest. Writing in April 1834, he says—

Palm Sunday was observed as a holiday at the grammar-school until within the last thirty years. The scholar who presented the master with the largest Candlemas offering was appointed king, and walked in procession with his life-guards and sergeants. The great and little palm-branches of the *salix caprea* in flower, and decked with a profusion of daffodils, were carried behind him. A handsome embroidered flag, the gift of a lady in the town to the boys, was used on this festival. The day concluded with a ball.‡

Lanark, like Rutherglen, preserved the custom of beating the marches of the town lands. One of the march stones is in the river Mauss, and the writer of the account says that those who shared in the march for the first time were ducked in the river to impress the event on their memories, and give the town in future the benefit of their immemorial recollection. The custom is still

observed, in June of each year, on what is known as the Lanemar or Landmark-day.

Lammingtoun long preserved relics of the past. The so-called Stool of Repentance projected three feet from the Wandell gallery of the parish church, and had "merely a few coarse spars in front;" a full view of the culprit was thus afforded to all the congregation; there was no seat; this "Canty" remained entire till it was removed when the church was repaired in 1828. The minister of the united parishes of Wandell and Lammingtoun says he believes this to have been the last Stool of Repentance in the kingdom.* Mr. MacGregor, in his edition of Dugald Graham's chap-book, *Jockey and Maggy's Courtship*, in a footnote says,

the stool was placed in front of the pulpit in full view of the congregation. In some parishes the culprits were allowed to sit, but in most cases they had to stand.†

The custom of Lammingtoun seems to have afforded a position even more exposed. The Juggs, also, were attached to Lammingtoun Church, and Mr. Hope, the minister, had met with people who had seen a culprit with the iron-padlocked collar round the neck.‡

A local custom of more pleasant association was kept up in Carluke, where "creeling the young guidman" was very popular. The day after marriage a creel was bound on the back of the bridegroom, who set off running at full speed,—the wedding friends pursued him, endeavouring to fill his creel with stones and so overlade him. The fun was ended by the clear escape of the runner or his release from the creel by the quick cutting by his bride of the binding cords; "the joke was to insert the girdle clips amongst the cords."

The custom is a common one. Allan Ramsay describes it in his continuation of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*:—

A creel 'bout fu' o' muckle stanes
They clinked on his back;
To try the pith o' his rigg and reins
They gart him cadge his pack.
Now as a sign his wife's richt fain,
I trow she was nae slack,
To rin and ease his shouther-banes,
And snegged the raips fu' snack,
Wi' her knife that day.

* *Stat. Acc.*, pp. 383-5. The account is dated June 1836.

† *Ibid.*, p. 383. Rutherglen was famous for the quality of its sour cream, see p. 385.

‡ *Stat. Acc.*, pp. 19, 20.

* *Stat. Acc.*, p. 840.

† *Collected Writings of Dugald Graham*, ii. 20, note †.

‡ *Stat. Acc.*, pp. 840-841.

The custom was followed in the parish of Galston, Ayrshire, in 1792, on the second day after the marriage.

The young wedded pair, with their friends, assemble in a convenient spot. A small Creel, or Basket, is prepared for the occasion, into which they put some stones; the young Men carry it alternately, and allow themselves to be caught by the Maidens, who have a kiss when they succeed. After a great deal of innocent mirth and pleasantry, the Creel falls at length to the young Husband's share, who is obliged to carry it, generally for a long time, none of the young women having compassion upon him. At last, his fair Mate kindly relieves him from his burden; and her complaisance, in this particular, is considered as a proof of her satisfaction with the choice she has made. The Creel goes round again; more merriment succeeds; and all the company dine together and talk over the feats of the field. Perhaps the French phrase, *adieu, pannières, vendanges sont faites*, may allude to a similar custom.*

The custom became rare, as might be expected. Napier, in his *Folklore of the West of Scotland*, does not mention it, and yet it is not quite extinct. In 1876 the marriage of Miss Whitelaw, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Whitelaw, to Mr. Arthur St. Quintin Forbes, son of the Hon. Robert Forbes, and grandson of Lord Forbes, took place in the parish church, Athelstaneford. "After the marriage ceremony was performed by the father of the bride," says an anonymous writer,

it was stated that the newly-married pair left on their marriage trip in the afternoon, the bridegroom having first to go through the ancient custom of bearing the creel.†

In the West of Scotland mining districts there is said to be a similar custom associated with the proclamation of banns of marriage. The day after the proclamation the bridegroom is put into a hutch, "called in the olden time a 'creel' or 'corf,' from its being composed principally of wicker-work," and is drawn triumphantly home by his unmarried friends; the bride's house is afterwards visited; the bridegroom stands treat, the health of the pair is drunk, and the day is spent in mirth.

*Quis ullos homines beatiories
Vidit, quis Venerem auspiciorem?*

Many of our Scottish wedding customs

* *Stat. Acc.* (Carluke), p. 587, note *; see also *Stat. Acc. of Scotland, 1792* (Galston), vol. ii., p. 80, cited by Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1877 ed.), pp. 354-355.

† *A. H.*, in *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 9th September, 1876.

are still clearly indicative of capture. Men still living remember when the bride made a supposed secret escape from the wedding feast by the window, and was searched for after sufficient time had been allowed for departure; still in the concealment of the marriage-honeymoon destination is the same survival, and we may be almost as sure that the pursuit of a laden bridegroom is as clear a remembrance of very remote ways and days, as is the Banffshire custom, which forbids a bridegroom to enter the wedding house during the time of the wedding meal; and permits him to be entertained as it were surreptitiously after all the guests have been served.*

The inordinate length, extravagance, and want of decorum of Scottish funerals in the early part of this century is referred to in the accounts of the parish of Avondale, and of the parish of Carluke.† The writer of the account of the parish of Old Monkland (the Rev. William Patrick) has some curious notes on local expressions, which may be referred to in connection with Lanarkshire country-life. The strong theological bias of the true Scotchman is shown in the Monkland use of the word "infidel" as synonymous with idiot,—thus, if a man say, "Do you think I am an infidel?" (a frequent interrogatory, says Mr. Patrick, among the handicrafts), "he merely means he is no fool, but knows what he is about."

The no less common expression, "Will you never deval?" merely means, will you never give over. In such a concourse of strangers as now prevails here, there are many doubtful or unintelligible characters. These are uniformly termed "nomalistic characters." *Compellment* is also a common word for forcing or compelling one against his will, and *combustibles* is most erroneously applied to the filthy accumulations of animal, vegetable, and earthy matters in ditches and covered drains, which carry away the refuse from their dwellings.‡

No notice of the folklore of Lanarkshire can be complete without some reference to the Lee Penny, the "Talisman," of Sir Walter

* As to the Aberdeenshire custom, see Gregor's *Folklore of the North-east of Scotland*, 1881, p. 100.

† *Stat. Acc.*, Avondale, p. 306; and Carluke, p. 587, note †.

‡ *Stat. Acc.*, pp. 655-656. The account is dated February 1840. A statistical entry regarding this parish is: "Natural children. 9 per annum; bachelors, 46; old maids, 120" (p. 655).

Scott's novel, and yet I feel I must delay the consideration of its remarkable history until another time. It cannot be dealt with in half-a-dozen lines, and I have already written more about Lanarkshire folklore than I at first intended.



Discovery of Roman Antiquities at Keston, Kent.

BY G. CLINCH,

Of the Library, British Museum.

IN the year 1882, during some gardening operations near the British Camp in Holwood Park at Keston, Kent, the gardener's spade unearthed a curious piece of pottery, which the finder at the time supposed to be a quaint kind of cream-jug. A short time ago I had an opportunity of examining it, and I found it to be a terra-cotta lamp of Roman date, in excellent preservation, and almost perfect, the only part in which it is defective being that which is indicated by a small rough fracture upon the upper part of the handle. The part broken off was probably a small head, or some such ornamental device. The lip is longer than is usual in other specimens which I have examined, giving the lamp an ovoid appearance. The length is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches and the breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, whereas the greater proportion of Roman lamps are of a circular shape, from which a small lip protrudes about half-an-inch. In this lip is an aperture for the wick, and opposite the wick is generally a small handle. Between the hole (in the centre of the bowl) for replenishing the oil and that for the wick there is, in this specimen, a small triangular slit, designed probably to allow of the escape of the air from the bowl when oil was poured into the lamp. The junction of the lip with the circular bowl has been executed with care, and on each side of the lip there is a kind of volute or scroll ornament which imparts elegance to the general form. Marks of wear appear upon the underside of the lamp, caused, doubtless, by friction upon the disc which surmounted the *candelabrum* upon which it was usually placed.

The terra-cotta is good, and so thin that one wonders how it has been preserved in such a perfect state during its burial underground for so many hundreds of years. There is no doubt, however, that the interior of the bowl became filled with sand in such a manner as to give it some kind of solidity. The lamp is so fashioned that when it stands upon a level surface it inclines forward toward the lip, and the latter is considerably lower than the handle. This was intended by the maker to facilitate the progress of the oil toward the wick. The lamp was probably not intended to be carried about much in the hand, as the handle is small and inconvenient, and the inclination of the lamp toward the wick indicates that its proper place was upon the *candelabrum*.

The chief interest of this relic arises from the locality in which it was found. This was a garden close to Keston Common, and within about three hundred yards of the British Camp in Holwood Park, and nearly half-a-mile from the "Warbank," where the foundations of Roman buildings, graves of Roman date, and other contemporary antiquities were found in the early part of this century. The latter spot has been conjectured by many archæologists to be the veritable site of *Noviomagus*, mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus; and, although opinion is divided upon this point—other authorities preferring Woodcote, near Croydon, as the site of that station—yet it is clear that a Roman station formerly existed at Keston, and the discovery of a Roman *lucerna*, although not at all settling the question as to the name of the place, adds one more fact to the evidence which had already indicated that this was one of the sites which the Romans selected with so much discretion and good taste for their habitations. The site is a very charming one; a beautiful valley, with fertile fields and hazel shaws, sweeps gracefully round Holwood Hill. Just beyond is the quaint little parish church of Keston, whose time-stained walls are partly hidden by the fine elms which nestle around it. Behind the Warbank, the rising ground of Holwood Park serves as a shelter from the cold east winds, and one has little difficulty in repeopling, in the mind's eye, this now deserted hill, and in restoring

to their original form the dwelling-places as they were in Roman times, although the ploughshare has long since buried their foundations and scattered their contents.



The Nevills of Raby and their Alliances.


BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

PART I.


DODSWORTH (MS. 160, f. 234) mentions, under date 20th November, 1620, that in the east window of the church of Cottingham, near Kingston-upon-Hull, was "a man in a gowne kneeling on his head Sa. a wolfe rampant and crosslet or Orate Paſa dñi Nichi de Louth rectoris huius ecclesie qui istud cancellum fieri fecit A° Dñi M^{mo} ccc^{mo} lxxiiij°." The window has long since disappeared, but the "faire monument of marble inlayd with brasse, . . . with the portraiture of a clergyman," which Dodsworth also refers to as being in the "quyer," or rather the brass work let into another stone, still remains to commemorate Nicholas de Luda (Louth), who in A.D. 1362 was presented to the church by Edward the Black Prince, and who subsequently caused the choir to be erected.


In addition to the figure of Nicholas, the east window of Cottingham Church, and also the other windows of the choir, showed various armorial devices, which are thus described by Dodsworth :—

IN THE EAST WINDOW.

England a border Ar
quily Franc & England a  Ar paled with
England a border Ar
quily Franc & England a border Ar.

IN WINDOWES ROUND ABOUT THE QUIRE.

Dñs de Mowbray
Dñs de Roos
le Conte de Richmond cheque b. & or. a
canton er. a border g. sem de lion pass^t
Conte de Arondal quily gu a lyon ramp^t or,
second cheque
Conte de Pembrok quily Valence & Hastings
Conte de Warwick g a fesse en't 6 crosslets or
le Conte de Sar ũ Ar 3 fusills in fesse gu
Suffolk Sa a + engr or
Stafford or  s

Oxenford . . . S X o a mullet Arg^t
le Conte de Demoffur or 3 torteaux a  b
le 'de Angus g a cinquefoil & 8 crosslets in orle or
le S^r de Spencer quily Ar & g on the 2 & 3
quirs a frette or a bend Sa
leechenofg a Neuil g on a X Ar a — Sa
le S^r de Percy a lyon Ar
le S^r de Neuil g ũ a X er
le S^r de latymer Ga + patence or
le S^r de Segrave Sa lyon ramp^t Ar crowned
or a bend g.

It is mentioned by Camden that in Raby Castle, now the seat of the Duke of Cleveland, was a chamber "wherein was, in windows of coloured glass, all the pedigree of the Nevilles." This castle was chiefly erected in 1379 by John de Nevill, whose descendant John de Nevill, the eldest son of Ralph, Lord Nevill, of Raby Castle, the great Earl of Westmoreland, in the reign of Henry V., married Elizabeth, the fifth daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, the owner of the manor of Cottingham. Alice, the daughter of Alianore, another daughter of Thomas Holland, also married a Nevill. This was Richard Nevill, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, the eldest son of that Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, Joane, a daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. On the death, without issue, of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, the son of Thomas Holland, the manor of Cottingham was divided among his sisters, and the Nevills therefore acquired two parts of the manor, which are still known as Cottingham Westmoreland and Cottingham Sarum. As this family was so intimately associated with Cottingham, it is far from improbable that the armorial bearings in the windows of the church there had, like those at Raby Castle, reference to the Nevill pedigree.

This is true more especially of the "windowes round about the quire;" as the arms of the east window were those of the Earls of Kent and of the royal princes connected with them. The bordure is, says Boutell, a mark of cadency borne by princes and by personages of various ranks. The Hollands, Earls of Kent, differenced England with a plain silver bordure. The shield quartering France and England with a silver label* was that of

* It was also the shield of Edward, only son of Richard III., who was created Earl of Salisbury by his uncle, Edward IV., and who died before his father.

Edward the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III. This prince married Joan, daughter of Edmund de Woodstock, Earl of Kent, second son of Edward I., who called herself Lady Wake (her mother having inherited the great possessions of Thomas Wake, Baron of Lydell), but was popularly known as the fair maid of Kent, and who had married for her first husband Sir Thomas Holland, in her right Earl of Kent. The silver bordure about the quartered shield of France and England was that of Thomas de Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III., if *France ancient*, and that of Humphrey, youngest son of Henry IV., if *France modern*. Probably Thomas de Woodstock was intended to be commemorated, as his daughter Ann married Edmund, Earl of Stafford, whose son Humphrey was the heir of Joan, widow of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. The east window may be supposed, therefore, to have perpetuated the memories of the Hollands, Earls of Kent, and the two sons of Edward III. with whom they were most closely connected, Edward the Black Prince and Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.

As to the other windows of the choir, all the persons mentioned by Dodsworth in connection with them were closely allied to the Nevills of Raby. At the head of the list stands De Mowbray. This powerful family was represented in the reign of Edward II. by John, the son of Roger de Mowbray, by Rose, sister to Gilbert, Earl of Clare. John de Mowbray married Aliva, daughter, and finally one of the coheirs, of William de Brewes. This baron had certain possessions in Wales, called Gowerland, to which John de Mowbray laid claim in right of Aliva his wife. Now, William de Brewes had contracted to sell those lands, first with the Earl of Hereford and afterwards with the two Rogers de Mortimer, father and nephew. Nevertheless, he dealt for them with Hugh de Spencer, then lord chamberlain to the king, who had other lands adjoining, and gave him possession of them. The aggrieved barons thereupon complained to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who, with many other lords, armed themselves to take part against De Spencer. The king, however, raised an army to oppose them, when the Mortimers and some others submitted, and the rest were slain or taken

prisoners at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, among the latter being the Earl of Lancaster and John de Mowbray, both of whom were hanged at York. The son of this John de Mowbray, also called John, gained the favour of Edward III., and took a leading part in the French and Scottish wars. He died in 35 Edward III., leaving issue by Joan his wife, one of the daughters of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, John de Mowbray his heir. "This," says Dugdale, "is that John who took to wife Elizabeth, the daughter and heir to John, Lord Segrave, by Margaret his wife, daughter and sole heir to Thomas of Brotherton (second son to King Edward the First), Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshall of England, by which marriage a great inheritance in lands, with addition of much honor, came to this noble Family." The last-named John de Mowbray was slain near Constantinople by the Turks in 42 Edward III., and was succeeded by his son John, created Earl of Nottingham, who, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Thomas. This baron, who was appointed Earl Marshal of England, with descent of the office to his heirs male, married Elizabeth, the widow of William de Montacute, eldest son of William, Earl of Salisbury, and sister and coheir of Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. Nevertheless he was a principal party to the execution of Thomas FitzAlan in 21 Richard II., and soon afterwards to the murder of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. He was rewarded by a grant of a large part of the possessions of the Earl of Arundel and of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and was created Duke of Norfolk. Less than a year afterwards, however, he was banished, and he died at Venice in 1 Henry IV. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married Constance, daughter of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter, but he was beheaded for conspiracy in 6 Henry IV. Dying without issue, his brother John, Lord Mowbray, who married Katherine, the daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, of Raby Castle, the first Earl of Westmoreland, had the dignity of Duke of Norfolk restored to him. John, Lord Mowbray, died in 11 Henry VI., leaving a son, John, who succeeded him, and who appears to have borne the titles of Lord Segrave, Earl of Nottingham, and

Duke of Norfolk. In 1 Edward IV. he died, and his son and successor, John, Lord Mowbray, was created, in addition to his other titles, Earl Warren and Surrey. He died in 15 Edward IV., leaving an only daughter and heir, Anne, who afterwards married Richard, Duke of York, second son of King Edward IV., but died without issue.

The family of De Roos or Ros became directly connected with the Nevills at an earlier date than that of De Mowbray. Ralph, Lord Nevill, the grandfather of Ralph, Lord Nevill, the first Earl of Westmoreland, had a daughter, Margaret, who in 16 Edward III. married William de Ros, Lord of Hamlake, in Yorkshire. The surname of this family was taken from the lordship in Holderness, where its ancestor Peter de Ros had his residence. This Peter married Adeline, one of the sisters and coheirs of the famous Walter Espec, founder of the abbey of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire. The neighbouring castle of Helmsley or Hamlake and that of Werke or Berwick were erected, in the reign of John, by his grandson, Robert de Ros, who married Isabell, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland. The grandson of this baron, also called Robert, married Isabell, daughter and heir of William de Albini, Lord of Belvoir, and in 51 Henry III. he raised "a new embatelled wall about the castle of Belvoir, whereof he stood possessed in right of Isabell his wife." His son, William de Ros, was one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland in respect of his descent from his great-grandmother, Isabell, daughter of William the Lion. In 1 Edward II., with Robert de Umfravill, Earl of Angus, and Henry Beaumont, he was constituted the King's Lieutenant in Scotland, between Berwick and the river Forth, as also in the marches of Annandale, Carryk, and Galloway; and though, says Dugdale, "this Lieutenantancy was conferred upon John de Segrave the next following year, yet he continued still in Scotland in that King's service." He was succeeded by his son William, who in 12 Edward III. had a grant from the king of "a certain Tower in the city of London, built by King Edward the Second, and adjoining to the River Thames,

near to a place called Baynards Castle, to hold to him the said William and his heirs, as appurtenant to his castle of Hamlake, in Yorkshire, by the service of a Rose, to be yearly paid at the Exchequer upon the Feast day of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist for ever." It was William, the son and successor of this William de Ros, who married Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, but he died in the Holy Land in 26 Edward III. without issue, and his widow became the wife of Henry, Lord Percy. He was succeeded by his brother Thomas, from whom was descended another Thomas, who married Alianor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by whom he had a son, also called Thomas, and died in 9 Henry VI. The fidelity of the last-named Thomas de Ros to the Lancastrian cause led to his being attainted and his lands confiscated. Belvoir Castle was given to Lord Hastings, but on his coming to view it he was repelled by a friend of Lord de Ros. Dugdale states that "the Lord Hastings came again with some forces, and did great spoil to the castle, defacing the Roofs and taking away the Lead wherewith it was covered to his House at Ashby de la Zouch, where he then bestowed no small cost in building, which occasioned the castle to fall to such ruine by rotting of the Timber, as that it was wholly uninhabitable, until the Earl of Rutland in King Henry the Eighth's time repaired it, making it a more stately structure than ever it was." Thomas de Ros lived to 1 Edward IV., and his son Edward, who succeeded him, died in 24 Henry VII. without issue, and leaving his three sisters his coheirs.

The next person referred to by Dodsworth is the Earl of Richmond. The armorial bearings in the choir of Cottingham Church were those of De Dreux, Dukes of Brittany, created Earls of Richmond, in Yorkshire. According to Dugdale, John de Dreux married Beatrice, daughter of Henry III. (and therefore sister of Edward I.), and had in 52 Henry III. granted to him by letters patent the earldom of Richmond, and by charter a few days afterwards the honour of Richmond in fee, in exchange for the earldom of Agenois, in France. Boutell figures a shield borne by John de Dreux, Earl of

Richmond, the nephew of Edward I., and he thus describes it: "the *field chequee or and lazure*, being for De Dreux; the *canton ermine*, for Brittany; and the *bordure, gules* charged with *golden lions of England*, representing the royal shield of England, and showing the close connection existing between the Earl of Richmond and his sovereign." In 1 Edward III. John de Dreux obtained licence to grant the earldom of Richmond to Arthur, his brother and heir, whose son John did homage for the earldom, but died in 15 Edward III. In the following year Edward III. advanced his fourth son, John of Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, to the dignity of Earl of Richmond, but in 46 Edward III. the earldom was surrendered by the Duke of Lancaster and was granted by the king to John, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Montfort, who had married Joan, daughter of Charles, King of Navarre. He was succeeded by his son John, styled *the Valiant*, but in 5 Richard II., "falling off to the King of France, contrary to his Faith and Allegiance to the King of England and his Progenitors," his lands in England were seized, and by Act of Parliament he was afterwards deposed from all titles of honour here. Joan, the mother of this earl of Richmond, became, on the death of her first husband, the wife of Henry IV., King of England, who on his landing at Ravenspur, in Holderness, in A.D. 1399, was joined by Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby. This baron had been created Earl of Westmoreland by Richard II. the year before, and now Henry IV., in the first year of his reign, granted him the county and honour of Richmond for the term of his life, constituting him also Earl Marshal of England. At a later date the holder of the earldom of Richmond was interested also in the manor of Cottingham. Edmund of Hadham, the half-brother of Henry VI., married Margaret, the daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and granddaughter of Margaret, one of the sisters and coheirs of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent. The husband of this Margaret was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and perhaps for this reason the earldom of Richmond was bestowed on Edmund of Hadham, whose son Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., in-

herited from his mother* a share of the manor of Cottingham. Edward IV., the father of Elizabeth, who became the wife of Henry VII., was himself entitled, as the eldest surviving son of Richard, Duke of York, the grandson of Alianore, eldest sister of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, to a share of that manor. This, however, he transferred to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had already become the owner of a share of the manor by virtue of his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Warwick. One of the four parts into which the original manor of Cottingham is divided is still called the manor of *Cottingham Richmond*.

The Earl of Arundel comes next in Dodsworth's list, but it will be advisable now to refer again to the Nevills of Raby. This family sprang from Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland, in the days of King Edmund Ironside, whose descendant Robert FitzMaldred, in Henry III.'s reign, married Isabel, the sister and heir of Henry de Nevill, and thereupon assumed the surname of Nevill. John, Lord Nevill, after much warlike service in France, died in 12 Richard II., having married first Maud, daughter of Lord Percy, by whom he had issue Ralph, his heir, created Earl of Westmoreland by Richard II.; and then Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William, Lord Latimer, of Danby. By his second wife he had issue John de Nevill, afterwards Lord Latimer, who died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Ralph. The arms of Nevill are given by Boutell as *gu, a saltire arg.*, and he states that "in addition to various labels, the Nevills charge no less than eight different small figures upon their silver saltire, to distinguish different members and branches of their powerful race." The crescent is the difference of the second son or house, and probably the *crescent sable*† was that of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, who was the eldest son by the second wife. The Latimer arms mentioned by Dodsworth, *gu, a*

* This Lady Margaret married three times. Her second husband was Henry, a younger son of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham. Her third husband was Thomas, Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby, to whom in 1485 she made an assignment of (part of) the manor of Cottingham for his life.

† Edmondson gives the *crescent sable* as the mark of the Nevills of Shenstone Park, in Staffordshire.

cross patonce or, were those of the Latimers of Danby, and not of the George de Nevill, Lord Latimer, who succeeded John de Nevill. This George was a younger son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, and he married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

Ralph, the eldest son and heir of John, Lord Nevill, of Raby, married for his first wife Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, by whom he had two sons and seven daughters. His eldest son, John de Nevill, who married Elizabeth, one of the sisters and coheirs of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, died in his lifetime, leaving a son, Ralph, who thus became the heir of his grandfather. By his second wife, Joane, the Earl of Westmoreland had eight sons and five daughters. The eldest son of this marriage was Richard de Nevill, who had the title of Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife Alice, the daughter of Alianore, one of the sisters and coheirs of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, by Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, whose sole heir she was. The arms of Salisbury, represented in the choir of Cottingham Church, are those of Montacute or Montague, *arg. three fusils conjoined in fesse gu.* Richard de Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, was beheaded by the Lancastrians after the battle of Wakefield, fought in the last year of the reign of Henry VI. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard de Nevill, who having married Anne, the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was confirmed in this dignity, and become known from his actions as *the stout Earl of Warwick*. The arms of Warwick given by Dodsworth are those of Beauchamp, *gu, a fesse between six crosslets or.* Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, was slain at the battle of Barnet. His only children were two daughters, of whom the elder, Isabel, married George, Duke of Clarence, the ill-fated brother of Edward IV., and the other, Anne, married first Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI., and afterwards Richard, Duke of Gloucester, "who possess himself of all Warwick's lands," and who afterwards became king as Richard III.

(To be continued.)



The Hazlitts in America a Century since (1783—87).

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.



OWE to the kindness of the owner the use of an unpublished MS. which incidentally throws some interesting light on the history of the United States in the first dawn of American independence. The volume, which is an octavo of nearly two hundred pages, was written between the years 1835 and 1838 for the information and instruction of her nephew (my father), to whom it is addressed, by Margaret Hazlitt, only surviving daughter of the Rev. William Hazlitt, A.M., and sister of John Hazlitt, miniature-painter, and William Hazlitt, critic and essayist. It easily divides itself into two portions: the account of the origin and early history of the family, with its fortunes at home from 1725 to 1814; and the voyage of the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt across the Atlantic in 1783, and what he saw and did there. It is with the latter alone that I here propose to deal; the more strictly biographical and domestic particulars I shall reserve for another opportunity.

There is no reasonable ground for questioning the perfect authenticity and trustworthiness of the details which follow, for, although the account was drawn up so many years after the events which it describes, the authoress or compiler had the advantage not only of family papers, some of which are still extant, but of her own and her mother's recollections. It will be found, I hope, that the selections which I am enabled to give in illustration of the early life of Hazlitt, will prove to be interesting, nor destitute of novelty and freshness.

I have already explained, in the commencing pages of the *Memoirs of Hazlitt*, 1867, how my great grandfather, the Unitarian minister, after moving about from place to place, eventually settled in 1780 at Bandon, near Cork, in Ireland. He remained here with his family for some time, and contracted many agreeable and lasting friendships, as he had done in nearly every congregation of which he had had charge "But," writes his daughter, "though happily situated in many respects, some events happened at this

time which served to strengthen the wish he had long entertained of transporting himself and family across the Atlantic, and seeking a haven of rest in the western world. The feud between Whigs and Tories ran high, and my father, who never disguised his sentiments, gave great offence by his freedom in writing and speaking at a time when the unbridled licence of the army (who took liberties in Ireland that they dared not do at home) made it dangerous to offend the haughty officers, who seemed to think wearing a sword entitled them to domineer over their fellow subjects. The American prisoners, being considered as rebels, were most inhumanly treated, particularly in Kinsale prison, where some officers amused themselves by running their swords into the hammocks of the sick. These and similar practices my father exposed in the newspapers, and he and many friends made frequent journeys to Kinsale to see and assist the poor prisoners, and three of them escaping, were a long time concealed among our friends."

The conduct of the soldiers became so unbearable that Mr. Hazlitt wrote to the War Office; a court of enquiry was held, and the regiment was changed. Miss Hazlitt notes that when her father's letter to headquarters was read in court they said, "Who could have thought a Presbyterian parson could have written such a letter?" But it appears that Mr. Hazlitt also appealed to his friends in London, Dr. Price of Newington, and Mr. Palmer, and that at the request of the former, the Premier, Lord Shelburne, forwarded a letter from him to Colonel Fitzpatrick, the commandant at Kinsale. The matter was settled for that time; but the feeling broke out again more strongly and bitterly than ever, and it was apprehended that if Mr. Hazlitt had not left Ireland his life would have been sacrificed to the violence of party spirit. The family quitted Bandon, and proceeded to Cork, where they stayed a fortnight with friends; and on the 3rd of April, 1783, the whole party embarked on board the *Henry*, Captain Jeffreys, for New York, carrying a very flattering testimonial signed by Dr. Price, Dr. Kippis, Mr. Palmer, and Dr. Rees, dated March 3rd, 1783. There were Mr. and Mrs. Hazlitt; John, a boy

of fifteen; William, about five; Margaret, seven years his senior; and Harriet, an infant. On the whole a rather notable group—at least, as one looks back at it after the lapse of years by the sort of dim light which is all that one has, and glances aside at very different careers then very possible for high names in letters and art in England. Not that the members of it entertained any such impression, for they were poor, anxious, and sad at the notion of leaving, perhaps for ever, the Old Country; and the future was dark and full of incertitude. Still the small band had a brave leader, a person of rare stability and sincerity of disposition, a man as strenuous and resolute in character as he was by temperament trusting and serene. What the tonnage of the *Henry* was we do not hear at all, but we may very well take it for granted that it was a fragile little craft in comparison with the splendid liners to which modern travellers have grown used.

"We sailed with a fair wind and fine weather, and with mingled feelings of hope and regret. I had just been reading the *American Farmer*, a book that gives a most delightful and romantic description of that country, and though true in the most essential points, was (to say the least) too highly coloured. I had formed to myself an ideal terrestrial paradise, and, with the love of liberty I had imbibed, looked forward to a perfect land, where no tyrants were to rule, no bigots to hate and persecute their brethren, no intrigues to feed the flame of discord and fill the land with woe. Of course all the Americans were to be good and happy, and nothing was to hurt or destroy in all that holy mountain."

The voyage was not eventful, nor do I perceive anything about it of sufficient moment to extract from the MS. They were more than six weeks out, and New York was not reached till the 26th May.

"As soon as we cast anchor," the writer observes, "we were visited by some of the British officers, who came on board eager to hear the news. Ours was the first ship that brought an account of the treaty of peace. And then how they raved and swore, cursing both the Congress and those at home, who had thus put a stop to their ravaging with fire and sword their brothers' land, and in

this our most valiant captain most piously joined them. So much were their American brethren transformed in their eyes (by that little magical word *rebel*) into bands of lawless banditti, whom it would be meritorious to destroy.

"We landed at six in the evening, but it was some time before we could get a lodging. This was owing to an oversight of a friend who had given my father a letter to Mr. Tench Cox, a gentleman of New York, who was obnoxious to the Americans on account of his favouring the British cause; and his walking about with my father and John made us to be looked on as refugees, and no one would take us in. I remember my mother sitting down in the porch of some door with me, the children and servant, to wait with no very pleasant feeling the return of my father with his most unlucky, though kindly intentioned, conductor. At last the mistake was cleared up, and we were admitted into the house of Mrs. Gregory. Here we stayed two days, in order to receive our goods from the ship, and then set off for Philadelphia, that beautiful city of which we had heard so much. We went to Perth Amboy, and next to Burlington, a very pretty township by the side of a fine river. On the opposite side stood Bath and Bristol, which looked beautiful with their green woods on either side. It was Friday when we arrived there, and on Saturday the Jersey Assembly (sitting there at that time) sent an invitation to request my father to preach to them on the morrow, which he accordingly did.

"By what means they knew that a minister of the Gospel, and a warm friend to liberty and to them, was come over to cast in his lot amongst them, I do not know.

"The room he preached in had no pews, but only benches, to sit on, as I have seen in some Quakers' meetings. Here, a house to let, which had belonged to a son of Dr. Franklin (who, strange to say, had been banished as a refugee), made my mother desire to settle here, and she proposed to my father to open a school. It was an excellent plan, and would have succeeded well, but it was his wish to go on; and we took our departure for Philadelphia in a stage-waggon (not unlike our long coaches),

and rode two days through the Jersey woods, full of various majestic trees, mingled with the blossoms of the wild peach and apricot, and the sweet-scented yellow flowers of the locust trees perfuming the air.

"We passed through many little towns where the ground was cleared away for some miles round each, and made a pleasant contrast to the neighbouring forests.

"When we arrived at the city we took a lodging the first week in Strawberry Alley. My father then hired a house in Union Street. This house had a parlour, with a door opening to the street, a kitchen, two bedrooms, two attics, cupboards in every room, and a good cellar; our only pantry a shelf on the cellar stairs, where a colony of ants devoured everything that did not stand in a pail of water; the kitchen had a door into a bit of a yard, and this, with a small plot of ground that had never been dug or enclosed, were the whole of our premises, and for this fifty pounds a year of their money, about thirty English, was paid."

The description which occurs in the MS. of Philadelphia, as it appeared to an intelligent observer in 1783, should possess no slight interest:—

"As we stayed," notes Miss Hazlitt, "so long in Philadelphia I have a perfect recollection of this fine city. It had nineteen straight streets from north to south, crossed by nineteen others from east to west, reaching from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. They were each two miles long, but were not all finished. Those between the rivers were called Water Street, Second, Third Street, and so on; the others were named after different fruit, as Walnut, Pine Street, etc. There were only three Episcopalian churches here, but a great many of Dutch, Presbyterian, and Quakers, and some few Catholics. A great part of the population of this city were Irish and German. My father dined one day with the society of the *cincinnati* on the banks of the Schuylkill. My father and John went to St. Peter's church, on purpose to get a sight of General Washington. It was on a week day, on some public occasion, when that great and good man was present. In July my father went to preach at New London, and here he met with some of his own name and kindred,

some of whom we afterwards saw in Philadelphia, where also lived, with her guardians, Miss Hazlitt, a daughter of Colonel Hazlitt, to whose wedding my mother went. She was a distant relation. From New London my father went to Carlisle, where he spent some time, and might have been settled with three hundred a year and a prospect of being president of a college that was erecting, if he would have subscribed the confession of faith which the orthodox insisted on; but he told them he would sooner die in a ditch than submit to human authority in matters of faith.

"Some of our neighbours in Union Street," she continues, "were very friendly. Mr. Gomez and his family were much interested about us. They were Jews, and had lost much of their property by the war, but were still rich. Late in the summer Mr. Gomez returned to New York, where his property lay, and whence he had been driven by the British troops. He often enquired what were my father's sentiments, and why the orthodox were so bitter against him, and he thought the Unitarian doctrine the most reasonable scheme of Christianity he had ever heard. Of course the notion of a Trinity must ever be a stumbling-block in the way of Jews and Mahometans.

"I forgot to mention, among our friends here, Mr. Vaughan and his two sons, English gentlemen of large property. They wished my father to take a school at German Town, five miles from the city, and offered to advance him any money necessary to begin with, but this he declined, as he did not think it right to give up preaching entirely. Mr. Vaughan, with his wife and daughters, afterwards returned to England, but his sons remained there some years longer, and one, that we afterwards met at Boston, behaved to us in a very friendly manner. While he was in Philadelphia, Mr. Vaughan assisted some English ladies to open a boarding school there. German Town is a beautiful village, and it is said the yellow fever never reached it, so that it seems a pity we did not settle there. But perhaps my father was destined to remove the rubbish and to clear the way for more fortunate Unitarians who, coming after him, entered into his labours and reaped the fruits thereof."

The family had not been spared its sorrows since the arrival in the States. Little Harriet had been taken, and another daughter, Esther, came and went like a vision. But a more serious danger seemed at one time imminent, and it led to a sublime development of piety and heroism on the part of a mere lad.

"Soon after the death of Esther my father was invited to preach in Maryland. It was a township (as they call their scattered villages, where a field or two intervenes between every house). And here, in the midst of the forests, and at a distance from the cities on the coast, he found a respectable and polished society, with whom he would have been happy to spend his days, and they were very anxious to have him for their pastor. But on the second Sunday he was seized with the fever of that country, and fainted in the pulpit. Although he might himself, after so severe a seasoning, have been able to bear the climate, he feared to take his family there, and a stop was put to our being settled with a people so very suitable in many respects. I forget the name of the place, but to Mr. Earl and his family our everlasting gratitude is due. At this gentleman's house he was hospitably entertained, and but for the great care and attention with which he was nursed, he must have died. Nothing could exceed the kindness with which they watched over him, even sending twenty miles for lemons and oranges for him, and providing him with every comfort. Two black men sat up with him every night, and he partly ascribed his recovery to a large draught of water that he prevailed on them to let him have, which, however, had been strictly forbidden. For a long time his family were ignorant of his situation, but at last Dr. Ewing and Mr. Davidson came to break the matter to my mother, who very naturally concluded he was dead, and it was some time before they could make her believe it was not the case. At length she was convinced that he was recovering, and the next morning my brother John set off to go to him. He went alone on horseback. He rode through woods and marshes a hundred and fifty miles in fifty-six hours, over an unknown country and without a guide. He was only sixteen at that time, and how he

performed so difficult an enterprise astonished every one who knew it. But he was wild with his fears for his father, and his affection for him made him regardless of every danger. He found him slowly recovering, but dreadfully weak, and after staying there some weeks they both returned together. How they got on I cannot think, but when they came to the door my father could not get off his horse without help. It was November, and the snow fell for the first time that day. My father was very ill and weak for a long time after his return. I recollect he looked very yellow, and sat by the fire wrapped in a great coat, and taking Columbia root. The 23rd of this month we felt the shock of an earthquake.

"This winter proved very severe; the snow lay many feet on the ground, and the cold was intense, and more like a New England winter than (to speak comparatively) the usually mild frosts of Pennsylvania.

"In the spring my father was well enough to give lectures at the college of Philadelphia on the evidences of Christianity. These lectures were well attended, and were of great service to a numerous class of young men who, taking it for granted that the doctrines of Calvin were those of Christ, were ready to renounce the whole system at once. But the Unitarian doctrine, being consistent with reason and scripture, brought many of them back to the ranks of the believers. Not but there were some few Unitarians there before my father arrived in that country. But none dared to avow their real sentiments, fearing to offend the many. And here I cannot help remarking how strange it seems that my father, who openly preached the doctrine of the Divine Unity from Maryland to Kennebec, should have been so entirely overlooked, and the whole work ascribed to Dr. Priestley, who went there so many years after him. But it is so!

"In the spring of 1784 my father had an invitation to settle at Charlestown, in North Carolina, but this he was obliged to decline, for the same reason that prevented his staying in Maryland, as the heat there is so great that for two months every summer the places of public worship are shut up. Yet some of our friends wished us to go, as they thought it would be an advantageous situation, and

argued that the sea breezes at midday made the heat tolerable. About the same time my father had an invitation to Pittsburg, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. But this he also declined, on account of its being at that time so far back in the wilderness. But now it is a very flourishing place, and by all accounts most beautifully situated. I remember the two farmers coming to talk the matter over with my father, and thinking to myself how much I should like to go and see those wild and beautiful forests.

"In June my father went to preach at Brattle Street meeting in Boston, where he was so much liked that no doubt was entertained by his friends of his being chosen, and they advised him to send for his family, and we, of course, prepared to follow him, hoping we should at last find a 'resting place for the sole of our foot.' But in this we were again mistaken, for the persecuting zeal of the orthodox sent one of their chosen brethren after him, and thus put a stop to his settling there; but this we knew not till afterwards.

"We then had farewell to Philadelphia and to our own friends there, whose kindness to us, strangers as we were, deserves remembrance, and casting a last look at this beautiful city of William Penn, where so many events had befallen us, and where we left my two infant sisters sleeping in their early graves, the beloved and the beautiful.

"In August 1784, having lived there fifteen months, we took our departure in the stage which brought us here the year before, and riding through the same woods, now rich with wild peaches instead of blossom, ripe grapes, and hickory and other nuts, the oak and ash raising their lofty heads above the rest, we came the first day to Burlington, and were welcomed as old acquaintances by our host. And here we again admired the little towns of Bath and Bristol shining in the morning sun, whose very names brought back to my mother many sad and pleasing recollections of former days. From Burlington we went on to Perth Amboy. This is a very large inn, said to contain a hundred beds. It stands alone, and its green lawn in front gently slopes down to the river. From the rising ground on which the house stands there is a beautiful and extensive view, and

more than one river is seen hence. I am told that Cobbett has somewhere given a very fine description of it, but, as I have never seen his book, you must be content with my imperfect recollections.

"Here we slept one night—my mother and William, and I, in one room, with a lady and her little girl. In the night I awoke, and heard a snoring under the bed. I crept softly out to feel, and hoping it was only a dog, I made up my mind not to speak, but to watch till daylight, when seeing a large Newfoundland dog, who was come to guard us, stretched at his full length under the bed, I went quietly to sleep. Early in the morning a very large party met at breakfast on the lawn before the door. We had tea, coffee, cakes, pastry, eggs, ham, etc., for an American breakfast is like a Scotch one."

It was during the stay here that the Hazlitts met a gentleman, who seemed at the first flush more interesting than he turned out to be. So early as the time of the English Commonwealth, it may be worth while to parenthesize by saying that the name of our great poet is to be found in the ranks of the sect called Ranters. Here, proceeds the narrator, "what most struck me was a puritanical old gentleman, of the name of Shakespeare, on whom I looked with great reverence, thinking perhaps that with the name he inherited the talents of his immortal namesake; besides, his face bore a strong resemblance to all the prints I had seen of the great poet of whom I had heard so much. He was dressed in a sad-coloured suit, was reserved and stately, and took his coffee with the air of a prince in disguise. All our company were curious to know who he was, some affirming that he must be a Jesuit, and others made many different conjectures. But we left him there without making any discovery. After breakfast we went on board a little sloop to proceed to New York. . . . We waited here two days for the packet going to Rhode Island, and took our lodging at a boarding-house. Our old neighbours, the Jewish family, came to ask us to spend a day at their house. My mother and John went, but left me to take care of William, lest we should be tempted to laugh at the odd ceremonies they use in saying grace. . . . We left New York on Sunday, in the packet for Rhode Island. . . . We

passed through Hell Gate, a dangerous whirlpool, and over the Hog's Back safely before sunset. It was a very fine evening, and pleasant sailing between the mainland and Long Island. The views on each side were very beautiful, and we remained on deck until a late hour, enjoying the moonlight and the fresh air. About noon, the next day, we arrived at Newport. This is a pretty, neat town, but it had not, at that time, recovered from the devastations of the British troops, who had not left a tree on the island, and many of the floors bore the marks of their axes where they cut up the mahogany furniture of the houses for firing. My brother joined a party of gentlemen and ladies in riding round the island on horseback. It is twelve miles long, and made but a desolate appearance then. It had been pretty formerly, and I doubt not has since been well planted, and has recovered its good looks. We stayed here two days, and ate of a most delicious fish, of the size of a mackerel; they are called black fish, and seem to be peculiar to these seas, as we never met with them anywhere else.

"Our next day's voyage brought us to Providence, a very handsome town, on the banks of the river, thirty miles from its mouth. The river itself, and the scenery on each side, the most beautiful that ever was seen, and the clear blue sky over one's head, the sun shining in all its glory, set them off to the best advantage. Providence, though built on the continent, belongs to Rhode Island. Here we stayed one night. . . . At six o'clock the next morning we went on in two coaches, and this day's journey brought us to Boston.

"Our road lay through woods abounding with every variety of beautiful trees, dressed in their most lovely foliage, majestic in stature, and tenanted by numberless tribes of the feathered race, whose matin and vesper hymns rose sweetly on the ear. At intervals we passed by many little townships, but I only remember the name of one. It was called Jamaica Plains; it was pleasant, and near Boston. Here lived Dr. Gordon, who wrote a history of the war of the Revolution, and came over to London to publish it. What his fate was, I never heard. But now there is not any necessity for American authors to take a voyage to this country to publish their works.

"As soon as we got to the inn, my father, who had been anxiously expecting us, took us to his lodgings in State Street. This was a boarding-house and table-d'hôte kept by Mrs. Gray and her two sisters. Here we stayed three weeks, and then went to lodge in the country at farmer Witherington's, in Lower Dorchester, five miles from Boston. He was a good old man, and his eldest son was called Mather, a name given to many out of respect to Cotton Mather, a celebrated minister.

"An Indian who worked for the Witheringtons we often saw. He had a good voice, and sang some songs about Washington; he had a little girl, who might have passed for one of our handsome brunettes.

"It is said those Indians that come to live among the white people are generally such as have been turned out of their own tribe, and so it proved in this instance. I do not know that I saw any other Indians except six Cherokee chiefs, that I met once in the street at Philadelphia, dressed in their robes of state, with feathers bound round their heads like a coronet.

"These were come to conclude a treaty with the Pennsylvanians. At the end of seven weeks, my father having an offer of a good and cheap house at Weymouth, fifteen miles from Boston, we prepared to leave the worthy farmer and remove to that place. Of this we made two days' journey. We passed through Milton and some other places, and about tea-time reached the house of Judge Cranch, at Braintree, where we had been invited to sleep. We here found a very pleasant family, and spent an agreeable evening. . . . It was the beginning of November. . . . Our house belonged to the lady of John [Quincy] Adams, at that time ambassador to England from the Congress."

Miss Hazlitt explains that there was some relationship between her family and the Quincys; but what it was she does not reveal further, except that we see that the tie was acknowledged, and that there were other offshoots from the same stock living round about. Miss Hazlitt also takes occasion to mention that their house at Weymouth was divided into two tenements, of which a farmer occupied one, and had, according to the custom of the country, half the produce of his land for himself.

(To be continued.)

Celebrated Birthplaces:

BISHOP LATIMER AT THURCASTON, LEICESTERSHIRE.



ABOUT four miles from the county town of Leicester is the little village of Thurcaston. In 1480, that is in the reign of Edward IV., there lived in this village one of those sturdy yeomen who have made England the country she is. His name was Hugh Latimer. No doubt he was an offshoot of the family of Latimer which was settled in this part of the country. From 1321 to 1421 the Latimers had property at Church Langton and West Langton, and from 1324 to 1400 they were lords of the manor of all or of the greatest part of Smeton, Westerly, and Foxton. In the north window of the church at Ratly (not far from Thurcaston) are the arms of the Latimers,—Gules a cross patonce or, a label of France. In the churches of Ayleston Wigston and Lubbenham the same arms occur, but without the label, and in the chapel of Harborough are the same arms with a label of three points azure. Thus Hugh Latimer came of good Leicestershire blood.

He had six daughters and one son. This son was Hugh Latimer, who afterwards became Bishop of Worcester, and was burnt at the stake for his adherence to the Protestant religion. His name is one of the most famous of that band of martyrs, the memories of whom are not yet eradicated from the minds of the people. He was a learned and a great man, and as one of the pioneers of progress he must always be considered among the best of England's worthies.

As a child, Latimer was brought up at home under the care of his parents, until he was four years of age. His father, seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, sent him to the schools of his own county, to be trained in the various branches of knowledge then taught. At fourteen, however, he left the scenes of his birth, and entered on that career which has made him famous, for at this age he went to Christ's College, Cambridge.

But he never forgot his country home. It is difficult for us now to understand the

turmoil and party fury which in those days raged on the subject of religion, but Latimer bore his part in the struggle well. It is in one of his sermons, the first he preached before King Edward VI., on March 8th, 1549, that we perceive how his thoughts went back to his Leicestershire home. "My father," he says, "was a yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine." This little picture of rural simplicity is exceedingly interesting. Would that we knew as much about the father and mother of others of our great names—Shakespeare above all. Latimer goes on to say that his father "was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field." This

little effort of memory on the good Bishop's part brings up a host of historical associations relative to the military practices of our land before we had a standing army. The Blackheath field that old yeoman Hugh Latimer went to was a field of battle, and we cannot doubt that the affection of the son was sore troubled when he buckled on the harness of his soldier father, who was going to fight the Cornish rebels, headed by Lord Audley, and help to win the battle that was gained for Henry VII. on the 22nd June, 1497. Latimer was then seventeen years of age! Had he come from Cambridge to see his father before he started? How he loved the memory of his father is shown by the very next words of his sermon, from which

we have just quoted. "He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poorer neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor." Surely these good honest yeoman-sons of England deserve their meed of praise from us who inherit the good they did.

The house in which the Latimers lived, and in which the Bishop was born, does not now exist, though a house near the church is called "Latimer's House," and is so entered in the parish registers, and is generally spoken

of as the actual place of the bishop's birth. Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire* (vol. i., p. 1061), points out that the old house which now occupies the exact site was built in 1568. On a beam on the outside of the house, in raised letters, is this inscription:—"THYS HOWS WAS BOYLDEN ANNO D'NI 1568, AND IN Y^R I YER



LATIMER'S HOUSE.

OF Y RAIGN OF OWRE SOVERAIGN LADYE QVENE ELIZABETH, BY ME NYCHOLAS GRAVNO." It appears that at the original building of this house, after laying the foundation, four large wooden turned pillars were set up as corner posts, as large as are generally met with in country churches, and in these are erected wooden arches. In 1843 this was occupied by a publican and blacksmith, and our illustration gives a view of it at that date. Another illustration, from a different point of view, is given in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*, vol. i., plate cxl., figure 2. The front of it has been modernized. Except the modern parts of it it is entirely of wood-work, and joined together by wooden pins, which protrude considerably from the wall.

The font in which Latimer was christened is still preserved in the church, and in the rectory-house is a painting of him, in the style of Holbein, which has been bequeathed as an heirloom. The *Illustrated London News* of August 5th, 1843, puts forward a strong plea for the erection of a memorial to Bishop Latimer, a plea which found a suitable answer, for the Rev. Richard Waterfield erected a monument in the church during that year.



Reviews.

The Order of the Coif. By ALEXANDER PULLING, Serjeant-at-Law. (London, 1884 : Clowes & Sons, Limited.) 8vo, pp. xxvi. 288.



R. SERJEANT PULLING has narrated some very important facts in connection with the institution of which he has constituted himself the historian. Legal history contains within it some of the most archaic survivals of our complicated social system, and when its details are treated as minutely and as interestingly as is the case with the subject before us, it comes home to the student with considerable force. The order of the coif is the oldest established association of lawyers in our country, and we very much question whether it does not come into direct contact with Roman times. The assembling of the Roman Jurisperiti at early morn, *sub galli cantum*, and their peripatetic exercise up and down the Forum, in actual consultation, or ready to confer with the *consultores* or clients, is described by Horace and many other writers. Horace's words are (*Sat. I. i. v. 9*) :—

“Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat,”

and again in the first epistle of his second book he explains more at large the custom which is again mentioned by Cicero in his oration for Murena. But this practice applied to those lawyers whose years and honours had grown with their knowledge of the laws. In their younger days, on the public days of market or assembly, the masters of the art, says Gibbon, were seen walking in the forum ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes on a future occasion they might solicit a grateful return. Let us take a step further in the history of Roman lawyers. When they awaited their clients at home, the youths of their own order and family were permitted to listen, and Gibbon goes on to point out the evident corollary from this, that some families, as for instance the Mucian, were long renowned for their hereditary knowledge of the civil law. Now all these facts are in exact parallel to

the early customs of the order of the coif. Serjeant Pulling points out the significance of the order as a family of lawyers, so to speak, who appear at the earliest dawn of English history, but originating from no special enactment from the government of the day, called into being by no charter or sanction of the sovereign. But the close parallel between the order of the coif as a family or corporation of lawyers and the Roman lawyers who developed into hereditary custodians of legal knowledge becomes even more remarkable when we consider their practices, and the theory of their duties. They assembled in the Parvis of old St. Paul's Cathedral, each serjeant having been allotted a special pillar in the cathedral at his appointment, where they met their clients in legal consultation, hearing the facts of the case, and taking notes of the evidence, or pacing up and down. Parvis strictly meant only the church porch, but in the case of St. Paul's it clearly comprehended the nave or the middle aisle of the old cathedral, or Paul's Walk. This is only the old Roman practice over again, and a practice which was clearly related in the nature of parent to child, not that of descendant from a common ancestor. Further than this is the parallel between the theory of their action. As the Roman lawyer was ready to give aid to the poorest citizen without pecuniary reward, so was the serjeant “truly to serve the King's people” without pecuniary reward. We cannot discover that Mr. Coote, in the many remarkable and acute parallels between Roman and English institutions, has touched upon this; and we are disposed to class it as one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence on this subject which is yet brought to light.

Mr. Serjeant Pulling has much to say about the later history of the order, down to the time when it received the first deadly blow at its existence from the hands of Francis Bacon. This remarkable genius does not stand high in estimation in his conduct as a lawyer, and Mr. Pulling, in drawing attention to his pertinacity for promotion, when he was at last appointed King's Counsel, mentions a curious anecdote: that he threatened if his application was refused “to sell his inheritance and purchase some sinecure office, and so become a sorry bookmaker.” Perhaps the world would have loved him more if he had carried out this resolution, for it is not as a successful lawyer that Francis Bacon is known to Englishmen. This appointment as King's Counsel was followed up by Francis North, afterwards Lord Keeper Guildford; and from this time the appointments have been continuous, until in modern days the Queen's Counsel has



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been allowed to die out without securing for itself an historian able and willing to give it the best monument of its past life.

Hanley and the House of Lechmere. (London, 1883: Pickering & Co.) 4to, pp. viii. 79.

The honoured name of Evelyn Philip Shirley does not appear upon the title-page of this interesting family memoir, only because the hand of death had removed him when it was nearly ready for the press. Most antiquaries have mourned the loss of Mr. Shirley, and it needs no words of ours to explain that all his work was done with the care and accuracy that brought him a reputation second to none other perhaps. He was allied by marriage to a branch of the Lechmere family, and he became familiar with the associations which cluster round the interesting old mansion on a rising bank not far from the river Severn, in the parish of Hanley Castle, in Worcestershire. The illustrations of the eastern and western front of this fine old mansion give a very capital idea of its peculiarities and beauties. It is now called Severn End, and the site is said to have been in the possession of the Lechmere family from very early times, and to have been given by William the Conqueror to the founder of the family. The earliest recorded ancestor of the Lechmeres, however, is Reginald de Lechmere de Hanlee, about the period of Edward I. They have produced famous lawyers and men who have fought gallantly for their country, into all of which particulars Mr. Shirley enters with an interest that is quickly imparted to his readers. Once the old family seat passed away by sale into a stranger's hands, but after the lapse of twenty-two years it was purchased by the late Sir Edmund Hungerford Lechmere on the 2nd of November, 1852. We have here an interesting record of English family history.

Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland: giving an account of their Origin, Constitution, and Working. First Annual Issue. (London, 1884: C. Griffin & Co.) 8vo, pp. iv. 226.

This book promises to become very useful to workers in science and archæology. It gives business particulars of the learned societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and when it has gained a year or two's experience it will include, we have no doubt, many more particulars which would be of great importance in the cause of scientific research. Our local societies are taking a prominent place in the learned world, and it is a great boon to know where to write to for information, and what kind of work is being done. We have noted one or two omissions which should be at once attended to: for instance, no place is found for the Folklore Society, one of the most active and widely useful of scientific societies lately established. Neither do we see the Topographical Society of London mentioned, and the Index Society has a very short space allotted to it. We do not say this in any antagonistic spirit, but merely with the wish to indicate where future editions may improve upon this one, and so make the book what it aims to become,

and what it ought to become, namely, a handbook in the library of all students.

The Hull Quarterly and East Riding Portfolio. Edited by W. G. B. PAGE. (Hull, January and April, 1884: A. Brown & Sons.)

There was plenty of room for this northern collector of departed and departing historic relics. The editor has secured the services of several earnest workers, and it appears to us that he is likely to produce some excellent material for Yorkshire history. The Rev. W. H. Jones gives some very good notes on Holderness Folk-lore; the Rev. M. G. Watkins gives a paper on Andrew Marvell's Bible; and the Rev. Canon Venables gives an account of a Roman altar to the Parææ discovered at Lincoln. "Cottingham Castle and its Lords" is the title of a very interesting paper by Mr. C. S. Wake. Of purely local matters, "Hull's Greatest Member of Parliament," Henry Vane, is a capital instalment of a branch of study which might be extended. Every borough must take an interest in its parliamentary representatives, and those which possess a local journal should not be slow in giving to the world these pieces of biography, which must always be useful beyond the local sphere. We shall be glad to hear of the success of this excellent local journal.

Genealogy of Morgan, Elantarnam Abbey, Monmouthshire, and of Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.

The compiler of this genealogy, Mr. G. Blacker Morgan, is to be congratulated upon the successful result of his laborious undertaking. It carries the genealogy up to Lord Tredegar, in 1328, and in the course of the process illustrates many important items of family history.

Celticism a Myth. By JAMES CRUIKSHANK ROGER (London, 1884.) 8vo, pp. 90.

We are thoroughly disposed to agree with the author of this paper that Celtic civilization, as propounded by its most devoted students, cannot be accepted as an historical fact, although we cannot go with him in all he says to prove his position, nor can we endorse his antagonism to archæological science. Unfortunately for the purpose of review, this able little brochure is far too dialectical for us to say more than that we believe the author has proved his case. But we wish he had not been content with proving, even if ever so cleverly, that his antagonists are all wrong; there are after all always two sides to a question, and the advocate is not the right source to obtain an impartial opinion from. If Mr. Roger will take up the subject less in the spirit of an advocate, and more in that of archæological science, which he seems to despise, he will be doing good and useful work, and we shall welcome his researches with considerable pleasure, because we believe, as he does, that the evidence of Celtic civilization is not so strong as the evidence of Celtic barbarism. We are glad to have met Mr. Roger on the platform he has chosen; but we should still better like to meet him on the broader platform of original research.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

London Geologists' Association.—July 22nd.—Annual Excursion.—The party were met by Mr. R. N. Worth, who conducted them to the Hoe, where its peculiar geological features and its relation to that of the neighbourhood of the Sound generally were pointed out. The party then proceeded as far as the Catterdown limestone quarries, and the evening was spent in inspecting the museum at the Athenæum, the Council having invited the members of the Association to a conversation. On Tuesday the members visited the ancient town of Totnes and the neighbourhood. The castle is close to the north gate, which is still standing. On a lofty mount is a circular keep, probably of Norman origin, and from the top of this keep magnificent views were obtained of the surrounding country. The guildhall stands on the north side of the church, and was formerly a portion of the Priory of St. Mary. Amongst the various objects of interest pointed out to the visitors were the old stocks in the main hall, also an elm trunk with a hole bored through its centre, and used as a water-pipe. In the hall is a large oil painting by William Brockedon, a native of Totnes, the scene being from the poems of Ossian. In the gallery was observed a coat of arms, which appear to be those of a member of the Bedford family, as in 1630 Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, was High Steward of the borough. The very ancient chest in the Council Chamber, and a curious arm chair, used by the town clerk, were also pointed out, together with the specimens of some of the oldest muniments of the Corporation on the walls, with descriptions affixed. In the parish church, the exterior of which is undergoing restoration, one of the greatest objects of interest to which attention was directed was the very handsome carved stone rood screen under the chancel arch, with two parclose screens; also the beautifully carved Corporation stalls. In the sacred edifice is an ancient Bible and Prayer-Book, presented in 1690 for the use of the Mayor by Lady Anne Seymour, relict of Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Castle, with an inscription signed by her. On the right side, entering the church, in the porch, there were also pointed out the remains of the ancient stoup, which has been discovered recently, during the restoration. Concerning east gate it was explained that Totnes was a walled town and had originally four gates, of which only two now remain, the east and north. The east gate, which divides Fore-street and High-street, has been very much undermined. Formerly it consisted of two arched portals, one for carriages, which was enclosed with gates, and a smaller one, "a needle's eye," for foot passengers. In the room over this gateway the visitors were shown a fine coloured frieze, above the panelling, and surrounding the room, with, over the chimney-piece, heads of King Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. From Totnes the geologists proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. T. C. Kellock, to Dartington Hall, the residence of Mr. Arthur Champenowne, by whom

they were conducted to the chief points of interest. The ruins of the ancient hall, built by the Hollands, Dukes of Exeter *temp.* Richard II., with their accessory buildings, excited much interest, and Mr. Champenowne gave a brief outline of the history of this famous mansion. Wednesday was occupied at Torquay under the accomplished guidance of Mr. W. Pengelly, whose name will be associated with the systematic working out of the many problems connected with Kent's Cavern.

PROVINCIAL.

Midland Union of Natural History Societies.—June 25th (continued from *ante*, p. 78).—Dr. T. J. Walker delivered an address in the evening on the Roman remains in the neighbourhood, in the course of which he exhibited a magnificent collection of relics. Taking a flint, he said it was all that remained of the oldest inhabitant of Peterborough, at a time when historical records had not begun to be written. The first inhabitant had not left much behind him, but there it was, and it had been found in the gravels formed by the river Nene, when the face of the earth was totally different from what it was at the present time, when the river Nene extended from the high ground on the right to the high ground on left, the vast accumulation of water rolling and dashing down the valley, breaking off pieces of the rock in its course, and carrying with it these pieces of stone, and depositing at the mouth of the stream this gravel, which was now used by the inhabitants of Peterborough for gravelling their paths; and with this gravel the volume of water carried down bones of the elephant, the mammoth, the ox, and other extinct animals, and it was from these deposits that the remains of the earliest inhabitants of this district were found. How long ago it was he would leave them to judge; but he would ask them to step over that age, to leap over an immense abyss of time, and come to the time when the face of the country had been changed to what it was now. Then they came to another flint, which might be an impostor as far as this district was concerned, for it might have been dropped higher up the country and washed down the stream until it came to Orton, where it was picked up. It had considerable historic value attaching to it, because it was the first of those flints observed north of the Ouse, and it indicated the presence of human residents at that age. Dr. Walker then proceeded to show a celt discovered in the neighbourhood, and to illustrate its use, which was that of a hammer, and stated that one was found at Newborough, buried in the skull of an ox. What an incident that presented to the mind! That weapon would not have been left there if the man himself had not died. It was easy to imagine the dusky Iceni, attacked in the Fens by the bull, and though gored and mortally wounded, he bravely faced his foe, and with a blow he embedded his weapon in the head of the ox and slew it. Coming to the time when metal implements had given place to stone, he stated that from a collection of Roman coins which he possessed, the history of the Roman occupation of England could be traced. These coins proved that that occupation lasted for a

period of 350 years. Until lately it had not been thought that the Romans had occupied Peterborough at all, but it was now pretty certain that they had. A Roman urn was recently found during some excavations at Westwood House. Skeletons had been found at Westwood, with Roman vessels, urns, ornaments, etc., lying by their side, and during the excavations at the cathedral a Roman relic had been discovered. There was also a Roman way extending from Peterborough to Denver, but it would not start from Peterborough without it was connected with either Ermine Street or King Street, the great Roman highways. Possibly the houses of the town stood on the sites of Roman houses. At Westwood, too, he had discovered a section of a Roman road, an illustration of which he exhibited, showing the roadway and the ditches on either side. He also called attention to a collection of Saxon remains discovered at Woodston, but he stated that as his lecture was to be confined to the Roman remains of the district he would do no more than call attention to the relics.—Mr. W. J. Harrison, F.G.S., afterwards delivered a short address on “The Ice Age and the Stone Age.”—On Thursday the members of the Union went on two excursions: one an upland excursion to Stibbington Hall and the Bedford Purlieus, and the other to the Fenland.—The Upland party left Peterborough about nine o’clock, and proceeded by way of Chesterton (the birthplace of Dryden), inspecting the church and crossing the old Roman road, known as Ermine Street, thence to Water Newton (where the river gravels have yielded and still yield Roman pottery and bones). The return journey was by Sutton Marsh and Castor,—the Durobrivæ of the Romans,—so famous for the discoveries of baths, tessellated pavements, and of ancient kilns with Roman pottery. The fine old church was inspected, its chief features pointed out and explained.—The Fenland party left Peterborough, and proceeded to the Decoy in Borough Fen; thence the party proceeded to Crowland, first visiting the Abbey, where an address was given by the rector (Rev. T. H. Le Boeuf), and then the Triangular Bridge in the centre of the town was inspected.—Mr. Canham exhibited a fine and rare collection of flints and other relics found in the neighbourhood.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—June 21st (continued from *ante*, p. 82).—The Chairman then called upon Mr. W. M'Dowall to give a historical account of Lincluden Abbey.—Mr. M'Dowall said there was a fortunate fitness in the circumstance of having a discovery connected with Devorgilla's Bridge explained within this church, seeing that both bridge and abbey were built by members of the same family, the M'Dowalls of Galloway. To go back to the origin of the abbey they must revert to the reign of David I., who was called by a royal descendant of his “ane sair sanct for the Crown,” because he appropriated so many of his royal estates and so much of his revenue to the building and endowing of churches and monasteries. Under his auspices the simple Culdee worship of Scotland was superseded by the gorgeous ritual of the Roman Church, and in accordance therewith he raised many of those ecclesiastical edifices the remnants of whose magnificence and beauty still survived in the land. One of David's most powerful subjects

was Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who, following the example of his sovereign, erected no fewer than five monasteries. When Fergus died, about 1162, he left the lordship of Galloway divided between two of his sons. Galloway was then, in a sense, an independent province, Celtic in its language and laws; for if it had been Saxon or Scoto-Saxon, the eldest son would probably have received the undivided lordship. These two sons, Gilbert and Uchtred, were the Cain and Abel of Galloway history. Uchtred erected this once beautiful abbey, the grey ruins of which still helped to keep his memory green, and the inmates of which, it is supposed, consisted of some thirty Benedictine nuns brought from the parent establishment in France. Those pious sisters would of course remember in their daily service the name of the founder and their munificent benefactor. There came a day, however, in September 1174, when terrible news reached them from the Castle of Lochfergus, the residence of Uchtred, situated on an island in a lake long since drained in the neighbourhood of Kirkcudbright. That news was to the effect that Gilbert, wishing to appropriate the whole province to himself, had attacked his brother in his castle and put him to death under circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. The exact date of the fratricide was the 22nd September, 1174. No doubt piteous wails would be raised within those walls, and mass be celebrated for the repose of the soul that had been sent so suddenly to the bar of Heaven's assize. Gilbert succeeded to the entire lordship, and wonderful to say, he was allowed to rule for eleven years after that brutal deed of blood. On his death he was succeeded by Roland, who was the son of the founder of Lincluden, and who asserted his rights to the lordship over that of his cousin Duncan, the son of the fratricide, to whom, however, he assigned Carrick, and hence Duncan became the first lord of Carrick. There was a very romantic story connected with this branch of the family. Duncan died, leaving a son, Neil. Neil died, leaving no male heir, and the earldom of Carrick descended to his daughter Marjory, who became Countess in her own right. Marjory was a widow, and when she had cast off her weeds, and was hunting one day in the woods of Turnberry Castle, who should pass by on horseback but a handsome cavalier, Robert Bruce, lord of Cleveland and Annandale. The lady, captivated by his fine appearance, caused her attendants to seize his bridle-reins, and made him literally her captive, and wooed and won him in that strange manner. As a result of their union a child was born—the hero-king of Scotland, the Bruce of Bannockburn. Roland of Galloway was succeeded by Alan, who was father of Devorgilla, who became the mother of John Baliol. The M'Dowalls, lords of Galloway, were paramount in the province up to this time; but when Bruce had got seated on the throne, the M'Dowalls, who had sided with the Baliols in the competition for the Crown, suffered a reverse of fortune—as his star rose, theirs sank; and hence there was a transitional period in the history of this ancient structure of Lincluden. The Douglasses rose on the ruins of the ancient lords of Galloway. The first of the Douglasses bore the soubriquet of the “Grim,” and sometimes he was called “the Black Douglas”—

a greedy, grasping, tyrannical chief, as the nuns soon found to their cost. The abbey was endowed with a goodly number of lands, given as a voluntary grant for religious purposes. Douglas desired to take some of these back again, but not wishing to do so in the manner of a bandit, a rumour was raised that the nuns had broken their vows, were leading irregular lives, and he, the Black Douglas, then stepped forward, posed as an ecclesiastical reformer and administrator of Church discipline, which, as administered by him, was severe enough, for he seized the building, appropriated the revenues, and cast the sisters adrift. Pangs of remorse were felt, and he sought to compensate to some extent for what he had done by building a magnificent church on the site of the abbey, embodying as much of the building as could be appropriated for that purpose. Accordingly in due time this veritable church and its pertinents were built and partially endowed by Archibald. This would be about the year 1394. To him succeeded Archibald Tyneman, so called because he lost a number of battles. But he also gained a number, and what was more, he won the hand of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert III. of Scotland. Nor was he satisfied with fighting in the wars of his own country. He went to France and assisted King Charles to fight his battles there, was made Duke of Touraine, acquired a vast amount of wealth, and when he died was buried at Tours. His widow discharged the duties of the Lordship of Galloway at the Castle of Threave to a pretty advanced age; and when her turn came to die, she received a gorgeous funeral, and was here interred in this church. Previous to her decease the Princess had endowed a chapelry at Lincluden, and increased the inmates considerably. At that time these consisted of the Provost, who was a man of note, held up his head with the best of the land, and was called Lord Provost by his subordinates, eight prebends, or gentlemen priests, to each of whom was assigned 45 merks, which annual salary was drawn from the rents of the lands that Archibald the Grim had restored of the original possessions of the abbey; and, in addition to these prebends, twenty-four bedesmen. In the course of time the Douglasses declined in fortune, and became almost strangers in Galloway, over which they had ruled with no gentle hand. The Maxwells took their place. The famous Lord Herries, Queen Mary's protector, had a residence in this building, and no doubt they had a vault here in which their dead were deposited. This the party had seen to-day. The Reformation took effect about 1560. It put down the mass among other things. Yet the eighth Lord of Nithsdale daringly gathered a number of his followers in Dumfries on Christmas Day, 1585, came over here, and celebrated mass in this very building in defiance of the law. He very nearly suffered for it. He was called before the Lords of Privy Council, sent to prison for a while, and was only allowed to get out on condition that he would make terms with the Kirk. Just eight years afterwards the bells of Lincluden rang dolefully, and its gates were thrown open for a great funeral procession, that of the same eighth Lord Maxwell. He had a few weeks previously led the Maxwell clan on

a raid into Annandale, met the Johnstones at Dryfe Sands, and when the battle declared itself against him he, with the remnant of his forces, retreated. The poor Lord was not allowed to escape, however. He was struck from his horse by Willie o' Kirkhill, and when on the ground the trooper cut off his head and right hand and bore them away as trophies to his own chief, the Laird of Johnstone. Maxwell's eldest son, like Hannibal in similar circumstances, vowed that he would wreak vengeance on the Laird of Johnstone. He trusted Johnstone to meet him, pretended that peace was restored, but before parting he shot the Laird of Johnstone dead, and fled away to France. After many years he ventured to return, thinking everything forgotten. Not so, however. He was seized, tried for the crime, condemned to death, and publicly executed on the scaffold at Edinburgh. Such was the end of the tremendous tragedy with which this building was so closely associated. He would give another instance of the building's extraordinary associations. In the time of the Wars of the Roses, when Henry the King, head of the Red Roses, was defeated by the Yorkists and taken prisoner, his wife, the heroic Margaret of Anjou, with the Prince of Wales, fled to Scotland, thinking probably that as the Duke of Touraine had been friendly to her uncle Charles VII. of France, she might get protection behind the shield of the Douglasses in Galloway. She arrived in Dumfries, got a splendid welcome from the lieges, made her way to Lincluden College, and in due course of time who should come to see her there but the Queen of Scotland and her young son, even though at that period she had just put on widow's weeds on account of her husband James II. having been killed at the siege of Roxburgh. The Scottish Queen brought with her also some of her councillors, and they had a conference in this building which lasted for twelve days. The Queen of Scotland gave Margaret of Anjou good advice, promised her assistance with troops, advanced her loans of money, and feasted her most hospitably. The Exchequer Rolls to this day bear witness to the fact that there were sent down to Lincluden three pipes of white wine (French), for the use of the Queen of England and Prince of Wales while staying there. To make the generosity of the Queen complete, she took the royal refugees with her from Lincluden to her own palace and entertained them there.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—July 18th.—The society first visited Sennen. The Table-men—the erstwhile dining-table of seven Saxon kings—is pointed out at the entrance of the village, the names of these monarchs being, according to Hals, "Ethelbert, fifth king of Kent; Cissa, second king of the South Saxons; Kingills, sixth king of the West Saxons; Sebert, third king of the East Saxons; Ethelfred, seventh king of the Northumbrians; Penda, ninth king of the Mercians; and Sigebert, fifth king of the East Angles; who also flourished about the year 600." At the church-gate the party was met by the Rev. P. P. Agnew, who conducted them into the church, where Mr. Cornish explained that the edifice was dedicated to St. Senanus, an Irish Abbot, who is stated to have been a friend of St. Patrick, the date of dedication being probably 1441-4, according to a date on the foot of

the font, the last figure being destroyed. The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szymma added that this was one of the few mediæval dated churches, and it was consecrated on the festival of the beheading of St. John the Baptist. The church was evidently built to suit the climate and the storms. He also called attention to an interesting fresco, and to a headless image of the virgin, standing on a bracket which projects from the north wall of the transept. This image is bereft of head and arms, and, says Mr. J. T. Blight, was probably mutilated by the Puritans. — St. Leven church, romantically situated in a beautiful and romantic "gulph," was the next point of interest, where the rector, the Rev. P. D'O. Silvester, conducted the party through the ancient church, dedicated to St. Leven, said to be an Irish prelate, who supported himself by fishing near Pen-mén-an-mear, and who suffered martyrdom in 656. Standing on the chancel step, the rector then read the following description of the church:—"On the stile you will observe a lych-stone, used for resting the corpses which have been brought here for interment. Such stones are very rare, though found in some other churches of the diocese, for instance at Shevocke. On the left of this may be seen the head of a circular cross; to the right a crucifix. At the junction of the transept in the north wall of the chancel will be found an abutment of masonry, which seems in some way connected with the strange obliquity in the north wall of the chancel. Coming round to the south side of the church, we notice the large and beautiful cross, which contains a diamond pattern distinctly traceable on its sides, and the carving of the bark of which is remarkably perfect. With respect to the cleft stone near that, there is a superstition that when it is completely separated the end of the world will have arrived. The porch at the south appears to have been a later erection; at all events it has been so placed as almost to hide the niche in which we may imagine the statue of the patron saint to have stood. On its right is a square stoup. The church itself, which is dedicated to St. Leven, is of late Perpendicular architecture, with the exception of the transept, which is Early English, its northern window being of later date, called the "dairy." About ten years ago this church was completely restored. The last subject to which I wish to call your attention is the bench-ends, for which the church is justly famed. The two at the west end represent jesters in cap and bells. This is supposed to be an allusion to a passage in the Vulgate—"The jester, or fool, in a church is symbolic of the sectarian heretic, or scoffer at the mysteries, doctrines, or ritual of the sanctuary, Psalm xxxv. 16, *Subsanna verunt in tabernaculo tuo.*" The others represent several emblems; the figure of a palmer and, apparently, the effigies and monograms of benefactors. The archaic spirit and beauty of these vestiges make one bitterly regret the heartless cruelty and vandalism with which they were broken up as firewood some years ago. The monuments in the church were few, probably owing to the fact that the living was a dependency of St. Buryan. There was one curious inscription in Latin, however, concerning a learned lady (Miss Dennis) who had lived in the parish. This lady is said to have taught herself Latin, Greek, and French; to have published a novel named "Sophia

St. Clare;" and to have written several poetical pieces.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 30th. —The Earl of Ravensworth, president, in the chair. A paper by Mr. James G. Moffatt, on "A pre-historic grave discovered on Lilburn Tower estate in June, 1883," was read.—A paper by Mr. William Woodman, Morpeth, on "A leaden seal of Henry IV. found at Catchgate, near Morpeth," was read.—Mr. R. Morton Middleton, jun., read papers on the following subjects:—1. "On Yoden, a mediæval site between Castle Eden and Easington;" 2. "On a leaden tobacco stopper found at Castle Eden, of about the seventeenth century;" and 3. "On an armlet of fine gold found at Shotton, and supposed to be Roman." Mr. Blair read the following further observations, written by Mr. John Clayton, on the Roman inscribed altars discovered at Housesteads:—"At the monthly meeting held in December last, the writer of the paper brought under the consideration of this society three objects of Roman antiquity lately dug up at the station of Borcovicus—the first a statuary group, of which, however, a considerable portion had been detached, the main feature being a statue in the garb of a Roman legionary soldier, and two altars apparently dedicated to Mars by German soldiers serving in the Roman army in the Frisian battalion. Inasmuch as a Teutonic epithet is applied to the god, and coupled with him were two Teutonic divinities, it seemed expedient to the society to submit these objects to the consideration of the authorities of the University of Berlin. In the month of June last the resumption took place of the work of excavation at Borcovicus which was promised at our meeting in December last, when the first object discovered was the missing portion of the statuary group, being one side of it, and which was found to be less injured by time and exposure than the other side; and it is now clear that the martial figure had on each side of him a nude figure, apparently floating in air, holding in one hand a palm branch and in the other a garland or chaplet. The pencil of our colleague and secretary, Mr. Blair, has supplied us with an accurate drawing of this portion of the group, which, being engraved, has been added to the portion first discovered. The excavators next came upon a Roman well, filled to the brim, and to an extent of more than three feet above it with accumulated earth, in which was found a copious spring of pure water, affording one of many examples of the appreciation by the Romans of the numerous springs which gush from every hill, and flow through every valley of Western Northumberland. The excavators then came upon two altars of hewn stone, very carefully finished, and ready to receive inscriptions. It seems to have been the practice of the priests of the pagan temples to keep in store blank altars till they met with a customer who would pay for the privilege of inscribing them. It will be remembered that in the well of the goddess Coventina there were found a dozen blank altars. On opening out the grass-grown ruins of the temple of Mars it was found that our utilitarian predecessors of the middle ages had removed for building purposes a large proportion of the building stones, leaving behind them some of the latter and a large heap of rubbish. The remaining stones have

been removed and the rubbish examined without meeting with other objects. Several exploratory trenches were cut in various parts of the Chapel Hill, but no buildings could be found *in situ*, and the very foundation stones have been taken up and removed. After four weeks of labour, the excavators took a final leave of the Chapel Hill of Borcovicus."—Mr. Thos. Hodgkin said these last discoveries at the Chesters seemed to be exciting a great amount of interest among Germans, as it was possible they might throw light on the social political condition of ancient Germany. The god to whom the altar was dedicated was called "Mars Thingsus." It was quite certain that Thing was the name of the old German popular assembly, resembling our parliament; it was called the Folksthing. The German popular assembly was specially under the control of the gods, and the priests had great influence to keep peace; and the impression was that "Mars Thingsus" was Mars who ruled the parliament. The two floating figures on each side were supposed to be divinities who maintained order and adjudged the prize in the popular assembly. This seemed fanciful, but it was the idea of the Germans, and this matter was exciting a great deal of interest among German scholars.

Banbury Natural History Society and Field Club.—12th July.—The Field Club held their second excursion this season. The party first went to Brailes. There it was met by the Rev. T. Smith, the Vicar, who showed them the fine old church. It is of the fourteenth century, but was greatly altered and mutilated in 1649, at which date the vestry was built. There are three stained-glass windows, one over the communion table, the date of which is 1350, another at the west end of the church, and the other, also at the west end, recently erected to the memory of some inhabitants of the village. During the restoration of the chancel, an awmbry, or cupboard, for the reception of the communion vessels was discovered in the wall on the north side of the altar. At the back of the communion table is an ornamental reredos, part of the design being the parapet on the exterior of the church.—They next visited an ancient British encampment at Castle Hill, and an old Friend's Meeting House, built and used in the time of Fox. The party resumed their journey in the direction of Long Compton, and the next point of interest was the Rollright Stones, which stand at the top of the hill beyond Long Compton. These consist of a circle of stones, originally about sixty in number; a group of five larger stones which stand at some distance from the circle are called the Whispering Knights, and a large solitary stone, standing in a field on the opposite side of the road, is called the King Stone. The Whispering Knights are most probably the remains of a cromlech or altar for idolatrous sacrifices, but the upper, or table stone, has either fallen or been removed. The King Stone, which is about 8 ft. in height, may either have served as a pedestal for an idol, or as a mark to guide people from the opposite hills and the valley beneath to the temple, and this from the prominent position of the stone appears to be the more likely supposition of the two.

Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society.—10th July.—The party proceeded to Whitley Camp. They gathered on top of one of the large

knolls which characterise the camp. After examining a Roman altar in the garden of the Castlenook Farm, they returned to Alston, a number of them visiting the church of St. Augustine, the parish church of Alston. Mr. Ferguson read a valuable paper on Alston, in which he discussed the question of how it came to be in the diocese of Durham, and in the county of Cumberland. He said the parish of Alston was situate, locally, in the franchise of Tindale; it was the most southerly parish of the deanery of Corbridge; once part of the diocese of Durham, but now, since 1882, part of the bishopric of Newcastle. It lay on the eastern watershed of England, and its rivers, the Nent, the Ale, the Blackburn, the Gilderdale burn, and the South Tyne, poured their waters into the North Sea, and not into the Solway Firth, as do the rivers of the rest of Cumberland: it lay where he wished Carlisle lay, at the back of the Helm Wind; its inhabitants spoke a different language from what we did in the rest of Cumberland—to give but one instance, what in the east of Cumberland we call a beck, at Alston they call a burn, and the streams running east from Hartside Fell were all burns, while those running west were all becks; its parish church was dedicated to a saint to whom no church in the diocese of Carlisle was dedicated, viz., to St. Augustine; it naturally—that was by the laws of geography—belonged to the county of Northumberland, from which county alone it was accessible without crossing a mountain pass. Yet the parish of Alston was part of the county of Cumberland, to which it has access only over a *col* whose summit was 1,900 feet above the level of the sea.—Papers on a "Roman find at Silloth" and on "Crosthwaite Belfry and its Bells" were also read.

Essex Archæological Society.—July 29th.—The annual meeting and excursion at Halstead. The Rev. Cecil Deedes read a paper on "The Church Bells of Halstead and its Neighbourhood." Essex was fairly rich in ancient bells, but, as they were not dated, there was a difficulty in fixing the exact periods to which they belonged. Modern bells generally recorded the bell-founders' names and the date, with sometimes the names of the churchwardens or the rector. Frequently they had rhyming inscriptions, such as the following, from an Essex bell:—

THOMAS RIDER DID ME CAST,
I WILL SING HIS PRAISE TO THE LAST.

As might be expected, some of the best of the old bells were found in small places, where, of course, they had had less wear than in a larger place. Their inscriptions were in Lombardic characters. A large number of the old bells in the Halstead district were, as might be supposed, from the celebrated old Bury St. Edmund's foundry of Stephen Tonni, who flourished about 1570. His mark, like the mark of other founders at Bury, consisted of a crown and two arrows, symbolical of the martyrdom of St. Edmund. Stephen Tonni was not a Pre-Reformation founder, but, judging from the style of his inscriptions, he was supposed to have sympathised with the old form of religion. One of the oldest bells in the county had the inscription,—

ME MADE THE HAND
OF WILLIAM LAND.

A bell at St. Andrew's, Halstead, had the mark of the crown and arrows, and the inscription,—

OMNIA JOVAM LAUDANT ANIMANTIA,

—"Jovam" being probably meant for "Jehovam." At Pebmarsh there was a bell from a London foundry, the mark being a shield, bearing a chevron between three crosses. Robert Rider, who founded many bells in the district, was also undoubtedly a London founder. The pre-Reformation date of bells was often clearly indicated by the inscriptions. The fourth bell at Sible Hedingham was inscribed "AVE MARIA," and two fine bells at Great Maplestead were inscribed, (1) SANCTA MARGARETA ORA PRO NOBIS," and (2), "SANCTA CATERINA ORA PRO NOBIS." Mr. Deedes mentioned a large number of other inscriptions, but was obliged, from want of time, to omit the latter part of his paper, dealing with more modern bells. His remarks were illustrated by a large number of rubbings of bells lent for the occasion.—The Secretary, on behalf of Mr. Clarke, F.S.A., read a paper on North Essex Bells, giving the dimensions, inscriptions, and other particulars of a large number of bells in the northern part of the county. The paper stated that the Saffron Walden peal (cast 1798) was considered the best in Essex.—The party proceeded to the renowned "Round Church" at Little Maplestead. Mr. King remarked that some persons supposed these round churches obtained their shape from the form of a baptistery. The architect, Mr. Warren, thought, however, that the circular form was in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The old monuments of the Deane family in the south transept of this church attracted much attention. It was thought that both monuments had been altered since being first erected. The following curious epitaph is upon the monument to Lady Deane, who died 1633:—

Let all time Remember ye
Worthyneſſe of
LADY DEANE
who lived ye faithfull wyf
and died ye conſtant widow, of
Sir John Deane
of Maplestead, in ye countie of ESSEX
nor forget that ſhee
departed this lyfe on ye 25th of
May 1633, to whome trvth testifies
Her ſhape was rare Her beauty exquiſite
Her wytt accurate Her lvdgmt ſinglar
Her entertaymt hartie Her hand helpfull
Her covrſes moſt Her diſcovrſes wyſe
Her charitie heavenly Her amitie conſtant
Her practiſe holy Her religion pvre
Her vowes lawfull Her meditations divine
Her faith vnſaygnd Her hope ſtable
Her prayers devout Her devotions divinnall
Her days ſhort Her life everlaſting

To her Beloved Memory Sr DRV. DEANE, her eldeſt Son,
here proſtrate at her feete erects this monument.
April ye 14th 1634.

A conſiderable portion of the party drove from Great Maplestead to the grand old Norman caſtle at Hedingham.—Mr. Parker had at firſt conſidered that the chevron or zig-zag ornamentation of the arches ſhewed that the caſtle was of Henry II., but from documents placed in his hands by Mr. Majendie, he afterwards ſaid he ſhould not quarrel with anyone who ſaid that

it was of the reign of Stephen. Moſt probably it was built by Stephen himſelf. Hedingham Caſtle was mentioned in the Domesday, but it muſt be remembered that the Domesday "caſtles" were undoubtedly only wooden ſtructures.—Mr. Hayward, after giving a few particulars as to the De Vere Earls of Oxford (the laſt of whom died in 1525), referred to the ſtatement in Wright that the caſtle was "ruined in 1676 to prevent its being uſed for Dutch priſoners." This aſſertion, as far as he (Mr. Hayward) knew, was not corroborated. The building could ſcarcely now be called a ruin. It almoſt rivalled Rocheſter Caſtle, and was in ſome reſpects very fine indeed. The great beauty of it was the magnificent arch in the keep, where they were ſtanding. The mouldings and chimney-pieces were alſo very noteworthy. He ſhould have put the Caſtle at a rather earlier date than Stephen. He had always attributed the building to Alberic de Vere, who had ſo many manors to protect in Eſſex. The architecture was ſuch that it could not poſſibly be improved upon, and whoever built it doubtleſs had the help of the beſt workmen. The corbels ſtill remaining ſhewed that the keep had not been a vaulted chamber. The great point that occurred to him was how could they have got ſuch grand materials together into ſuch an out-of-the-way place. Doubtleſs it was not ſuch an out-of-the-way place then.

Surrey Archæological Society.—17th July.—The annual excursion of the members and friends of this Society took place at Leatherhead, Mickleham, Effingham, and Fetcham. Mr. Leveson-Gower was appointed chairman of the day. Having aſſembled in the church, Mr. Milbourn proceeded to read a paper upon its architectural features, written by Mr. R. H. Carpenter, who was unable to be preſent. Mr. Carpenter ſaid that he had made a careful examination of the church, and had been able to arrive at its architectural hiſtory with ſome degree of certainty. The plan of the church now conſiſted of nave and chancel, north and ſouth tranſepts, north and ſouth aiſles, north porch, and weſtern tower, but there was no evidence that the Norman and Early English church had a central tower at the interſection of the arms of the croſs; a portion of its ſouth-eaſtern pier might be ſeen both inside and outside the chancel wall with its moulded baſe. The weſtern arch of the tower was now the chancel arch; the reſt had all diſappeared. It was poſſible that portions of the chancel wall belonged to the Norman period, and that as the work advanced weſtwards the weſtern arch was built in the noble tranſitional ſtyle from Norman to Early English, together with the nave and its aiſles. Parallel inſtances of the gradual alteration were very abundant. Probably no weſtern tower then exiſted. The building of the nave was on a grand ſcale, and might be explained by the fact that in 1272 Euiſtace de Broc gave the churches of Leatherhead and Aſtſead to the Abbey of Colcheſter, by whom (or more likely Euiſtace de Broc) the work was carried out. The incumbents then were appointed by the Abbey till 1303, when it was found that the church had been erected on land belonging to the king. Edward I., the then king, enforced his claim to the appointments. And now to deſcribe the work of this period. The nave arcade on the ſouth ſide

has four arches resting on grand pillars, alternately round and octagonal in plan, with bold mouldings characteristic of the late transitional or Early English style. The north arcade has only three arches, and one of the columns has a carved capital. The western bay on this side has a solid wall, on which may be noticed traces of ancient decoration; it is now pierced by a modern doorway. The mouldings of the west side of the chancel arch are particularly beautiful. The southern side of the chancel is crippled and out of its proper curve, through undue pressure on its pier and the consequent giving way above; however, relieved of the weight of the tower, it is safe enough. In the fourteenth century (about 1344) Queen Isabella obtained the living of Leatherhead for the convent of Leeds, probably about the time when the tower collapsed. The convent appointed a vicar instead of the former rector, and appropriated the rectorial tithes to themselves—a very common practice then! The first vicar was William de Harple, in 1345, and Mr. Rickards says large additions and improvements had to be made to the church in order to obtain from Pope Clement VI. a confirmation of the appropriation of the rectory. These were of course the re-building of the chancel and transepts caused by the fall of the tower, but though the re-building of the tower was part of the Pope's conditions, the Prior was unable to carry it out, and it had to wait till the latter part of the next century. The windows of the chancel and eastern windows of the transept, now restored, are very charming instances of the flowing "reticulated" type of tracery. The transepts were formed into chapels, and the piscina of the north one can be seen, with the remarkable "squin" or hagiocope in the north chancel wall pointing towards the ancient high altar. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the western tower was built, and he drew attention to the very extraordinary angle at which it is placed with regard to the church. Late as was the period of the tower, it was evidently a most costly and beautiful piece of workmanship in inlaid flint and stone. Its plinth can now be seen, and gives evidence what the rest was before it was covered with plaster in 1766. —The party was then driven on to Mickleham Church, where Mr. Ralph Nevill read a paper. He said that as Henry I. granted the manor to the family of De Mickleham, it was probable that the church was erected by them in place of that mentioned as existing at the time of Domesday. The two Norman windows in the south of the chancel also represent the original windows. At the east end was a three-light tracery window, which was perpetuated by Robinson, but had given way to the very peculiar specimen of modern Norman now to be seen. The font, which is of Sussex marble, was of the usual early type. The north chapel formerly belonged to the Stidolf family, which flourished there at that time and for many generations. It was probably founded by Wylliam Wyddowson, whose monument was the principal feature. The shield in the centre is the badge of the Mercers' Company. The head, he had been told, was that of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of the Company, although it had been sometimes said to represent Queen Elizabeth Woodville, or some other Queen. He incidentally mentioned that the great Roman highway of Stone-street passed from Dorking

through where they were, and over the Downs to Croydon.—From Mickleham the company proceeded to Effingham. Here Major Heales read a paper on the church and its history. It appeared that in 1278 or 1279 (Edward I.) the church was given by William de Dummartin to the priory of Merton. In the spring of the year 1317 the priory mortgaged to Philip de Barthon, the Archdeacon of Surrey, all the tithes of corn and fruit, and the great tithes of the parish, for a term of six years as a security for a loan of £26. In 1759, the tower having fallen, and in its fall carried away the west end of the nave, that part was rebuilt in brick; the names of the vicar and churchwardens, with the date, they handed down to posterity by an inscription over the doorway. The singular thickness of the wall, especially for a building of modern dimensions and height, was particularly noticeable. At the beginning of the present century there remained three bells, one of which it was stated was hung, and the other two rested on the ground. When he first came to the church (in 1877) the two bells on the ground had disappeared, and that which remained in the tower was dated 1679, and bore the well-known initials of "W.E." (William Eldridge), one of the famous bell-founders, by whom a large number of the Surrey bells were cast.—Mr. Granville Leveson-Gower read a paper on the "Howards of Effingham." At Feltham the Rev. W. H. F. Edge read a paper on the parochial records, and the architecture was described by Mr. C. F. Hayward.

Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society.—July 23rd.—The ninth annual meeting of this Society commenced at Evesham, Worcestershire.—Mr. Jerom Murch, in seconding the election of members of the Council, said that as a member of the Corporation of Bath he wished to say how glad he was that at the Bath meeting last year they passed a resolution requesting the Corporation to do all in their power to complete the uncovering of the Roman Baths. He felt glad of this because he feared that the Corporation of Bath required strong influence to go on with that important work. However, he believed that as soon as the funds allowed the Corporation to complete the uncovering, they would do so. The present meeting would be interested to hear that since the Bath meeting additional discoveries had been made, and in the next place great interest had been aroused throughout the country in this great discovery; people came not only from all parts of England, but from distant countries to visit this important work.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Curious Church Customs.—"Särna is prettily situated on the banks of the river, which here had widened into a lake. It has a parish church, a good inn, and an excellent school, open from October to the end of June. The pastor had been settled here for twenty-seven years, and visited the old church with me. Ascending the pulpit, I saw near the Bible what resembled a policeman's club, at the end of

which was a thick piece of leather, the whole reminding one of a martinet. This had been used, until within a few years, to awake the sleepers, the parson striking the pulpit with it very forcibly, thus compelling attention. Near the pulpit was a long pole, rounded at the end, with which the sexton, it appears, used to poke the ribs of sleepers. These two implements, intended to keep the congregation awake, were used extensively in many out-of-the-way places in Sweden twenty or thirty years ago, and here till within a few years, but were discontinued by the present pastor. Now pinches of strong snuff are often offered to the sleeper, who, after sneezing for a considerable time, finds his drowsiness entirely gone."—Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, p. 262.

Book-Worm.—This insect must always be of interest to book-men, and we therefore print the following interesting note from the *Publishers' Circular* of 15th July, 1884:—A *Book-Worm* is described in the dictionaries as "a great reader or student of books," and also as "a worm that eats holes in books." Mr. Bowden, whose note we append, says that "despite its large ravages the worm itself is very rare." We confess that, although quite familiar with the little circular tunnel, to be met with in bound books as well as in "quires," we have never before seen the engineer that so scientifically performs this destructive kind of work. He is not at all what our fancy painted him. We had always imagined a dark-coloured, tough, wiry worm; but he is a white, wax-like little fellow; he so exactly resembles those little white maggots to be seen in a well-decayed "Stilton" that one is inclined to regard him simply as a "Stilton"

maggot with a taste for literature, in fact (like his prototype) a "student," or, perhaps, it is better to say a rodent of books. Mr. Bowden having been good enough to send the destructive little wretch to us, we have done him the honour of having him engraved, and now present him to our readers in his natural size, and also in a magnified form. His history will be found in the following note: "Booksellers are often made aware, in a manner that is more painful than pleasant, that there are such things as book-worms in existence. However, it is not many booksellers that have ever seen one, for, despite its large ravages, the worm itself is very rare. Mr. G. Suckling discovered three at Messrs. Sotheran's Strand house a few days ago. They were half-way through a bundle of quires, and were evidently on their second or third journey, judging from the number of perforations made in the paper. Mr. Blades devotes, in his *Enemies of Books*, some space to a description of this destructive, but withal interesting species of worm."—A. J. BOWDEN (at Sotheran's).

Caricature Portraiture.—A caricature painted in oil colours by Thomas Patch was presented by Sir Richard Wallace, during the last year, to the National Portrait Gallery. It is a curious specimen of the exaggerated form of portraiture then in vogue in Italy. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was there at the time, indulged in several groups of his personal friends, all of them grossly caricatured. They are still in existence, Patch, the artist, in early life had studied chemistry,

and came to Italy, in company with Dalton, about 1750. He was befriended by Sir Horace Mann, British Minister to the Court of Tuscany, and resided at Florence till the time of his decease in 1782. A similar figure of the Duke of Roxburghe occurs in a whimsical picture at Holland House, representing the interior of Patch's studio at Florence, with the Arno in the distance, where the painter is seen taking the portrait of a wealthy elderly lady.—*Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery*, 1884.

Taxation of Books.—"The transporting books from beyond sea is a vast charge at the custom house in England. No country but England knows a tax on learning. The doctrine of Naples broached by the Emperor Charles V. is *libri sint liberi*, and that in a country fertile of taxes."—Bliss's *Reliquia Hearniana*, iii. 18.



Antiquarian News.

A skull and other human bones have been discovered in the course of excavations close to Westgate Towers, Canterbury. They are believed to be those of Nicholas Nolan, who was hanged for highway robbery, and buried near that spot in the early part of the present century. A portion of the old gallows is in the Guildhall cellar.

One more relic of bygone days has disappeared for ever. The relentless march of improvement has just swept away the ancient manor house of the manors of Aylesbury. This house was situate on the north side of Kingsbury, and of late years has been in the occupation of Mr. Mackrill; it has been demolished for the purpose of the erection on its site of modern business premises. A fine old fireplace in one of the rooms of the ground floor retained much of its originality. The house had at various times been modernized; indeed its late outward appearance did not show age. The old fireplace was not in unison with the late building, and it may be fairly surmised that it had been an appendage to an earlier erection, and formed a part of a house of greater age than the one now dismantled. The opening of the hearth was 12 ft. 6 in., and the fireplace was deeply recessed. Gothic seats, carved in stone, once occupied each side of the recess; one had been removed, probably long ago; the remaining one was somewhat rude in construction, and massive. The beam which carried the chimney front was of solid oak, 12 ft. 6 in. in length, cut to an ellipsis and moulded on the face, with egg and tongue mouldings. The date of the erection of the fireplace may be put at the commencement of the 16th century. The supports which carried the chimney beam were formed of stone, masonry evidently of an earlier date than the chimney; they were carved, but the ornamental part was built into the wall, showing that they had done service elsewhere in earlier times. They had the appearance of fragments of Early English piers which had been



Nat. Size.

removed from some ecclesiastical building. They were of Hartwell stone.

Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, of the Bengal Civil Service, has reprinted from the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal his paper on "Stone Implements from the North-western Provinces of India," together with three lithographed plates. The striking resemblance between these objects and those found throughout Europe may now be studied by anyone in the British Museum, to which Mr. Rivett-Carnac has presented all his best specimens. In India, as in Europe, they are held by the villagers to be "thunderbolts," though the Hindus have a special reason for revering them as emblems of Siva. On this account they are often collected and placed under the village *pipul* tree. Mr. Rivett-Carnac has not found any evidence that these stone implements are in use at the present day, though there is much reason to believe that they belong to the period recorded in the Sanskrit epics.

The very interesting fresco painted by Giovanni Battista Alberti in 1575 for the Pope has been restored and is now exposed to view. In the centre is a large bird's-eye view plan of the city of Bologna, showing all the streets and the buildings. The roofs of the more important edifices, such as the cathedral of St. Petronia, the University, and others, were gilded to distinguish them from the rest. On the right side of the plan, Pope Boniface VIII. is represented giving, in the year 1298, the sixth volume of the Decretals to the Professors of the University of Bologna, for the study of canon law there. On the left side Gregory XIII., who, previous to his elevation to the Pontificate, held two professorial chairs in that University, is delivering another volume to the Professors of his day. These figures are all life size. The room where this fresco has been discovered was in past times known as the Sala di Bologna. We may mention that the grand series of the historical frescoes in the splendid Sala Regia, which includes those representing Gregory VII. absolving the Emperor Henry IV. at Canossa, the Battle of Lepanto, the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and other subjects, has been most admirably cleaned, and the pictures exhibit a brilliancy of colouring that one had no idea of before. Unfortunately this hall has been closed to the public since 1870.

Three hundred silver coins, bearing the effigy of Queen Elizabeth, have just been found by six men while walking on Crawshaw's Cray, Pontypridd. The coins, which were discovered concealed in a stone mountain wall, bear dates ranging from 1570 to 1605, those of the later date having inscribed the effigy of King James I., the profiles being clear and distinct. The collection has been given up to the police.

A mastodon's remains, according to a despatch from Avon, N. Y., have been discovered by Thomas Boyd, on his farm, while excavating for water at that place. The location was in clay, but with plenty of quicksand, where even now cattle are liable to become entombed. The remains found some fifty years ago at Temple Hill were at the border of the vast lake

having its outlet at Irondequoit. This discovery is in the then bed of the lake. One tooth found measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and across crown $2\frac{1}{2}$ in width. Some ribs of mammoth size were dug out of the clay and quicksand. The excavation is about forty rods from the Genesee river, and the remains were uncovered at a depth of ten or twelve feet.

On behalf of an influential Committee, of which Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., has consented to act as treasurer, and which consists, among others, of the Lord Mayor, M.P., Alderman Sir Reginald Hanson, and Mr. Alderman Staples, members for the Corporation; Sir J. M'Garel-Hogg and Mr. Deputy Saunders, members of the Metropolitan Board of Works; and the Treasurer and Director, with Mr. A. W. Franks, Dr. J. Evans, Dr. Freshfield, the Hon. H. Dillon, and many other Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. John E. Price, secretary to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, draws attention to the measures now being taken to prevent the destruction of valuable monuments of antiquity when found in London and its vicinity, or, when such destruction is inevitable, to secure the execution of proper plans and drawings. The necessity of an organization for this purpose is just now made evident by discoveries of considerable interest progressing in Bevis Marks. In the course of excavations at the corner of Castle Street, foundations have been disclosed which evidently belonged to a structure of great solidity and strength. A preliminary examination showed the remains to be composed of large fragments of Roman sculpture, taken from some anterior building in the locality, and used as building materials. By the courtesy of the contractors, Messrs. Mowlem, Burt, and Co., some of these pieces were extracted. These were of the highest interest; but, as the works could not be delayed an hour, they would have had to be covered in and again buried, if it had not happened that Mr. Price felt warranted in undertaking on behalf of himself and a few friends the risk and cost involved. With the sanction of Colonel Haywood, City Engineer, further excavations were accordingly commenced, from which interesting results have been obtained, and the work will be continued until everything of importance has been removed. In the meanwhile, arrangements will be made for the safe custody of the objects found in one of our public museums. To meet this and future emergencies a fund is being raised, to be administered under the supervision of the general committee by a small executive committee, viz., Mr. E. W. Brabrook, Mr. W. H. Overall, librarian to the Corporation, Mr. Alfred White, with Mr. Price. He appeals to the public for subscriptions to this fund, which may be addressed to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., Lombard Street, as treasurer.

The first edition of Braun and Hogenberg's interesting *Plan of London*, from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572), has been reproduced for the Topographical Society of London, and is now issued as a publication for the year 1882-3. The volumes already announced as having been undertaken are approaching completion, and will soon be in the hands of subscribers. Among these will be a reprint of the reports of the society, with engravings of old buildings that have lately been pulled down. In

addition to these Visscher's long *View of London* is being reproduced for the present year 1883-84.

Mr. D. Atkinson has nearly ready for the press two volumes on *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer: His Town and Times*. No life of Ralph Thoresby has yet appeared beyond the condensed accounts of him prefixed to Dr. Whitaker's edition of the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, and to the *Diary* edited by Mr. Hunter, with the now almost forgotten memoir in the *Biographia Britannica*. His biography has a wide range. Few, if any, no higher in rank than Ralph Thoresby, have afforded material for a life so illustrative of the literature, politics, and social condition of the age in which he lived; and although his published diary and correspondence supply an autobiography of much amusement and value, they gain in both when the scattered incidents which they record have been brought into connection, and the blanks which necessarily lie between filled in from other sources. More than may generally be supposed is available for the purpose, though it needs to be sought for amid manuscripts never printed, and print that is seldom disturbed; and if the volumes, which it is now proposed to publish, shall in any degree fail to interest, it must be the fault of the author and not of his materials.

A short time ago there was discovered in a marsh at Schussenried, in Württemberg, a well-preserved hut of the age of stone. The flooring and a part of the walls were intact, and, as appeared from a careful admeasurement, had formed, when complete, a rectangle, 10 mètres long and 7 mètres wide. The hut was divided into two compartments, communicating with each other by a foot-bridge, made of three girders. The single door, looking towards the south, was a mètre wide, and opened into a room 6'50 mètres long and 4 mètres wide. In one corner lay a heap of stones which had apparently formed the fireplace. This room was the kitchen, "the living room," and probably a night refuge for the cattle in cold weather. The second room, which had no opening outside, measured 6'50 mètres long and 5 mètres wide, and was no doubt used as the family bedchamber. The floors of both rooms were formed of round logs and the walls of split logs. This, be it remembered, was a hut of the Stone Age. It may be safely presumed that the lake dwellings of the Bronze Age were larger in size and less primitive in their arrangements. At both periods the platform supporting the houses communicated with the shore by means of a bridge (probably removable at leisure) and with the water by ladders. These ladders, as appears from an example found at Chavannes, were made of a single stang with holes for the staves, which protruded on either side.

The results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns turn out to be very important. The buildings he has discovered consist of a palace and two temples. The arrangement, size, and position of these agree in the most remarkable manner with those of the temples and palace of the second prehistoric city at Hissarlik, and thus help to settle the date of the latter. In spite of the wall-paintings, the remains at Tiryns must be older than those at Mycenæ, since, besides the archaic

pottery found among them, large numbers of obsidian implements have been disinterred.

Mr. Warwick W. Wroth has reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle* his paper on "Cretan Coins," consisting of fifty-eight pages, with three autotype plates, which we are glad to know is only a preliminary study for the Catalogue he is preparing on the coins of Crete in the British Museum.

With reference to the recent interesting archaeological discoveries at Woolstone, Berks, a correspondent of the *Bucks Advertiser* writes:—It is much to be regretted that for the next few years no further excavations will be permitted at Woolstone, one of the most interesting spots in this country, and rich in Roman remains. The trustees of the Earl of Craven have now finally decided not to permit any exploration during his lordship's minority; the field is closed to the public, and the pavements, etc., covered over with soil. Mr. R. Walker, of Uffington, has most energetically pursued his search for other remains, and with most encouraging results. At a distance of about thirty yards from the Roman Villa he uncovered another pavement, somewhat mutilated, the tesserae larger than those previously found, and laid in the well-known key pattern; in the centre and level with the pavement was a stone about a foot square, perforated, which on being raised was seen to have rested upon two others placed perpendicularly, thus forming a small cist: from the remains therein found it was evidently the burial-place of a child; it had however been previously opened, the perforated stone being broken in two places. In walking through the various fields, fragments of Roman tiles, tesserae, and pottery are found in large quantities, and the ploughshare turns up the foundations and portions of walls of stone. For nearly a mile in extent these traces of early habitations are to be met with every few yards, giving evidence of a settlement of considerable size. Judging from these surface indications, we have little doubt, had further investigations been permitted, that much of deep interest to the antiquarian would have been laid open to view. The lack of a proper organization to carry out such enquiries in this county is here clearly demonstrated. We do not hesitate to say that did such an association exist, permission to explore would be granted readily, the chief reason for the veto being, we believe, that the enquiry was conducted by a private person, and naturally trustees could not permit it to be pursued in an irregular and unofficial manner, no matter how enthusiastic and disinterested this gentleman may be. The handsome tessellated pavement previously described by us has been removed, but we are grieved to say it is lost for ever to our county, having been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Surely a resting-place for such a treasure might have been found in Berkshire. When asked, Lady Craven at once most generously gave it to the Ashmolean, but we are convinced she would far rather have presented it to a museum in her own county, with the interests of which she is so intimately connected, had proper representations been made.

Messrs. Waterlow and Sons (Limited) have just issued a beautifully printed and illustrated sketch of the Old London Street at the Health Exhibition, which

is likely to be of more than passing interest. The historical events connected with the buildings represented are carefully preserved.

That masterpiece of wood-sculpture, the famous "Oelberg" in the church at Kreuzlingen, in Canton Thurgau, has just been "completely restored," at a cost of 5,000 frs. The work contains nearly a thousand figures, each a foot in height, and occupied the sculptor, a native of Tyrol, no less than eighteen years. The restoration has been carried out by the "Cristus" of the Oberammergau Passion-play, who is the president of the Kunstschnitzlerschule in that district.

Some time ago a piece of Roman statuary was found in connection with some excavations in Castle Street, Camomile Street, and the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society obtained the permission of the Commissioners of Sewers to make further investigation. The excavators have now discovered a large stone coffin and a piece of a Roman bastion, which will, in due course, be conveyed to the Guildhall Museum.

On the farm occupied by Mr. James Wentworth, at Beckhampton, near Devizes, an ancient British dwelling-pit has been discovered. The dwelling consists of two circular holes sunk in the clean chalk, adjoining and intersecting each other. They are about 5 ft. 6 in. deep and 5 ft. in diameter. On the floor of the pit were found the fragments of an earthen cooking vessel resting on three stones, and under it the ashes of a fire that had been used in boiling the pot. There were also found a well-shaped spindle whorl, a loom weight, bone ornament, and several so-called pot boilers; also bones of the ox, sheep, rabbits, etc. The dwelling appeared as though it had only been vacated the day before.

A discovery of some importance has been made near the Loch of Stennes, Orkney, in the same district as that containing the circle of standing stones. A large mound has been opened by Mr. Clouston, of Sandwick Manse, and was found to contain a chamber about 7 ft. long, 5 ft. broad, and 3 ft. in height, containing in each corner of the room a skeleton. The chamber was reached by a passage 12 ft. long, 3 ft. broad, and 3 ft. high. Some very large stones are in the building. The mound is not yet completely explored.

The Earl of Yarborough has contributed £200 towards restoring the fine old Norman church (date 1100) of Thornton Curtis, Lincolnshire, and Mr. R. Winn, M.P., £580, the estimated cost of rebuilding the chancel.



Correspondence.

THE EXCHEQUER CHESS-GAME.

[*Ante*, vol. ix., p. 206.]

In his lucid exposition of the apparent necessity for a subsidiary system of calculation on the Exchequer-Board, your correspondent "L." has suggested a difficulty which had occurred to myself before.

It does in fact seem an arbitrary principle to enunciate, that only the sum of the sheriff's account was set out in counters by the computer at the dictation of the treasurer; but then it will appear equally certain to those who are actually acquainted with the recorded system of "Dots," that the expedient in question was in its very use purely arbitrary.

What I mean is that these "Dots" were made use of only in fits of laborious official ingenuity, whereas there seems to have been no purpose of practical utility to be served; and their occasional employment as a numerical agent down to the seventeenth century lacks equally a well-defined motive.

I am of opinion myself that their sole advantage lies in the ease with which they could be utilized in casting up several entries, (say) in the middle of a column of account for marking the subsidiary total *between the lines* without causing a confusion from interpolated figures.

We must remember that the mere act of writing, especially on paper, was a serious business in those days, most of all to officials who worked single-handed. Thus we find even Burghley in his capacity of treasurer, and joint-commissioner for auditing public accounts, plodding pen in hand through a roll of account, checking every entry, writing his own pungent comments thereon in the margin, and casting up the whole usually in figures, but sometimes, and then for no apparent reason, in "Dots." Doubtless the habit of counting by "Dots" was encouraged by the prevalent system of numeration by twelves of pence, and scores of shillings and pounds;* but on the whole, in the absence of the internal evidence of records and the external evidence of *Dialogus*, I see no reason for supposing that the individual items of the sheriff's account were severally added up by counters on the board for that worthy's satisfaction. As a matter of fact, the amount of nearly every one of those items was not materially varied from year to year; and it was, after all, a simple matter for such adapts in mental arithmetic as were the Exchequer officials of that age, to cast up these monotonous entries, displaying the result as they proceeded with it in duplicate on the board in the way described in my paper.

With regard to "L.'s" suggestion for a new-modelled chess-board, I must admit his calculations to be beyond my comprehension. But at any rate we may content ourselves by remembering that the treasurer and sheriff did *not* sit opposite each other across the board; that there is no possibility of their having walked round the table to grapple with an inverted calculation; and, finally, that the whole arrangement suggested by "L." is completely at variance with the account of *Dialogus*. "L.'s" mention of seven columns of account is clearly a clerical error, and I would remind him also that I expressly stated that fractions of pence were dealt with *de incremento* at the Exchequer in the early period, both in the case of tallies and counters.

* The use of this system explains the caution of the author of the *Dialogus*, that the computation at the Exchequer was not made *legibus arithmeticeis*.

In conclusion, I regret that, much as I admire their ingenuity, I cannot, for myself, accept any one of "L.'s" suggestions.

HUBERT HALL.

45, Colville Gardens, W.

THE TOWER GUARDS.

(*Ante*, pp. 54-58.)

I hasten to express the extreme regret with which I have seen that in my last paper, by a most unfortunate printer's error, the name of Mr. E. Peacock has been substituted for that of Mr. Freeman (p. 57). The words ran, in my MS.,—"as Mr. *Freeman* will find to his cost." This allusion was no idle threat, but was introduced by me with the specific purpose of warning the public that the famous problem of the conduct and fate of Lucas and Lisle has by no means been settled, as Mr. Freeman would have us believe, by the assertions of Mr. Clements Markham. The *gravamen* of the charge brought against Mr. Freeman at the time of the original discussion was that, in an essentially unhistorical spirit, he had based his dogmas, in this burning question, "on the unsupported statements of a modern writer." I repeat then that, before long, he "will find to his cost" the mistake he has made in so doing.

Mr. Peacock's valuable services to the cause of historical research, especially for the period of the Civil War, are so well known to all students, that they will, I trust, at once have seen that there was some error in the text.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

P.S.—I take this opportunity of correcting another erratum. On p. 55 (col. 2), for "the *first* regiment" read "the *foot* regiment."

OLD WORDS USED IN MIRACLE PLAYS.

SIR,—In studying the subject of Mysteries and Miracle Plays a great many notes have been sent to me. Some of the expressions and notices contained in them are very curious, and I cannot find out their meaning. Perhaps some of your readers would kindly help me:—

1450. "For a Chirch ale made on *Fastyng gauge Sunday* by J. Keys and his neighbours vis. viiij. Is this *Rogation Sunday*?

1456. "For a Chirch ale made on Sunday next after xii for ye *Furlode*, iiv."

1457. "For Chirch ale made and given by the L^d. Is this *Lord of the Manor* or a "*Whitsun*" Lord?

1459. "Recd. of ye L^d. on ye *Furlode* night in money iiii. iivd. What is *Furlode*?

1525. (Braintree Church, Essex). A court was held to inquire into the Erendyll *wheat stock*, the "esmatory" *wheat*, the "Croppys" *wheat stocks* belonging to the church."

1532. 23 H. viii. Robert Pathows gives a cow for a light before St. Nicholas, Robert Norfolk do. before St. Katherine and St. Mary. A stock for Our Lady of Pity. I should like to know the meaning of those

terms applied to wheat in 1525. Then was it usual to give stacks of wheat to churches in other parts?

With many apologies for thus troubling you,
J. S. A. HERFORD.

The Close, Salisbury,
July 20th, 1884.

THE BROUGH STONE.

Just returned from my summer wanderings, I find on my table crowds of things—among them many numbers of *The Academy*. Half-a-dozen of the latest handle the "Runic" stone at Brough, and several of our best scholars show that the writing is no more "Runic" than I am, but in Greek hexameters!

There can be no doubt that these experts are right, and that I ought to be hanged. I am delighted with the good work they have already done, and am sure our English Grecists will at last more or less master the whole inscription.

One word in mitigation of my ridiculous mistake. The photograph (from which I worked before the arrival of casts) was sent to me as *Runic*, but this I could not believe. I thought it was in *Greek*, or at least some classical alphabet, so I took the photograph to a distinguished Greek authority here, told him my idea, and asked his opinion, leaving it in his hands for several days. His final answer was, that it was certainly *not* in Greek letters. This threw me on a false scent, and I began to study it as *Runic*. The rare palm-branches and the apparent crosses were also pitfalls.

The amusing part of the business is, that out of such excellent *Greek* materials I could so ingeniously extract a North-English Rune-rising with such a seemingly reasonable and likely meaning. It was really very clever of me.

But all pioneers are exposed to such blunders. "In the multitude of counsellors is safety." As Émile Egger says in his *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne et de Philologie*, Paris, 1863, p. 8:—"On est quelquefois un peu humilié de reconnaître ses propres fautes; on s'étonne d'avoir compris si tard une vérité dont l'évidence nous frappe maintenant les yeux. Mais quelle joie de corriger l'erreur et de pouvoir se dire que l'on a enfin marqué d'un trait juste le fait ou la pensée qu'il fallait mettre en lumière! A aucun âge de la vie l'attention n'est infaillible; résignons-nous à sa faiblesse et ne désespérons pas de ses progrès."

Cheapinghaven,
Denmark, Aug. 1st, 1884.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

ESSEX AND SUFFOLK.

[*Ante*, pp. 38, 86.]

Since my letter in *THE ANTIQUARY* for July I have found that for some little time the *Ipswich Journal* has been giving extracts from old numbers, containing much interesting information. These extracts are reprinted in the form of monthly parts, of which the first was published in October 1883. I am told, too, that the *Bury Post* is giving in its columns a series of extracts from former numbers.

Westgate, Grantham.

J. HAMBLIN SMITH.

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Winterbotham, J.B.; Wintle, Thomas; Wolfe, John; Yarborough, Earl of, Appuldurcombe.—Post free, 3d. each, from Briggs and Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Tooting. (*Letters only.*)

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Gentleman's Magazine, between 1846 and 1868, either in volumes or in parts, any portion taken.—J. Briggs, 122, High Street, Sevenoaks (letters only).

Wanted, Curiosities, Coins, Stamps of all sorts.—125, Colman Street, Hull.

Vanity Fair, 1848; Mrs. Perkin's Ball, 1847; Our Street, 1848; Dr. Birch, 1849; Great Hoggarty Diamond, 1849; Rebecca and Rowena, 1850; Kickleburys on Rhine, 1850; Rose and Ring, 1855; Comic Tales and Sketches by Titmarsh, 1841. Rowlandson's illustrations: Dr. Syntax's Three Tours; English Dance of Death, 1815; Dance of Life, 1817; Qui Hi in Hindostan, 1816; Johnny Quæ Genus, 1822; Vicar of Wakefield, 1817; Poetical Sketches of Scarborough. Bewick's Works: Land and Water Birds; Quadrupeds; Æsop's Fables; Select Fables; also imperfect volumes. Modern Painters, 5 vols.; Stones of Venice, 3 vols.; Seven Lamps of Architecture; Academy Notes, 1855 to '60; King of Golden River, 1851; Two Paths, 1859; Elements of Drawing, 1859; Elements of Perspective, 1859; Lectures on Architecture, 1855.—119, care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



OCTOBER, 1884.

The Hazlitts in America a Century since (1783—87).

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

PART II.

“**T**HE first object we saw here” [Weymouth], Miss Hazlitt presently goes on to say, “was a very large and old picture, in oil, of the meeting of Esau and Jacob. The embracing of the two brothers, the meeting of their followers on either side, with the groups of camels and other cattle, and the background, winding up between the hills, and seeming to vanish in the air, completed the enchantment. On this picture I used to gaze with delight, and wondered at the skill of the artist who had made so natural and lively a representation of the scene. But as John never copied or said much about it, I suspect it was not so fine a painting as I imagined. I have heard it was one of the first attempts of Copley; he was afterwards a painter of some note. He and West, who were both Americans, lived chiefly in England, and produced most of their works there.” The house appears to have been commodious; there is a minute account of it, for which I cannot spare room; but the writer was particularly struck by a beech-tree in the garden, which the humming-birds haunted for the sake of the blossom. “The house,” she says, “stood in a most romantic spot, surrounded on three sides by very steep hills, that sloped down, just in sight of the windows, and were covered with locust trees.

“These trees grow to a great height, and their yellow blossoms (somewhat like the laburnum) perfume the air in spring. On the green before the door stood a solitary pear-tree, beyond the shade of which, in the hot

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days, William was not allowed to go until four o'clock, when the sun was in some sort shaded by the neighbouring hills. On the pales that inclosed this sloping green, the woodpeckers were wont to sit, and make a noise with their bills like a saw. Beyond the garden and lane was a large meadow, which in the summer evenings, with its myriads of fire-flies, made a brilliant appearance.

“On a little low hill to the eastward stood the house of prayer, and below it Dr. Infts's, the road to Boston passing close by them; to the north King-Oak Hill, which in the winter, when covered with snow, reflected the golden and purple tints of the setting sun. Over this hill the road leading to Hingham was seen. How often have we stood at the window looking at my father, as he went up this road, with William, in his nankeen dress, marching by his side like one that could never be tired. The hills behind the house are very steep, and it was one of our childish exploits, when they were covered with ice, to climb up and write our names on the frozen snow. From the top of these hills we had a distant view of the bay of Boston and many of its islands and the hills beyond it, with Dorchester heights, famous for the Battle of Kegs; Bunker's Hill, where so many British officers fell in the space of five minutes, singled out by the sharpshooters of the Yankees; to the south, dark and frowning woods, and nearer to us the river, with a mill and two houses on its banks, and a variety of meadows, fields and trees below. Here also was seen the house of Captain Whitman, a good friend of ours. He was so fond of William that the boy spent half his time in going with him to the woods, or to the fields, to see them plough, or attending the milking of the cows, where I too was often present. . . . We paid frequent visits to Mrs. Whitman, and were always glad to see her and her niece Nelly, when they came to us at three in the afternoon and brought their work with them. A bright wood fire, and a clean hearth to bake the Johnny cakes on (cakes made of Indian flour without yeast and baked on a pewter plate before the fire), were always prepared on the occasion. . . .

“General Lovell lived in Weymouth. He and Captain Whitman, like many of the American officers, after the war was over,

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retired to their farms, which in general were large, cultivating them with care, and sometimes guiding the plough with their own hands, and thus not only directing their servants, but giving them an example of industry. . . .

"In the summer a variety of little birds flew about us, humming-birds of five or six different kinds, some of them brown, others of different colours, all of them very small, with a body an inch and a half in length, and a bill like a coarse needle, which served them to suck the honey out of the flowers. But the most beautiful were dressed in purple, green and gold, crimson, and a mixture of white and a little black about the head.

"Some of this sort used to enliven us by their visits to the peach-tree, and it was one of them that flew into the window, to his own great discomfiture. Besides the birds common to Europe, there are many others. The blue bird of a pale sky colour, the scarlet bird, whose name tells of her bright plumage, and the fire-hang-bird, so called from her colour and the curious way in which she hangs her nest at the end of a bough, suspended by a string of her own making. This, it is said, she does to protect her young from the monkeys. It is also a protection against the boys, for the bough chosen is too small to bear the least weight. This bird differs from the scarlet bird in having some black under its wings. There is also the mocking-bird, who delights in imitating every note he hears; the Bob Lincoln, a very pretty singing bird; the red linnet, the Virginia nightingale, and the king-bird from whom the hawk is glad to escape; the little snow bird, and many others that I forget. The swallows are of a brighter purple than ours. The robins are much larger, but their notes and colour the same.

"This winter was also a very severe one, and my father spent it chiefly in going to and from Boston, where he was engaged to give lectures on the evidences of Christianity, the same that he had delivered at Philadelphia the winter before. And here also they were attended with great success. It was fifteen miles, and he was often obliged to walk through the snow. But he thought no labour or fatigue too much in the cause he had so much at heart. Once he and John set out to walk in a most tremendous rain,

"I do not recollect my father preaching at Weymouth more than once, and when he was with us on Sunday we had service at home. The congregation there was large, and they were Presbyterians of the old orthodox stamp. Calvin, and the kirk of Scotland, had settled the faith of two out of three of the American churches at that period. There were but few Episcopalians, and their churches but poor buildings, and often without steeples or trees, while the popular party had both. There were many Quakers (but not so many as in Pennsylvania), and here and there a very few Catholics.

"When the snow and ice melted, the lowlands were threatened with a deluge, but as I remember no damage that ever happened from these thaws, I suppose they were properly guarded against. Here is also, about February, what they call a middle thaw, when the weather is mild for a week or two and the snow seems to have vanished. Yet to this other and deeper snows succeed, and the frost is as sharp as ever. This winter the melted snow ran into our washhouse, and froze so hard that my father and John were obliged to cut it up with axes in pieces of half-a-foot thick, and throw it out.

"My father often went to Hingham to preach for Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay, a very pleasant old man above ninety years of age. He was fond of a good story, and used to tell with great glee how he cured a man of a propensity to steal. It seems this man was in the habit of making free with his master's hay, which Mr. Gay suspecting, he one evening took his pipe in his mouth, and standing behind the stable door, softly shook out the ashes of his pipe on the hay the man was carrying away on his back, and as soon as he got out the fresh air kindled it into a flame, at which the poor fellow was so much terrified that he came the next morning to confess his trespass, saying that fire came down from heaven to consume his stolen hay, and promised never to steal again. This promise he faithfully kept, and though Mr. Gay, in compassion to his fears, kindly explained the matter to him, he never could believe but that a fire from above had fallen on him.

"Hingham is twenty miles from Boston, and five from Weymouth. Here my father met with society quite to his mind.

"My father often spoke of the numbers of fine-looking old men, between eighty and ninety, that attended that meeting and sat together before the pulpit. This congregation was very large, but in a place where there was no other church, and where none but the sick or infirm absented themselves from public worship, five or seven hundred people being assembled together is nothing extraordinary.

"At Boston, too, my father had many friends, among them Dr. Chauncy, a fine old man above ninety; he was cheerful, and retained all his faculties.

"In the summer of 1785 my father often went to Salem, where he sometimes preached for Mr. Barnes." But the English minister stayed with Mr. Derby, a merchant, and the son of an acquaintance at Hingham. William often accompanied his father in his journeys, and sat inside the pulpit with him while he preached. "John," she adds, "spent a great deal of his time at Hingham, where he painted many portraits, and perhaps some of his first pictures are to be seen there even at this present time." Mr. Hazlitt met in this neighbourhood, curiously enough, with two of the prisoners in whose cause he had interested himself at Kinsale, and they expressed the warmest gratitude to him. It had been wished that he should succeed old Mr. Ebenezer Gay at Hingham, but the latter declined to resign.

"This summer [1785] my father," continues our chronicler, "visited Cape Cod, and stayed there three weeks, but he could not make up his mind to settle in so desolate a place. It was a neat little town, inhabited chiefly by fishermen, but nothing was to be seen but rocks and sands and the boundless ocean. He took William with him, who, child as he was, could not help being struck with the barren and dreary look of the country, and inquired if any Robins or Bob Lincolns came there, and being told there were none, he said, 'I suppose they do not like such an ugly place.' Stepping into the boat, he dropped his shoe into the sea, which he lamented because of his silver buckle.

"It was while we resided at Weymouth that my father assisted Mr. Freeman in preparing a liturgy for his church, which had been episcopal, and furnished him with a form of

prayer used by Mr. Lindsey, in Essex Street Chapel, which they adapted to suit the transatlantic church. He also republished many of Dr. Priestley's Unitarian tracts, and many other little pieces to the same purpose, such as the *Trial of Elwall*, etc., besides writing much himself. These things took up much of his time, and occasioned many journeys to Boston, where John often went with his father.

"In the autumn of this year, Mr. Sam. Vaughan persuaded him to go to a new settlement on Kennebec River, called Hallowell, in the province of Maine, where Mr. Vaughan had a large tract of land and much interest in settling the township. This was in the midst of the woods, with a few acres cleared round each farm, as usual in all their new places, which, by degrees, are changed from solitary woods to a fruitful land. At this time the wolves were near neighbours, and sometimes at night would come prowling about the place, making a dismal noise with their hideous barking, and as the doors were without locks, and my father slept on the ground floor, he used to fasten his door by putting his knife over the latch to prevent a visit from these wild beasts. In this remote place he found a very respectable society, many of them genteel people. Here he preached a thanksgiving sermon which was afterwards printed at Boston. It was a custom in New England to preach one every year after harvest. He would have had no great objection to settling with these people, but it would not have been eligible for his sons. John's profession was not wanted in the woods, where good hunters and husbandmen were more needed. He therefore, after spending the winter there, returned to us in the spring; and he narrowly escaped being lost in the Bay of Fundy, to which the sailors, for its frequent and dreadful tempests, have given the name of the 'Devil's Cauldron.' "

After describing a tremendous storm which unexpectedly visited them on the 1st April, 1786, Miss Hazlitt states that her father and mother saw the necessity of moving from Weymouth nearer to Boston, where Mr. Hazlitt and John had frequent occasion to go.

"Weymouth," she writes, "with its sloping hills and woods, beautiful and romantic as it was, yet had its inconveniences. The great-

est, the distance from the city ; there was no market or butcher's shop or any baker in the parish, and only one shop containing some remnants of linen, a few tapes and thread, with a small assortment of grocery. Hard sea biscuits, butter, cheese, some salt beef and pork, were our winter's fare. In the summer it was better, as we often got a joint of fresh meat from some of the farmers, who would spare us some of what they provided for their own use. This, when not wanted directly, was kept by being suspended over the well. Sometimes we had barrels of flour and made our own bread, and when the farmer's wife heated her oven, she would kindly bake our bread for us, or anything else, so that, on the whole, we did very well, and thought not of the flesh-pots of Egypt.

"One day I observed the water in the well was red. I asked Mr. Beales the reason ; he said, 'We shall have an earthquake soon,' but added, 'do not tell my wife.' The next morning, about seven, we felt a smart shock, but not bad enough to throw anything down ; yet it made the handles of the drawers rattle. To the eastward it was worse, and indeed it came from the east. It was in February, and the weather was very close and cloudy, and not a breath of air stirring.

"New England abounds more in maize, Indian corn, than wheat, and in the country it is much used, and is not unpleasant to the taste, though rather too sweet ; and it is very convenient, as it requires no yeast. Besides maize they have buck-wheat, barley and rye, and from the other states they have plenty of the finest wheat. With the West Indies they carry on a considerable traffic, exchanging their cattle and lumber for rum and molasses. On the Southern States the West Indies chiefly depend for corn and other food, and send them in return the finest fruit, sugar, rum, pepper, etc. I once saw a cartload of pine-apples, that were just landed in Philadelphia market, that were sold for a half pistoureen each, about ninepence.

"The woods are filled with a variety of game ; the number of pigeons are incredible ; and the wild turkeys are very large and fine, and their colours very beautiful, and they make a grand appearance when seen standing, being from four to five feet in height. They have also plenty of wild geese, ducks,

teal, and all the wild and tame fowl that we have in Europe ; many kinds of parrots and the Virginia nightingale of a bright crimson, snakes and monkeys more than enough ; foxes, wolves and bears, and the tiger cat, very fierce and strong for its size, about two feet high, I think. The moose deer is peculiar to North America. Once, while we were there, an animal they call a cat-a-mount made its appearance near Falmouth ; it was said to be five feet long, besides, the tail was as much more ; and it could mount trees, whence its name. It was hunted by eighteen dogs, killed six of them and got off. It was said that only one of these animals had been seen before. But no one knows what, or how many, unknown creatures may be concealed in those endless forests.

"In July we took our leave of Weymouth, where we had spent a year and eight months, and bad farewell to our good friends the Whitmans and others with whom we had begun a friendly intercourse, and left our romantic hills and groves, never to see them more ; but we did not then know that it was a last farewell.

"We removed to a small house in Upper Dorchester. It was pleasantly situated, but not to be compared to the one we had left. It was five miles from Boston, and in the high road to it. In front, on the other side of the road, were some large meadows, and beyond, at the distance of a few miles, the blue mountains rose to our view. Covered with thick woods, they are said to be famous for rattlesnakes. It is observed that the rattlesnake is never found near the sea-shore.

"Behind, and on each side of the house, there was a very large orchard, and ascending a little way we had a fine view of Boston, its bay and many islands, the same we saw at Weymouth, but nearer and more distinct. To the eastward, Fort William and its light-house, and to the north, a vast extent of country ; and behind the city the hill of battle, where so many fell in the beginning of that quarrel which in the end gave liberty and happiness to millions, who still regard England as the land of Father.

"The last summer my father passed in frequent visits to Boston, to Hingham, and to Salem. At length he made up his mind to return to England in the autumn, and try to

get settled before we arrived, and we were to follow him in the spring. O most unfortunate resolve ! for but a few months after he had sailed, old Mr. Gay died, and Dr. Gordon came over to London to publish his book ; and at either of these places my father would have been chosen.

"This last summer passed quickly away, and October came ; and the time of my father's departure drew near. I recollect his coming to fetch me home from Boston, a few days before he sailed. He talked to us of our separation and the hope of meeting again, and charged me above all things to be careful of, and attentive to, my mother, and endeavour by every means in my power to keep up her spirits and soften every care.

"From my father's journal it appears that he sailed from the Long Wharf, Boston, on the 23rd October [1786], on board the *Rebecca*." His son John saw him off. He describes the passage to England as terrible. The vessel did not sight Plymouth till the 9th December, but did not make for it. On the 14th, after beating about, and a good deal more heavy weather, the *Rebecca* was in sight of Dover at noon. Mr. Hazlitt spent nine months in London, at the house of his old and good friend, Mr. David Lewis.

After his father's departure John Hazlitt was busy in the pursuit of his professional studies, and our narrative says that he painted a picture of two wild turkeys for Mr. Vaughan, to send to Germany. He also taught his brother William Latin grammar, at first, it seems, not with much success, but eventually so much so, that William nearly killed himself through excessive application.

"Dorchester," she says, "was a very pleasant place to live in. It stood high, and commanded a fine prospect on all sides. We had some good neighbours, and were so near to Boston as to be able to go there at any time. . . . We stayed there until the summer, preparing for our departure. At the last, the time came, and there were some we regretted to leave, but from none was I so sorry to part as from Susan Butt. She was a good and kind-hearted girl, and much attached to me. She persuaded my brother to give her a picture he had done of me in crayons. . . . How often we have looked back with regret on the pleasant evenings John and I used to

spend with them [at Dorchester.] Our games and songs, and the tumblers we got in the snow, coming home by moonlight, when the rain, freezing on the ice, made the road slippery as glass. 'Twas then who best could keep their feet. How delightful a ride in a sleigh was then ! How swift we cut through the air, going over hedge and ditch ! For the snow made all level.

"This last Christmas I spent at Mr. Boot's. There we had a constant round of visits, and I was more expert at cards than I have been since ; for I was pleased to do as grown-up people did, though often tired and weary of cards and sitting up late. Whist and palm loo were the games most in fashion ; but chess was a favourite with all. . . . At the end of three weeks my brother came to take me home, and I did not see Boston again till the summer.

"On the 10th April this year (1787) a most tremendous fire broke out in Boston. It made a very grand appearance as we viewed it from the orchard, and, though at five miles' distance, the light was so great that the least thing was visible. The column of fire and smoke that rose to the clouds resembled a volcano. John got a horse and attempted to go in to assist our friends, and bring away anything for them. He soon returned, saying it was impossible to get into the town, as South Street, the only entrance, was burning on both sides. About a hundred houses were burnt, and a church. But the damage was not so great as we supposed. Some rum-stills had served to increase the splendour of the blaze.

"Boston is built on a peninsula, and joins the mainland by a narrow neck of land, four or, perhaps, five furlongs in length. I know not if it is a natural isthmus, or the work of man, but from the swampy meadows on either side I should think it to be natural. South Street is part of it. The bay in which it stands surrounds it on every other side.

"The entrance into the bay is defended by Fort William, and no ship can come into the port without passing under its guns. The government keep a small garrison here, and a chaplain. Mr. Isaac Smyth was the chaplain when we were there. He was in England during the war, and settled in Sidmouth, in Devonshire.

"Fort William is nine miles from Boston. The bay is very extensive, and contains many beautiful islands, most of them small and wooded to the top. Those we saw from Weymouth and Dorchester had two or three hills of a sugar-loaf form, adding to the beauty of the scene by the deep indigo of their firs, mixed with the bright and ever-varying green of the other trees. Perhaps when the country is more filled, these untenanted islets will be studded with neat cottages and farms.

"At Cambridge, two miles from Boston, there is a very flourishing college, and, I believe, it is the oldest in the United States. A ferry divides Cambridge from Boston.

"Boston is more like an English town in the irregularity of its streets and houses than any other that I saw on that continent. It had its government or state house, and other public buildings, and churches of every denomination, more than I can recollect. The people were then in everything English; their habits, their manners, their dress, their very names spoke their origin; and the names given to their towns prove that they still regard the land of their fathers.

"Beacon hill, just at the edge of the common, was a pretty object at a distance, and the house of Governor Hancock stood close to it. He was an old man then. His lady was of the Quincy family, but we did not know it then, though my father often visited at the house.

"The spring brought letters from my father, full of hope and anxiety to see us again; and with mingled feelings of expectation and regret we prepared to follow him.

"In June, [1787,] we left Dorchester, and spent a fortnight in Boston, paying farewell visits to our friends there. More than one inquired of my brother if anything was wanted by my mother for our voyage, offering to supply her with money or any other needful assistance. These offers were declined with grateful thanks, as we had money enough to take us home, and we trusted the future to that kind Providence which had guided and supplied us hitherto. After passing these last days with our friends in Boston as pleasantly as the prospect of so soon parting with them would allow, we went on board the *Nonpareil*, ready to sail

the next morning, the 4th of July, the grand anniversary of American Independence."

The home voyage was prosperous on the whole, although the vessel had to avoid the Algerine pirates, who at that time seized all American vessels which had not a passport from them. Among their fellow-passengers was a Mr. Millar, son of a farmer in Hampshire, of whom Miss Hazlitt tells the following story:—

"At the age of fourteen he had run away from home and listed for a soldier, and being sent off with the first troops to America, had settled (after the war was over) in Nova Scotia, where he had left his wife and children, and was to return there as soon as the object of his present voyage was completed. His chief business in England was to implore the blessing and forgiveness of his father, whom he had not seen since the day that his boyish folly had so unhappily estranged him from the paternal roof. We heard afterwards that his father had died two days before he reached home."

On Sunday, the 12th August, 1787, the Hazlitts disembarked at Portsmouth, and on the following morning set out for London in the stage. "On arriving in London," Miss Hazlitt tells us, "my father met us at the inn, and before I had time to see him, took me in his arms out of the coach, and led us to our very good friend, David Lewis; and from him and Mrs. Lewis we received the greatest attention and kindness. With them we stayed some weeks; but, my mother's health being very indifferent, we took a lodging at Walworth, and she was in some measure revived by the fresh air. This is near Camberwell, where your father saw the garden he speaks of in his works, and which had made so strong an impression on his young mind, and being the first gardens he had seen after our long voyage, were of course doubly valued. After staying there a fortnight, David Williams proposed our taking part of a house in Percy Street, which was to be had cheap, as it would be more convenient for my father to attend to anything that might occur. Here we stayed eleven weeks, and my grandmother came up from Wisbeach to see us. She stayed with us a month. She could walk about two miles, yet she must have been eighty-four at that time, and she lived

about fourteen years after. This was a meeting she at one time did not hope for, as she was very old when we went to America, and our return to England was not intended. I never saw her after this time, but my mother paid her a visit of nine weeks in 1792. She died at my Uncle Loftus's house at Peterborough in 1801."

Of the subsequent history of the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt I need say nothing here. I collected on that subject all that I could while I was engaged in preparing the *Memoirs* of my grandfather, a work for which I have accumulated very large and valuable new material, since the first edition appeared nearly twenty years ago. All that I proposed to myself at the present moment was to present a remarkable episode in a long and tranquil career, and an episode which must be of course treated as forming part of the biography of a son more illustrious, not more noble.

The contents of the little volume before me, beyond the American experiences of the Hazlitts from 1783 to 1787, are, it must be frankly owned, of interest solely inasmuch as they supply or correct certain dates and other items in the earlier history of our family, and elucidate two or three hitherto obscure points in the youth of my grandfather.



The House of Lords.

PART IV.—THE TRANSITION FROM TENURE TO WRIT.

BY J. HORACE ROUND.



WITH every facility at their command, and with every wish to do justice to their subject, the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer are compelled to confess, in the first of their voluminous and admirable reports,—

That after all the exertions of the former committees, as well as of the present committee, the subject has appeared to be so involved in obscurity that they have been unable to extract from the materials to which they have had recourse any conclusions perfectly satisfactory to their minds. At different times, and with different views, men of considerable talents and learn-

ing (some of them peculiarly qualified for the task by their previous studies and employments), have used the greatest industry in investigating the subject; but, unfortunately, they have in general adopted certain positions, which they have sought to prove, and have suffered themselves to be misled in many instances by the influence of party and the eagerness of controversy.*

And they close that Report with these words:—

They are conscious of many defects, and fear there may be many inaccuracies in what they now offer, and they are disposed to consider this report as rather leading the members of the House to satisfy themselves by their own exertions on points which may be the subject of doubt or difficulty, than as affording all the materials necessary to remove doubt and difficulty on these points, with respect to which there may be found sufficient authority for the purpose; at the same time showing that it is highly probable that no exertion can now obtain all the information necessary to remove all doubt and difficulty on a subject apparently involved in great obscurity.†

Hallam also, in entering on an investigation of the same subject, pronounces it, with truth, "exceedingly important, but more intricate and controverted than any other."‡ Nor could anyone be more conscious than myself of the difficulties that surround on every side the origin and the development of the House of Lords. I would therefore disclaim, at the outset, for my conclusions, any pretensions to finality, especially where they are of an original character, based on my independent investigations.

It is impossible, moreover, within the limits of an article, to do more than generalise on so wide a subject, or to argue out each disputable point. Mr. Gomme has set us, in his introductory paper, a model of the treatment required,—broad, lucid, historical, and, above all, scientific.

With him, I would insist on "a wide divergence" between the "two schools—the legal and the archæological," of which the former, from necessity and from natural tendency, has exercised, in my opinion, so injurious an influence on the study of our constitutional antiquities. Nowhere is that divergence more apparent than in the treatment of such a subject as I am about to discuss, a period of *transition*, where the same words have differ-

* 1st Report (25th May, 1820), p. 14.

† *Ib.*, p. 448.

‡ *Middle Ages* (1860), iii., 4.

ent meanings not only at different periods, but even at one and the same period, and thus refuse to be bound and fettered within the narrow and misleading limits of legal definition.

I take as my starting-point the Norman Conquest. In so doing I am well aware that I am somewhat at variance with the historical school, as represented by Dr. Stubbs and Professor Freeman; and still more with the archæological, as represented by Mr. Gomme. Yet, that, in this matter, the Norman Conquest did make a distinct break in the continuity of our historical development; that the history of the House of Lords can be traced uninterruptedly back to the Norman Conquest, and (uninterruptedly) no further; that an absolutely new and fundamental principle was introduced at this point, and that from this principle all that follows can be deduced—all this I hold to be capable of absolute demonstration.

I would invite attention to four changes which distinguish the Assembly after, from the Assembly before the Conquest. (1) In *name*: the "Witenagemot" is replaced by the "curia" or "concilium." (2) In *personnel*: the "Witan" are replaced by "Barones." (3) In *nationality*: the Englishmen are replaced by Normans. (4) In *qualification*: "wisdom" is replaced by "tenure."

It is in the fourth and last of these changes that the vital distinction is to be sought.

For what was the Witenagemot itself on the eve of the Norman Conquest? For the answer of this question we naturally turn to the works of those recognised authorities on the political and constitutional history, respectively, of that period—I mean Professor Freeman and Dr. Stubbs. Now even the former, with his democratic bias, recognises it as at that time "an aristocratic body, . . . a small official or aristocratic body." He adds that "the common title of those who compose it is simply the *Witan*, the *Sapientes* or *Wise Men*," and that "we find no trace of any property qualification."*

It is similarly proclaimed by Dr. Stubbs that "the members of the assembly were the wise men, the sapientes, witan"; and he further divides its *personnel* into two elements:

(1) "the national officers, lay and clerical, who formed the older and more authoritative portion of the council"; (2) "the king's friends and dependents."*

But while, according to Professor Freeman, "we find no trace of nomination by the Crown,"† Dr. Stubbs insists on that power of nomination, and attaches to it great importance, urging that, by its means, the kings

could at any time command a majority in favour of their own policy. Under such circumstances the Witenagemot was verging towards a condition in which it would become simply the council of the king, instead of the council of the nation.‡

Now, whatever differences of opinion there may be between these two great authorities,—differences which I cannot here discuss—they are both entirely at one with Kemble in rejecting what Professor Freeman terms "the strange notion of Sir Francis Palgrave, that a property qualification was needed for a seat in the Witenagemot." Yet Mr. Gomme would contend, on *à priori* grounds, that "every lord attended the Witan in right of the manors and villages held under him§—a fact" which may be essential to his own theory of the origin of the House of Lords, but which is absolutely unknown to our recognised authorities, and at direct variance with their conclusions. I must, therefore, respectfully decline to accept so novel and revolutionary a view until its truth has been established by unimpeachable evidence, or at least by a reference to something more authoritative than an allusion to a hypothesis as to the state of things long after the Witan had passed away.||

Let us now turn from the Witan to the council of the Norman kings.

There would appear to me to be three paths by which we may approach that difficult subject, the constitution of the National Council under the Conqueror and his immediate successors. We may either (1) examine that constitution at the point where it emerges from obscurity, and work backwards from that point to the Conquest. Or we may (2) collect from contemporary writers the re-

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 124-5.

† *Ut supra*.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 140.

§ *Ante*, vol. ix., p. 50.

|| *Ib.*

* *Norman Conquest*, 2nd edit., i., 102-3, 590.

ferences to such councils as were held during this period, and draw, from the language employed, inferences as to their probable constitution. Or we may (3) investigate the Conqueror's principles of administration, and then, applying them to the circumstances of the case, and adjusting them by his political necessities, form our conclusions as to the course he would be most likely to adopt. And if these three different paths should lead us to the same conclusion, we may safely claim that such conclusion is not likely to be wrong.

Briefly pursuing these three methods, we obtain, as to the first, from Dr. Stubbs himself, when treating of the "gatherings of magnates" in the great council of the kingdom, the following definite admission :—

that these gatherings, when they emerge from obscurity in the reign of Henry II., were *assemblies of tenants-in-chief*, is clear on the face of history.*

And in another place he again observes that

the national council under Henry II. and his sons seems, in one aspect, to be a realization of the *principle which was introduced at the Conquest*, and had been developed and grown into consistency under the Norman kings, that of a *complete council of feudal tenants-in-chief*.†

It is true that he regards this feudal ideal as having been less perfectly attained, and, indeed, only inchoate, in the days of the Conqueror himself, when he would assign to the assembly a constitution more nearly resembling that of the Witan. But as, from its introduction into England with the Conquest, the feudal system had to struggle for existence against adverse and disintegrating influences, we must presume that it would be more, not less, powerful under the Conqueror than under the second Henry. Whatever may have been, in practice, the composition of the Conqueror's councils, we must infer that, in theory, from the first they must have been composed of tenants-in-chief.

Dr. Stubbs' view is clear and consistent. He calls upon us to see

(1) in the Witenagemot a council composed of the wise men of the nation ; (2) in the court of the Conqueror and his sons a similar assembly with a different

qualification ; (3) and in that of Henry II., a complete feudal council of the king's tenants.*

And he similarly contends in his auxiliary work, that

although not, perhaps, all at once, the national council, instead of being the assembly of the wise men of the kingdom, became the king's court of feudal vassals,

and that, at any rate, by the time of Henry II., "its composition was a perfect feudal court."† The only point, therefore, that I question, is whether this court is at all likely to have been less feudal under the Conqueror himself than under Henry II.‡ Admit, as Dr. Stubbs does, the "different qualification," and the question, I would submit, is at an end: we have at once an assembly founded on *tenure*, that entirely new and distinctive "principle which was introduced at the Conquest."

Secondly, as to the constituents of the Council during this obscure period, slight as is the available evidence, it points to the same conclusion. The Conqueror announces himself as acting "*communi consilio et concilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum et omnium principum regni mei*,"§ while the chronicler describes him as acting "*consilio baronum suorum*."|| In the charter of liberties of Henry I. (1100) the expression used is similarly—"communi consilio baronum totius regni Angliæ,"¶ and we shall see below that the *barones* were the body of tenants-in-chief. It is true that, according to Professor Freeman, "the body thus gathered together kept their old constitutional name of the Witan,"** but for this assertion he has no evidence, either from official documents or from Norman chroniclers. He takes the expression from the English chronicle, the compiler of which would cling to the term, at once from habit and from

* *Const. Hist.*, ii., 168.

† *Select Charters*, pp. 15, 22.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 564. See on this point, p. 257, where it is contended that "the organisation of government" on the feudal "basis" was actually "*put an end to*" by "the legal and constitutional reforms of Henry II."

§ Ordinance separating the spiritual and temporal courts.

|| R. Hoveden, *Chronica*, ii., 218.

¶ *Select Charters*, i., 96.

** *Norman Conquest*, iv. 623; cf. pp. 690, 694, etc., etc.

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 356.

† *Ib.*, i., 563-4.

patriotism. We have, indeed, a *reductio ad absurdum* in the fact that we might claim on the same ground that the true title of Pontius Pilate was that of "shireman" of Judea! Dr. Stubbs more accurately assigns to the assembly "the title of the great court or council,"* the title, in fact, which had been borne by the assembly of the Norman dukes.

Thirdly, passing to the policy of the Conqueror, it is now, of course, a recognised fact that it was essentially "a policy of combination, whereby the strongest and safest elements in two nations were so united as to support one sovereign and irresponsible lord."† But it is also a fact that, the Norman system originating as it were from above and the English from below—the former strongest at the centre, and the latter at the extremities—these "strongest and safest elements" were to be sought in the upper portion of the Norman body politic, and in the lower portion of the English. Thus it would be the object of the Norman kings "to strengthen the Curia Regis, and to protect the popular courts."‡ Consequently, the retention of the English Witan would not form part of the "policy of combination." The Norman *curia* or *concilium*, moreover, would derive, as we shall see, from the feudal lord its existence and its *raison d'être*: the Witan, on the contrary, derived their authority from comparatively independent sources. Here again, then, the former would be selected by the Norman kings.§ Practically, the policy of the Conqueror may be thus briefly summarised: to use his rights as feudal lord, to strengthen his position as king; and, on the other hand, to use his rights as king wherever he was weak as feudal lord. Now, turning from the two extremities of his administrative system to the two periods of his reign, we see how this principle must have worked. So long as his danger was from the resistance of the English, or the invasions of their allies, he would be found to rely on that feudal system which formed the tie between him and his scattered followers. But when his

hold on the country grew firmer, and he could set himself to check the feudal element, his government would then become less exclusively feudal. Here, then, we are driven to the same conclusion, namely, that the feudal council must have been introduced with the Conquest.

We may notice, at this point, the famous assembly of 1086, at Salisbury, because it has been vigorously claimed as a survival of the old national assembly of freemen. Mr. Gomme claims for it that

Here, indeed, was a great primary assembly, uninfluenced by Norman laws, and tradition has handed down through the chronicler Orderic that the number here assembled was no less than sixty thousand.*

But let us turn to the truly contemporary accounts, not to that so styled by the Lords' Committee,† and learn from them, as quoted by Dr. Stubbs himself,‡ the true composition of this assembly. It consisted of (a) the tenants-in-chief; (b) their own feudal tenants (*milites eorum*), and of no one else. As to there being "no less than sixty thousand" present, that number, as Mr. Freeman reminds us,§ comes from Orderic, who bases it on his notoriously absurd boast that the Conqueror divided the kingdom into fees for sixty thousand knights ("lx millia militum."¶) This fact is of special importance as proving that Orderic is at one with Florence in limiting this assembly to *milites*, and including no class below them. And the purpose of the assembly agrees with its constitution. The under-tenants swore fealty to William as their feudal lord—they became his "men" (*wæron his menn*)—that their lords, the tenants-in-chief, might not be able to claim their exclusive fealty, if engaged in rebellion against the king. Lastly, though we find Dr. Stubbs speaking of "the great councils of Salisbury in 1086 and 1116,¶ and even claiming such assemblies as one form of "the royal council;"*** yet Mr. Hunt has shown good reason for doubting whether the assembly of 1116 corresponded with the pecu-

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 356.

† *Ib.*, i., 444.

‡ *Ib.*

§ It will be observed that here I incline to Gneist's view (*Verwalt.*, i., 238 sq.), rather than to that of Dr. Stubbs.

* *Ante*, ix., 55.

† 1st Report, p. 34.

‡ *Select Charters*, p. 78; *Const. Hist.*, i., 266.

§ *Norm. Cong.*, ix., 695.

¶ *Lib. iv.*, cap. 7.

¶ *Const. Hist.*, i., 358.

*** *Ib.*, i., 564.

liar character of the gathering in 1086,* and as to the latter, I find no evidence whatever that it can be described as, or in any way discharged the functions of, a "Council." This distinction is of great importance, as, had it done so, the royal council would not have been limited, as it essentially was limited, to the tenants-in-chief alone.

Two more points have yet to be noticed, as they seem to have been hitherto overlooked, and as they throw light on that important subject, the denotation of *barones* and *milites*. In the same passage in which he describes the gathering, Florence alludes to the great Survey: "Quantum terræ quisque *baronum* suorum possidebat, quot *feudatos milites*" (i.e., how many tenants they had enfeoffed). We see that the *barones* must here include the whole body of tenants-in-chief. When, therefore, he goes on to speak of those present at the Salisbury gathering as "*archie-piscopi, etc., etc., . . . cum suis militibus*," we understand that all the former are summed up in the class of tenants-in-chief, while the latter are, similarly, their feudal tenants.† And finally, when we compare the passage in Florence with that in the *English Chronicle*, we find the two classes rendered by "his witan and ealle tha land-sittende men," thus proving the very point I contended for, namely, that by "witan," in the Conqueror's reign, was really meant nothing else than *barones*, that feudal council of tenants-in-chief, based on the new principle of *tenure*, which, as Dr. Stubbs observes, was "introduced at the Conquest."

Thus, then, to resume the results of our investigation, we have seen that the old English Witenagemot was replaced under the Norman kings, and indeed, in my own opinion, immediately after the Conquest, by a feudal council, which though it might, in practice, bear to it a certain superficial resemblance, was based on a wholly novel and radically distinct principle, the principle of *tenure*. That council was co-extensive with the tenants-in-chief, the *barones regis*,

who sat in it exclusively as such. It will next be my object to trace the process by which that council was restricted in practice, and so, eventually, in principle, to one section of those tenants-in-chief, and thus to connect our House of Lords, as a baronage and as a peerage, with the *barones* and the *pares* of Norman days.

I shall hope to show, in so doing, that this great historic institution springs from a single principle, a principle to which its existence can be traced by overwhelming proof. And that principle is—*Vassalage*.

(To be continued.)



The Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art.

BY CLAPTON ROLFE.

PART I.



NUMERICAL principle may be said to be the very essence of ancient Gothic art. We may perceive its influence not only in such work as Norwold's at Ely, or Prior William de Hoo's at Rochester, two of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Gothic we possess, but in the numberless old churches scattered broadcast throughout England, the designs of Churchmen whose names have long been forgotten, though their works live on in attestation of their piety and their skill.

It is surprising, and much to be regretted, that more attention has not been given to the subject in this age of Gothic revival. Our text-books on Gothic art say little or nothing about it; and it is only here and there that an antiquary can be found who has devoted attention to it. To suggest anything about numerical principle to the great majority of those who think they know all about Gothic is only to provoke a smile.

But although this is true enough of the majority, there are men who think differently. One of them, the late well-known antiquary Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, a short time before

* *Norman Britain* (1884), pp. 120-1.

† All the tenants-in-chief, I mean, were, as such, "*barones*." But those who enjoyed, in addition, an official dignity, as the Earls, Bishops, etc., would, of course, figure under those names in ordinary affairs of state.

his death, wrote to me on the subject as follows :—

I quite go along with you in your appreciation of numerical principle. I used the seven-method at Cleve, and find it in a consecration cross at West Ham. The triple formula is self-evident in old plans.

This admission from so eminent an archæologist as Mr. Walcott is worthy of note. It is not the crude theory of a zealous young antiquary, but the conviction of an eminent man towards the close of his career,—a conclusion arrived at from life-long study and observation. Thus much by way of preface.*

In considering this subject we must bear in mind that church-building in olden time was a *science*, subservient to the science of theology.

Theology (says St. Thomas Aquinas) ought to command all other sciences, *and turn to its use* those things which they treat of.

It was the effort to build religiously, to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology, which led to that development of ancient Christian art that we call Gothic. The development was a very gradual one; but in the end the efforts of Churchmen were crowned with success. The Gothic builders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries accomplished what had exercised the minds of the Romanesque and Byzantine builders of the first thousand years of the Christian era, and what they but partially succeeded in effecting.

In Romanesque and Byzantine art we may perceive the germs of Gothic art, the application of numerical principle to *the general features* of a building. It was the application of the same principle to *the detail* of a building, as well as to its general features, which matured Gothic art; rendering it a style of Christian art the most religious, and at the same time the most beautiful, the world has ever known. In the one case, in that of these older styles, constructional features were mainly influenced; in the other, *i.e.* in the case of Gothic, the very ornamentation of the building, its mouldings and carvings and the like, were influenced in like degree. The one chiefly affected

construction; the other, both construction and ornamentation.

The mystical numbers which have exercised most influence in the development of ancient Gothic art are one, three, five, seven, and twelve—the numbers five and three in particular. Generally speaking, *one* is the numerical symbol of the Unity of the Godhead; *three*, of the Trinity of the Godhead; *five*, of Sacrifice; *seven*, of Grace; and *twelve*, of the Incarnation. These mystical numbers, therefore, symbolise doctrines—the five fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Faith; and the play upon them in ancient Christian art, whether Romanesque, Byzantine, or Gothic, has a doctrinal import.*

From the very commencement of the Christian era, religion began to exercise an influence upon the classic art of ancient Rome. In the age of Augustus, the art of Rome was purely pagan; by the time of Constantine it was almost wholly Christian. The change appears to have been brought about by the agency of numerical principle.

Mr. Fergusson writes, in allusion to this particular period of early Romanesque art:—

The fact seems to be, that during the first three centuries after the Christian era an immense change was silently but certainly working its way in men's minds. The old religion was effete: the best men, the most intellectual spirits of the age, had no faith in it; and the new religion with all its important consequences was gradually supplying its place in the minds of men long before it was generally accepted.†

Of the basilican churches of ancient Rome—the first parents, so to speak, of our Gothic churches—the finest of them all was ancient St. Peter's, erected by Constantine, *circa* A.D. 330, upon the site of the Circus of Nero, where tradition affirms that St. Peter suffered martyrdom. It was ruthlessly destroyed in the fifteenth century, to give place to modern St. Peter's; but before this act of vandalism was perpetrated, some measured drawings of the old building were made, and from them we may judge of its plan and design.

In the general arrangements of its plan, and in many of the leading features of its design, the play upon the mystical numbers one, three, and five, is very apparent. The

* I would also add, by way of preface, that I take this opportunity of drawing attention to the subject in print, having been asked to do so by the late Sir Gilbert Scott.

* As in sacred writings. Cf. Bishop Wordsworth, *Greek Testament with Notes*, Rev. xi.

† *History of Architecture*, vol. i., p. 400.

one Apse, a feature of pagan art, was retained.* Beyond this the Bema, or sanctuary, was subdivided into *three*, the central space being flanked on either side with a transept-like projection, divided off by an arcade of *three* arches. While beyond the Bema the main body of the Basilica was of *five* aisles, running east to west after the manner of the aisles of a Gothic church, and not around the four sides of the building after the fashion of pagan art.† Then again with regard to its design, the *five* entrances to the front, as also the *three* large single-light windows over, surmounted by *three* more in the next tier (much after the fashion of the Anglo-Norman work at Peterborough), indicate the influence which the Catholic faith was already bringing to bear upon Roman art by the agency of numerical principle to christianize and render it worthy of its sacred use.

A comparison between this old basilican Church and the Circus of Nero which it supplanted, and upon whose very foundation it was erected, indicates it more clearly. The design of the Circus of Nero, in accordance with the canons of pagan art, was based on even numbers. A play upon even numbers was indeed a first principle of pagan art. The Parthenon, for example, was an octostyle building, so named from the chief feature of its design, the group of *eight* noble pillars to its front. So also the famous temple of Jupiter Olympius was a decastyle building, so called from its *ten* front columns, and so on. Indeed this very nomenclature—distyle, tetrastyle, hexastyle, octostyle, decastyle, and so on—sufficiently indicates that a play on

* The early Christian builders did not discard every feature of pagan art; on the contrary, they retained those which were compatible with Christianity. For example, the Attic base moulding was never wholly discarded: it was simply christianized—reduced from four moulded members to *three*. In this latter form we meet with it again and again in ancient Christian art, as, e.g., at St. Mark's at Venice, as well as in the best and purest examples of Gothic art in old England.

† In Trajan's Basilica (see Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. i., p. 317) we have an example of the way in which the Roman Basilicas, or Halls of Justice, were surrounded on their four sides by aisles, or porticoes, as Vitruvius calls them. The Basilica at Fanum (see Wilkins's *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius*, Sec. III., plate 1) affords another example of this feature of pagan art. The early Christians deliberately discarded this *four*-sided arrangement in favour of a more perfect *three* or *five*-aisled arrangement of plan.

even numbers was a characteristic feature of pagan art.

Viewed in connection with this circumstance, the numerical principle of ancient Christian art—a play chiefly upon odd numbers—is the more remarkable. The builders of ancient St. Peter's had these classic canons to guide them in erecting this great Christian temple. They deliberately cast them aside, retaining only so much of pagan art as was compatible with Christianity, to work out a new style which would symbolise the Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of the Godhead, and attest to the cardinal doctrine of sacrifice.

So consistently did Churchmen work upon these lines in the ground-plans of their buildings, that every basilican church erected at Rome during the first thousand years of the Christian era was either a *one*, *three*, or *five*-aisled building. During this period there were just twenty-four basilican churches built at Rome. Of these, three had five aisles each, twenty had three aisles each, and one (Sta. Balbina) was a one-aisled building.

I must now pass away from Rome, to follow up this stream of Christian art in its further development elsewhere.

The *five*-aisled churches which Constantine erected at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the former of which had its apse adorned, so tradition affirms, with *twelve* noble pillars; the churches of northern Syria built in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, all of which appear to have had either *three* or *five* aisles;* and the great monastic church at Kelat Seman, situated about twenty miles from Antioch, dedicated to St. Simeon Stylites, and erected, there is good reason to believe, in the fifth century—illustrate, one and all, how well the builders of ancient Christendom understood these first principles of early Christian art.

Indeed the work at Kelat Seman indicates in its plan and general design a numerical principle far in advance of anything we meet with in the work of this period at Rome itself. In plan, this monastic church forms a huge cross of the Byzantine type, with an octagon to its crossing exceeding in size the famous octagon of Ely Cathedral. The four

* In De Vogüé's work there are some dozen churches of this period indicated: one has five aisles, all the rest three.

arms of the cross have each *three* aisles, in all *twelve*, symbolizing with scholastic accuracy the great mystery of the Incarnation.* The eastern arm of the cross, corresponding to our choir, terminates with *three* apses, a further development in Christian art; while the central of these, round about where the high-altar stood, is lighted by a conspicuous group of *five* windows; each side-apse being lighted by *one*. This play upon the numbers five and three in connection with the altar shows a still further development, the import of which I can best explain later on. Suffice it to say, it indicates a scholastic accuracy of design rarely met with in such very early work.

The importance of finding these features in this early monastic church of northern Syria cannot be over-estimated. There can be no doubt whatever as to their genuineness, for the whole of the buildings remain, excepting their roofs, which have disappeared, just as they were abandoned in the seventh century, when northern Syria was visited with a Mohammedan irruption, when this ancient monastery was forsaken, after its monks probably had all been massacred. We have nothing in the coeval art of Italy or Rome to compare with it in catholicity of design.

But to return from the far east. The noble church of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople, built by Justinian in the sixth century, and, later on, that of San Marco at Venice, commenced *circa* A.D. 977, are both typical examples of the success achieved by the old builders of the first thousand years of the Christian era in their efforts to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology.

In Sta. Sophia we have one of the most renowned buildings of Christendom. Its design is unique; but those very features which render it so are unmistakably the outcome of numeric principle—the result of trying to eclipse all else that had gone before in symbolizing and dogmatizing the Catholic faith. And right well did the builders of

Sta. Sophia do so. Throughout this magnificent building mystical numbers are everywhere played upon. The *one* great central dome; the *five* apsidal terminations to the main body of the church (scholastically arranged as $3+2$); the *three* windows to the central or eastern one, with *three* more immediately over, and *five* lights over them in the semidome of the apse; the arcades of *three* arches each to the other apses, with arcades of *seven* arches each immediately over, and groups of *five* lights to each apsidal semidome; the noble arcades of *five* arches each on either side of the great central dome, north and south, with other noble arcades of *seven* arches each immediately over, etc., etc., will give some idea, when we reflect for a moment upon what each number symbolizes, how truly this great Christian church, one of the finest in the world, was built up, as it were, of the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith.*

It is interesting to note that it was in Sta. Sophia that the final scene in those long bickerings between Rome and Byzantium was enacted. On July 16th, 1054, the legate of Pope Leo IX. laid upon the high-altar of Sta. Sophia a writ of excommunication against the ruling Patriarch. The action which he took in return is historical. It may be that other reasons besides the *filioque* controversy induced the Patriarch to act as he did. It may be that he was well aware of a declension at Rome in these first principles of Christian art, now so apparent, corresponding in a degree to her declension in primitive orthodoxy, as instanced by the unauthorized insertion of the *filioque* into the Nicene

* Both ancient and modern writers agree that Sta. Sophia surpasses all other churches previously built. Evagrius speaks of it as "such a one the like whereof hath not beene seene heretofore; the which so passed for beauty and ornature as may not for the worthinesse thereof sufficiently be expressed." (Lib. IV., chap xxx.) And Fergusson, "In fact, turn it as we will, and compare it as we may with any other buildings of its class, the verdict seems inevitable, that Sta. Sophia—internally at least, for we may omit the consideration of the exterior as unfinished—is the most perfect and most beautiful church which has yet been erected by any Christian people" (*Hist. of Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 450). My object is to point out, what these writers omit to state, *why* it is that Sta. Sophia is a nobler work of art than any other church previously built, viz., because these numerical principles of Christian art are more perfectly worked out in its design.

* The mystical number twelve in ancient Christian art is more generally made up of 3×4 (3 the symbol of the Creator, $\times 4$ that of the creature = 12 the Incarnation). Bishop Wordsworth says: " $3 \times 4 = 12$ is the blending and in-dwelling of what is Divine with what is created."—*Greek Testament with Notes*, Matt. x. 2.

Creed. At all events, the action he took is clear, for in Sta. Sophia, the very stones of which attested to the orthodoxy of his Church, Cerularius the Patriarch, in righteous indignation, hurled back an anathema against Rome, which shook the Christian Church as an earthquake, and finally, alas! separated her in twain.

Space will not allow me to allude to the grand old church of St. Mark's at Venice, and its marvellously symbolic plan. I pass on therefore to the final development of this numerical principle of ancient Christian art in the Gothic Churches of the Middle Ages.

Hitherto, *i.e.* for the first thousand years of the Christian era, Churchmen did not get very much further than the application of the principle to the general features of a building, as I have endeavoured to point out. There were many things, more especially in the latter part of the period, to account for this. The bickerings between Rome and Byzantium; the check to civilization in many parts of Europe by the irruption of barbaric hordes; and lastly, though not least, the general expectation of the Second Advent at the end of the thousand years;*—all these things retarded the progress and development of Christian art. At Rome itself the stagnation, so to speak, appears to have been most keenly felt, for throughout the whole of the tenth century there was but one new church (S. Giovanni in Laterano) erected at Rome. In England it was less felt. Archbishop Odo, we know, was at work about the middle of this century rebuilding his cathedral church at Canterbury, which looks as if the continental theory of the end of the world did not much trouble him. And St. Æthelwold, upon his promotion from Abingdon to Winchester, immediately set to work to rebuild his cathedral church also. These, however, were exceptions. There was not much church-building going on anywhere in western Christendom in the tenth century; and St. Mark's at Venice appears to have been the only church of real importance then built.

But, no sooner were the thousand years past, and it was found that the world still

lived on, than a fresh outburst of religious enthusiasm followed. Monasticism advanced with rapid strides,* and with it advanced the science of church-building. The movement surpassed everything that had gone before, so far as the science of building was concerned. It brought about an entirely new style of Christian art, commonly called Gothic, through applying to *the detail* of a building the same numerical principle which hitherto had been mainly applied to general features only. The aim was a very high one, to make every stone in the building attest to one or other of the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. But with such consummate skill and cunning art was this accomplished,—the basilican churches of ancient Rome sink into insignificance compared with the Gothic churches of old England.

It is quite impossible in brief limit to give an adequate idea of the paramount influence of mystical numbers in the development of Gothic art. The influence, as I have said before, did not merely affect the larger and more important Gothic buildings, such as York and Ely; it affected in like degree the design and detail of the smallest village church.

One of these small, and comparatively unknown, village churches I will now allude to, the church at Shellingford in Berkshire. This interesting little old village church is situated about two miles from Farringdon. It contains work of the transition period from Romanesque to Gothic; and it is the work of this period we must carefully study to understand aright the principles of ancient Gothic art. The church, small though it is, contains three doorways of twelfth century date, which have not only withstood the ravages of time, but happily escaped that still greater enemy of ancient Gothic art, the nineteenth century restorer. The three doorways remain just as they were built in the twelfth century; and their detail admirably illustrates what I maintain.

Fig. 1 shows the south doorway of the nave. In the base mouldings to the jamb shafts we

* At the end of the tenth century all archives began with the words "now that the end of the world is approaching."

* Between A.D. 1098—1152, as the *Monasticon* states, no less than about five hundred Cistercian abbeys were erected. What was accomplished by this one order alone will give some idea of the advance monasticism made at this period.

may see the play upon the mystical number three; each base has its *three* moulded members, implying that the doctrine of the Trinity of the Godhead is the very basis of the Christian faith. Even though one of these bases, that to the jamb moulding B, has only the projection of an inch, still it has its three moulded members all the same. The next moulding

As the mystical number five, subdivided in this way into $3 + 2$, has exercised so powerful an influence in the development of Gothic art, a few words explanatory of the symbolism may not be out of place.

The subject is not difficult to understand. Just as the mystical number five typified *Sacrifice* in the ancient Christian as in the

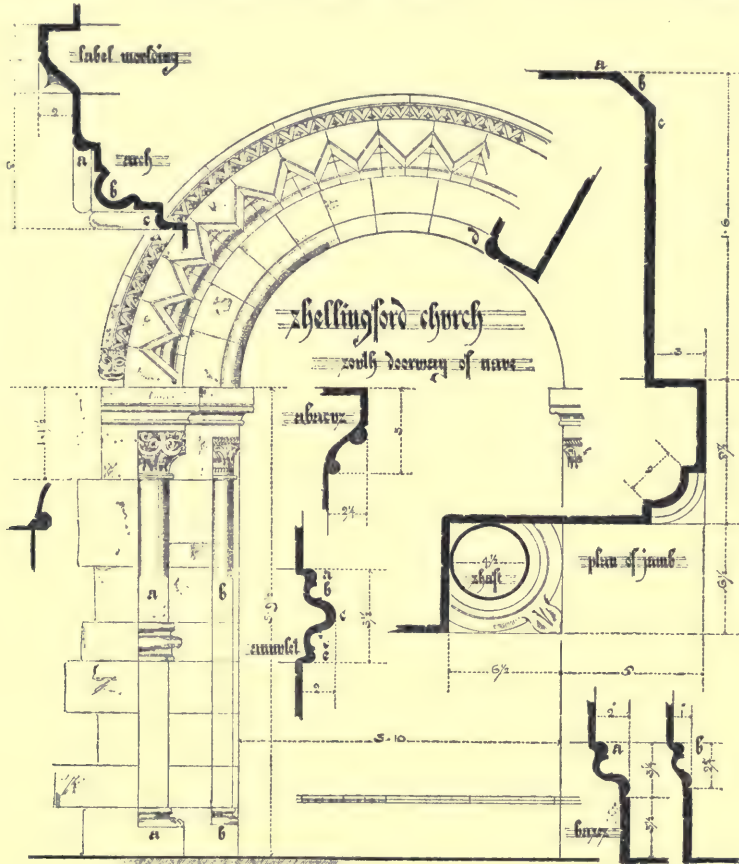


FIG. I.

we come to following upwards is the annulet to shaft A, of which a detail is given. This has its *five* distinct moulded members, designed with such scholastic accuracy (with three convex, A, C, E, plus two concave, B, D, mouldings) as to merit more than passing notice. It implies, in the language of numerical symbolism, not merely sacrifice, but, *the Divine Sacrifice*

more ancient Jewish Church,* so the mystical number three in all ages has been held to be a symbol of Almighty God—of that

* Throughout the Bible there is a mystical play upon the number *five* where *sacrifice* is referred to, both in those parts referring to the Levitical system as in others having reference to the Christian. It was from the Bible the old Churchmen culled their symbolism.

which is *Divine*.* Hence the schoolmen of the middle ages, by a play upon these two numbers in combination, beautifully symbolized the *Divine Sacrifice*.

Moreover, this scholastic symbolism was not confined to Gothic art. We meet with it again and again in the old Sarum use. During the canon the priest, according to Sarum use, thrice made *five* signs of the cross at different parts of the service, and thrice also made *three*. And precisely the same doctrine was implied by the *five* inclinations of the head during the recitation (according to Sarum use) of the Nicene Creed, subdivided as they were into $3 + 2$; or, again, by the fingers of the priest's upraised hand in the ancient Western mode of blessing, *three* being upraised and *two* bent athwart the palm; or, again, according to Eastern use, by the bishop at the celebration of the mysteries signing the Book of the Gospels cross-wise with a *double* taper (*dikerion*), which he held in his left hand, and likewise with a *triple* taper (*trikerion*), which he held in his right;—all these, and many other similar liturgical uses of ancient Christendom, symbolize precisely the same thing, the *Divine Sacrifice*.†

But to return to the Shellingford doorway. Following upwards, we come next to the neckings of the carved caps (see Fig. 1). One of them is a simple roll moulding of

* Bishop Wordsworth says:—"From an induction of particulars it would appear that 3 is the arithmetical symbol of what is *Divine*."

† Nothing, however, so beautifully explains this ancient symbolism, and clearly indicates its doctrinal import, as the wording of the old liturgies. In the prayer of oblation, immediately after the consecration, commencing *Unde et memores, Domine*, five crosses are used, subdivided as it were into $3 + 2$, to enhance the mystical five-fold diction of the canon (the pure ✕ offering, the holy ✕ offering, the undefiled ✕ offering, the holy ✕ bread of eternal life, and the chalice ✕ of everlasting salvation), by which the *Divine Sacrifice* is described. We meet with this wording in all the old Sarum books:—"Offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ; de tuis donis ac datis; *hostiam pu ✕ ram; hostiam san ✕ ctam; hostiam immacu ✕ latam; pa ✕ nem sanctum vitæ æternæ; et ca ✕ licem salutis perpetuæ*." In Leofric's Anglo-Saxon missal of the tenth century (Bodl. 579, fo. 64), the five crosses occur in precisely the same manner, though in this case they are written over the words *hostiam, panem, and calicem*; *three* crosses over the thrice repeated *hostiam*, and the other *two* over the words *panem* and *calicem*, which more clearly still indicates the doctrinal symbolism of the $3 + 2$.

one moulded member; the other, that to shaft A, is cut to show *five* faces, as the detail at side of cap indicates. The carving itself is just as cunningly wrought. *Three* conventional kinds of leaves form the chief feature of the smaller cap; while that of the other is a scroll ornament carved in low relief, in which the play upon the mystical number *five* is equally unmistakable. This conventional ornament was certainly not carved from anything in nature. It was the creation pure and simple of the carver's own fancy and originality to symbolize, by the *two* end scrolls superadded to the *three* central ones, the *Divine Sacrifice*. Devotion to the Catholic faith was the sole guiding principle of its design.

We come next to the abacus, which has its *three* distinct moulded members, as the detail at side of cap indicates. Upon the abacus rests the arch, which is indeed in point of symbolism the crowning feature of the whole design. It is of *three* rings or courses of stonework, as the jointing indicates, the label in this case forming the third course of voussoirs. Upon the first course of stonework *one* roll moulding D is worked; upon the next a chevron of *three* roll mouldings A, B, C (see detail), very cunningly wrought. So that upon *each* voussoir in the lower arch the Unity of the Godhead is set forth; and upon *every* stone in the arch above it, the Trinity of the Godhead. The symbolism is perfect. It is difficult which most to admire, the artistic merit of the design, or the skill by which Gothic art was made subservient to theology.

(To be continued.)



The Nevills of Raby and their Alliances.

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

PART II.



RETURNING now to Richard de Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, we find that his eldest daughter, Joane, became the wife of William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. The arms of Arundel represented in the choir of Cottingham

Church were the quartered arms of FitzAlan, *gu, a lion rampant, or*, and Warrene, *chequée*. Boutell gives a representation of the shield of Radulphus de Arundell, showing these quarterings. William, Earl of Warenne, whose mother Alice was sister by the mother's side of Henry III., married Joan, the daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He died in 14 Edward I., leaving a son, John, who styled himself Earl of Warren, Surrey, and Strathern, and who died without issue in 21 Edward III. His next heir was his sister Alice, the wife of Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, whose son Richard married a daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. This Richard FitzAlan died in 49 Edward III., and his son, also called Richard, who succeeded him, was beheaded in 17 Richard II. Thomas FitzAlan, the son of the last-named earl, was restored, but died without issue in 4 Henry V., leaving his sisters Elizabeth, Joane, and Margaret coheirs. Of these sisters, the eldest, Elizabeth, was four times married, first to William de Montacute, the eldest son of William, Earl of Salisbury, who was "unhappily slain in a tilting at Windsor by the Earl his father," and secondly to Thomas, Lord Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. Joane, the second daughter, was married to William de Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, and Margaret to Sir Rowland Lenthall, Knight. The right to the earldom descended, says Dugdale, to Sir John FitzAlan, cousin and next heir male to Thomas, Earl of Arundel,

by reason of an entail of the castle of Arundel and lands thereto belonging, made by Richard Earl of Arundel (his grandfather), 21 Edward III.

That John FitzAlan died in 9 Henry V. and it was his son William, who became Earl of Arundel on the death of his nephew Huniprey without issue, who married Joane, the eldest daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury. He died in 3 Henry VII., leaving four sons and one daughter him surviving.

The second daughter of Richard de Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, Cicely, became the wife of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and his sixth daughter, Margaret, married John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for her first husband, and afterwards William, Lord Hastings. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was one of the chief

adherents of Henry VII., and commanded the vanguard of his army at the battle of Bosworth Field. He died in 4 Henry VIII. The arms given by Dodsworth as those of Oxenford, although not very clearly described, can hardly be any other than those of the De Veres,* which are *quarterly gules and or, in first quarter a mullet argent*. The grandfather of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was Richard de Vere, who died in 4 Henry V. This Earl married for his second wife Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtney, younger son of Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, from whom was sprung John de Vere, Earl of Oxford in the time of Henry VIII. This was not the only connection between the Courtneys and the De Veres; as Isabel, one of the daughters of John, the seventh Earl of Oxford, who died in 1358, was the first wife of John Courtney, the grandfather of Hugh, the first Earl of Devon. The marriage of Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, with John, Earl of Oxford, was followed by another alliance between the De Nevills and the De Veres. On the death of the last-named Earl of Oxford without issue, he was succeeded by his nephew John de Vere, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. In 18 Henry VIII., he died without issue, leaving his three sisters his coheirs, one of whom, Dorothy, became the wife of John de Nevill, Lord Latimer, but died childless. Moreover, the earldom of Oxford having descended to another John de Vere, his son and successor, who died in 4 Elizabeth, married Dorothy, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland.

It was mentioned that Isabel, daughter of John, Earl of Oxford, became the wife of John Courtney, the grandfather of Hugh, the first Earl of Devon. The arms given by Dodsworth as those of "le Conte de Demoffur" [Demossur?], *or, three torteaux, a label b*, appear to be those of the Courtneys, Earls of Devon, described by Edmondson as *or, three torteaux, a label of three points, each charged with as many bezants*. Hugh de Courtney, who died 19 Edward I., married Alianore, daughter of Hugh le Despencer, father of

* Banks (*Baronia Anglice Concentrata*, vol. ii. p. 176) mentions among the persons summoned to Carlisle in 26 Edward I. *Rob. de Ver, Conte de Oxen*.

Hugh, Earl of Winchester, by whom he had a son, Hugh, besides several other children. This Hugh became entitled by right of inheritance from Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Devon, to divers lands in this county, and in 9 Edward III. he was allowed to assume the title of Earl of Devon. He was succeeded in 14 Edward III. by his son and heir, another Hugh, who married Margaret, the daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. The issue of this marriage was a son, Hugh, who took to wife Maude, the daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent and Lord Wake, but died without issue in 48 Edward III., his father being then alive. The earldom of Devon was held in the reign of Henry VII. by William de Courtney, who married Katherine, daughter of Edward IV. By this princess he had a son, Henry, who succeeded him and was created Marquess of Exeter by Henry VIII. His great influence appears, however, to have caused the king much jealousy, and in 30 Henry VIII. he was beheaded, along with Henry, Lord Montacute, for conspiring the king's destruction. His son Edward de Courtney, who died in the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, was the last Earl of Devon of that family.

It is related by Dugdale that so little did John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke (who owed his title to his descent from Isabell, the eldest sister and coheir of Aymere de Valence, Earl of Pembroke), regard Hugh de Hastings his next heir, and so much did he dislike Reginald, the father of Reginald, Lord Grey, of Ruthyn, who claimed to bear the arms of Hastings, that he entailed the greater part of his lands upon William de Beauchamp, a younger son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, and Katherine Mortimer. After a contest which lasted twenty years, the arms were adjudged to Lord Grey, and the entailed lands belonging to the old Earls of Pembroke, although claimed by William Hastings, great-grandson of Hugh de Hastings, were retained by William de Beauchamp. This William was made a Knight of the Garter, and was summoned to Parliament by the name of William Beauchamp de Bergavenny, chevalier, "being then possessed of the castle of Bergavenny and other lands which John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke,

had entailed upon him." His wife was Joane, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundell, and one of the sisters and coheirs of Thomas, Earl of Arundell, and the widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; by whom he had a son, Richard. This Richard Beauchamp, shortly after his father's death in 12 Henry IV., although then only fourteen years of age, married Isabel, sister and heir of Richard, son and heir of Thomas, late Lord Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, who was cousin and heir of Elizabeth, wife of that Lord Despenser. Thomas, Lord Despenser, had been beheaded in 1 Henry IV. for being a party to the conspiracy of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, and John Montague, Earl of Salisbury, to surprise Henry at Windsor. Richard Beauchamp was created Earl of Worcester in 8 Henry V., but shortly afterwards he died through a wound received in France, leaving his wife Isabel and an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth, him surviving. Elizabeth married Edward Nevill, a younger son of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, but all the manors and lands of which her father had been seised descended to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This Richard, observing that Isabel, the widow of the Earl of Worcester, was a great heiress, obtained a special dispensation from the Pope and took her to wife. The shield of the Earl of Warwick shows this alliance. A representation of it is given by Boutell, who says that the Earl, on his hereditary coat, quarters Beauchamp with Newburgh, and upon this "for his countess, Isabelle, daughter and heiress of Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, he marshalls an escutcheon of pretence charged with De Clare, quartering Le Despencer—*quarterly arg. and gu. in the second and third quarters a frette or, over all a bend sa*"—which are the arms of De Spencer in the choir of Cottingham Church, as described by Dodsworth. Richard Beauchamp had by his wife Isabel a son, Henry, and a daughter, Anne, and by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, three daughters, of whom Eleanor married first Lord Roos and afterwards Edmund Beaufort, Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Somerset, and Elizabeth married George Nevill, Lord Latimer. Richard, Earl of Warwick, died

in 17 Henry VI., and was succeeded by his son Henry, who in 22 Henry VI. was created premier Earl of England and Duke of Warwick, and was afterwards crowned by the king's own hand King of the Isle of Wight. He died, however, during the next year, being then only twenty-two years of age. In his father's lifetime, when scarcely ten years old, he had married Cecily, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he left issue a daughter, who died unmarried, whereupon her aunt, Anne, sister of the whole blood to Henry, Duke of Warwick, and wife of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, became heir to the earldom of Warwick, which was confirmed to her husband.

We have seen that Ralph, Lord Nevill, created Earl of Westmorland by Richard II., had for his first wife Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford. This baron, whose arms were *or, a chevron gules*, being those given by Dodsworth, married the Lady Philippa, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the eldest brother of William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, who succeeded to the lands of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. By his wife Philippa, the Earl of Stafford, who died in 9 Richard II., had issue Thomas, his heir, and three other sons, with several daughters, of whom the Countess of Westmorland was one. Joane, another daughter, married Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Katherine became the wife of Michael, the son of Michael de la Pole, to which Katherine, says Dugdale,

in respect of the low estate of him the said Michael, King Richard the Second gave fifty pounds per annum out of the Fee-Farm of Kingston-upon-Hull, to make up One hundred pound per annum, which was covenanted by her Husband's father to be settled upon her.

Michael de la Pole, the father, was in high esteem with Richard II., and in the ninth year of this king's reign he was advanced to the title and dignity of Earl of Suffolk, and he received, among other benefits, a grant in tail of lands worth £500 per annum, part of the possessions of William de Ufford, late Earl of Suffolk, deceased, namely, the castle, town, manor, and honour of Eye. These had been granted to Robert de Ufford for his services in the wars of France by

Edward III., who had previously created him Earl of Suffolk. He was succeeded by his son William, who married Joane, daughter of Edward de Montacute, by Alice, daughter of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and died suddenly in 5 Richard II. without children, and leaving the issue of his three sisters his next heirs. It would seem, however, that this William married twice, as Dugdale states also that his widow Isabell, who was the daughter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, died 4 Henry V., leaving Richard Beauchamp, then Earl of Warwick, son of her brother Thomas, her next heir. The arms of Suffolk mentioned by Dodsworth would seem to have been those of the Ufford family, *or, a cross engrailed sa*, but differing somewhat from those which are given by Boutell as the arms of Ralph de Ufford, the brother of Robert de Ufford, the first earl of this family.

Returning to Thomas, Earl of Stafford, we find that this baron was succeeded by his sons Thomas, William, and Edward in turn, the last-named of whom was in 4 Henry IV. slain at the battle of Shrewsbury. By his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, he had a son, Humphrey, who, in 21 Henry VI., was found to be the heir of Joan, widow of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. In 23 Henry VI., on account of his eminent services and his near alliance in blood to the king,* he was created Duke of Buckingham. Fourteen years afterwards he lost his life, fighting for the king, at the battle of Northampton. By his wife Anne, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, he had several children, and he was succeeded by Henry, the son of his eldest son, Humphrey, who had been slain at the battle of St. Albans in 33 Henry VI. Henry, Duke of Buckingham, became a staunch adherent of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and the principal agent in advancing him to the throne. Nevertheless he lost his head on the scaffold, soon after the accession of Richard III., for plotting against him in

* Edward the Black Prince, the father of Richard II., married Joane, the "fair maid of Kent," the daughter and heiress of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and the widow of Sir Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent in her right.

favour of Henry, Earl of Richmond. His son Edward met with the like fate in 13 Henry VIII. By his wife Alianore, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland this duke of Buckingham had a son, Henry and three daughters, of whom Elizabeth married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Katherine married Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, and Mary became the wife of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny.

(To be continued.)



Manx Legends.

I. HOW THE GREAT "MACABUIN" WAS DISHONoured.

MANX bards have disappeared and show no signs of returning, a railroad now crosses the country, and will still further hasten the extinction of old legends. Before they entirely disappear, it may not be uninteresting to gather up a few of these tales, and notably we may take the story of Olaf Goddardson as a type of the mixture of fable and history of which they are composed. Their simple, poetical phraseology reminds us of Icelandic Sagas, and had Manx literature flourished, many more such tales might have been preserved, instead of the few broken links that have come down to us.*

Of Olaf Goddardson, history tells us that he was one of the most famous kings of the royal line of Goddard Crovan the Conqueror, that he was born about 1177, and was married three times. These kings of Man lived at Peel Castle, and a very pleasant place must have been this sea-girt "Holm Peel," for even now there is something inexpressibly grand and beautiful in the ruins that stand on the small rocky peninsula, jutting out from the mainland, which at high tide becomes an island round which the waves dash fiercely, guarding what was once a fortress, whose towers and massive battlements encircled a cathedral.

But if grand now, in the days of Olaf Goddardson it was in the height of its glory,

and it is no wonder that round this king, whose life was full of stirring adventures, should have been collected some of those wonderful legends so dear to the Northman's heart.

When only ten years old, Olaf's father died; there were two other sons, Rögnwald and Yvar, but they were illegitimate; yet a child-monarch in those days was never welcome to turbulent subjects, so Rögnwald made himself king without much opposition, and ruled in Man, not caring at all what became of the child Olaf. When this latter was of age, he begged humbly for some share of his rightful inheritance, but Rögnwald, not wishing to surrender the pleasant castle or the fertile island, gave him instead the Isle of Lewis, barren, mountainous, and unfruitful, so that poor Olaf could find no means of sustenance for himself and his followers. He came back, therefore, boldly to Rögnwald.

"Brother and Sovereign," said he, "you know well that the kingdom you possess is mine by right of inheritance, but since God has made you king, I will not envy either your good fortune or your crown. I only beg for as much land in these islands as will maintain me honourably, for upon Lewis I cannot live." Rögnwald was cruel and treacherous, so he pretended to think the request natural, said he would consult his "keys" (*i.e.*, his parliament), and bade Olaf return the next day for the answer. Olaf was fearless and honourable, and thinking no evil presented himself the next day before his brother, whereupon he was seized, and taken to William of Scotland, to be kept a prisoner.

On William's death, at the end of seven years, Olaf came back to Man. One wonders that he was simple enough to trust himself again to his brother's tender mercies. This time Rögnwald again bade him retire to Lewis, and also provided him with a wife, Lavon by name, his own sister-in-law; but the Church, then all-powerful, interfered, so Lavon was divorced, and "Christina," daughter of the Earl of Ross, was taken in her place.

More troubles followed between the brothers, sometimes one, sometimes the other gaining the upper hand, but on the whole the Manxmen sided with Olaf; and Rögnwald, when he was driven away, was wont to make descents on Peel harbour, or Derby Haven,

* See article, "Isle of Man," in *Encyclopædia Londinensis*; also *Isle of Man*, by Rev. W. P. Ward,

and burn all the ships that lay at anchor. The chronicles, after minutely following and recounting all these vicissitudes, tell us that on the 14th February, 1228, there was a battle fought near the Tinwald Hill, the same spot where in this present time the laws are read out in the hearing of the people. Certainly that day Heaven defended the right, for by evening-time Rönwald lay a corpse, and Olaf Goddardson could at last reign in peace.

In 1234, history tells us that Henry III. granted Olaf a certain annuity in silver coin and wine for defending the sea-coast, which prosaic and businesslike transaction mingles curiously with the legends that surround the good king of Man, who, like Arthur of Britain, has his enchanted sword called "Macabuin," and his good enchantress "Ada."

This great sword "Macabuin" was not Manx-made, but forged at Trondhjem by the renowned blacksmith Loan MacLibuin, himself of royal blood. Night by night, for many a long month, he fashioned the weapon, assisted by the clever Hiallus-nan-urd, his hammerman, who, during the process, managed to lose a leg, which loss, however, did not seem to prevent him from taking long journeys, as we shall afterwards hear. Olaf had received the sword under one condition, and this was that its magic blade was never to be stained with common, low-born blood; so Macabuin was hung up at Holm Peel, more ornamental than useful.

In spite of precautions, however, a great misfortune befell "Macabuin," the Stainless, and it happened in this fashion. Kitter, a mighty Norwegian baron, having a passion for the chase, found his way to Man, and so eager was he in this sport that he nearly exterminated the bison and the elk which abounded there. The Manx were alarmed, and some of them betook themselves to "Ada" for advice—"how was Kitter to be prevented from his reckless chase?" Now that morning Kitter had left his fortress on the brow of South Baroole, and had taken with him all his retainers to hunt in the Calf,* except his cook, Eaoch, or the "Loud-voiced." Instead of minding his cooking pot, Eaoch

fell fast asleep, and never perceived Ada stealing into the castle. She had come to revenge the Manx, so pausing before the seething cauldron, she muttered charms and curses till the fat bubbled and danced higher and higher, then out of the pot and on to the hearth. Here it set fire to the wooden beams, and soon the house blazed up.

At this moment Eaoch awoke, and gave such a roar of surprise and fright that the Baron Kitter heard it in the Calf, though it was nine miles away. He felt there was something much amiss, so rushing to the shore he seized an empty corragh, and with his men rowed toward home with all his might; but the enchantress's charm was working, the boat struck against a reef, and Kitter and all his retainers perished; indeed, to this day, you may see the spot which is called *Kitterland*.

Now all the blame fell on poor Eaoch instead of on "Ada," and the Manx, to appease the Norsemen, sentenced the cook to lose his life, and to be hung over the gate of Castle Rushen.

Unfortunately Norsemen had the privilege of choosing their manner of death, and Eaoch, claiming this right, said, "I wish my head to be placed transversely on King Olaf's knees, and there to be severed from my body by the sword Macabuin, that hangs in the hall of Peel Castle, and that was forged at Trondhjem by Loan MacLibuin."

There was a general outcry from the "deemsters," the "keys," and the courtiers at Eaoch's audacity, for they all knew that Macabuin would cut through a granite block, should it come in its way, so most certainly it would kill the king. They prayed Olaf to refuse the request, but Olaf had given his word, and he never departed from what he had said.

Now Ada, who had wrought all this mischief, was present, and taking pity on the sorrowing Manxmen, said,

Break ninety twigs from the rowan tree,
Bind them in bundles three times three;
Then gather in the pale moonshine,
Counting over nine times nine,
Toad skins, lizards, adders' eggs,
Which, placed upon King Olaf's legs,
Shall save him from the contact dread
Of Eaoch's false and plotting head.

All this was done the next day, with great

* The Calf of Man is an island near the mainland to the south.

ceremony. Macabuin was brought, Eaoch laid his head on the king's knees, and the sword descended: in half a moment it had cut through everything except the adders' eggs; evidently Loan MacLibuin had never charmed the blade against them; they alone could resist the magic power.

In this way was good King Olaf's life saved.

II. KING OLAF'S JOURNEY TO TRONDHEIM.

Although Olaf had escaped death from the blade of Macabuin, he had yet incurred another danger, for in due time Loan MacLibuin heard what had happened to his work of many days, and he was filled with anger. Olaf, King of Man, had dared to stain the priceless weapon with low-born blood, so he called the one-legged Hiallus-nan-urd, and bade him go and take his defiance to King Olaf at Holm Peel. He was to challenge the king to appear as soon as possible at Trondhem forge, and the cunning blacksmith knew well that the king never refused a challenge; further he disclosed to his hammerman what he meant to do when Olaf should be in his power, which disclosure pleased Hiallus-nan-urd, who was a heathen, whilst Olaf was a good Christian.

On his arrival the horseman delivered the challenge, which Olaf accepted with pleasure, bidding a pikeman bring him from among his Danish shields one which was of "two boards' thickness," and was of the same make and weight as the one which the hammerman carried.

On a bright sunny May morning, King Olaf and his companion sallied forth, having first provided themselves with salt according to the usual Manx custom. The northern portal of Peel Castle was opened wide to let them pass through, and descending some steep stairs, cut in the solid rock, they reached the water's edge, and it being low tide, crossed over to the mainland on foot. Then first they took the coast-road as far as Shergydoo, and then struck off into a footpath that extended for miles along the Cladagh, a dreary common, unrelieved by tree, cabin, or dyke. Wolves and bisons had formerly roamed here at pleasure, but Kitter had driven them away, and nearly exterminated them. Olaf, as he walked, bewailed the wild herds that in his

youth inhabited these regions, and especially he regretted the noble herons that were wont to fly slowly across the Cladagh.

At last they reached a deep, gloomy valley, strewn with black volcanic rocks, which made Hiallus-nan-urd shudder. He knew well that this was the abode of a wicked enchanter, whose huge castle was filled with evil spirits, and that whosoever entered the gate was immediately turned into a black rock, and hurled down into the valley, to lie there till doomsday.

But Olaf, though himself not altogether free from fear, was too good a Christian to show outward signs of it, and chid the hammerman, who was still gazing at the dark rocks.

"See," cried he, "I can surely recognize that great stone, it has the form and humped back of my foster-brother Sitric, who was lost on these mountains ten years ago next Oie'l Vayree.*

"I would I could remember good Bishop Michael's prayer against the evil spirits," sighed the king, "but it has quite escaped my memory—ah! what is that roar? surely it is Eaoch's voice I hear;" and hastily taking some salt from his pocket, he sprinkled it on the unholy ground according to the Manx fashion, and then walked on in silence till they gained the end of the narrow gorge that led from the haunted valley, after which they emerged on a smiling plain of cultivated ground dotted about with rude cottages.

This being May-day, buttercups and primroses, and crosses of mountain ash, lay on every threshold, to exclude the fairies from the homes of baptized Christians. But on the other hand the lads were busy collecting brush-wood to kindle the Baal fires in the evening. Good Olaf sighed over this heathen custom, whilst the hammerman, who was a heathen, muttered angrily as they passed a large bit of black barren earth where twelve Druids were said to have been burnt by order of St. Patrick. Olaf tried to expostulate with his companion, but he was not to be convinced, and presently drew forth from his bosom an amber bead, which he said preserved him from all harm far better than any Christian mummeries.

* Christmas Eve, an old name meaning "Eve of Mary."

Thus talking, they came upon Lough Balla, whose fenny banks afforded very insecure footing for the traveller. Hiallus-nan-urd with his one leg found the task very difficult, and, slipping, was precipitated head over heels into the black water, and would have been drowned had not Olaf rescued him; but alas! in his struggle to regain *terra firma* he dropped his amulet of amber, and set up a loud lamentation over his lost charm.

This lake has now disappeared, owing to the elevation of the land, but a deep bed of bog has taken its place, and offers a not much better footing for the wayfarer who may by chance wander over it.

As the two approached Ramsey, Olaf turned off the road to visit the cairn of the young king Fingall, "who fell boldly facing the foe" at the foot of the woody Sky Hill. The king, approaching the cairn, solemnly threw a stone on it in token of respect. Among the Scotch Highlanders there is a proverbial expression which alludes to this custom—"Curri mi cloch er do chorne," or "I will add a stone to your cairn," meaning, "I will honour your memory when you are dead"; and on the top of most of the Manx hills cairns may still be found on which the passer-by throws a stone, little knowing he is honouring the memory of some ancient Orry or brave Fingall.

Olaf rejoined his companion at *Glen-trammon*, and here they examined the fortress erected by Magnus Barfod. Magnus acquired his surname by appearing in the streets of Trondhjem in a Highland dress, and was much laughed at for it, and surnamed "bare-legs," but Magnus made good use of these same legs, and his power was felt in Man and the Isles.*

King Olaf, thinking to please Hiallus-nan-urd, eagerly told him some of the wonderful stories attached to the great Norseman Magnus, the "Dragon of the Isles," as history called him, and how he compelled the men of Galloway (whose faint outline they could trace on the horizon) to supply him with timber and stones to erect this fortress. Nor did he spare the Irish, for he sent his shoes to Murchard, king of Meath, commanding him to carry them on his shoulders through his hall on Christmas day. King

* *Otté's Scandinavian History.*

Murchard was of a very humble disposition, for his only answer was that "he would not only carry them, but he would also eat his Majesty's shoes rather than the King of Man should destroy one Irish Province."

The travellers now reached Myerscough, which occupied the plain of the mountain. The evening sun sent its glimmering shadows over the water, on the surface of which lay three picturesque islands. On the first was the state prison, the second was a miniature paradise, the home of Ada the enchantress, who was much beloved by the Manx, in spite of her one peculiarity of never crossing the threshold of a consecrated dwelling. The third and largest island had once been the abode of the chief Druid, but it now lay desolate, the sacred oaks were uprooted, and no trace was left of the altar for human sacrifices.

But the holy Patrick, though thorough in uprooting the worst forms of heathenism, had not been so successful in eradicating the love of heathen customs, for as evening drew near the king was startled by a sudden outburst of blazing fire from every surrounding hill-top, accompanied by a peculiar kind of music, called "*Cairn tunes*," which simply meant songs in honour of Baal. All the Manx were congregated round the various bonfires, and now began to raise wild shouts as they darted about, flinging their arms round their heads like so many lunatics dancing an intricate chain dance.

After a time the music ended, and the people ceased dancing, for suddenly on a neighbouring hill appeared a man, dressed in druidical vestments, an oaken garland round his head, surmounted by a golden crown; on his neck hung the adderstone amulet, whilst the mystic bill-hook and divining rod were suspended at his girdle. In his outstretched hand he held a piece of bread, covered with a custard of eggs and milk. Then turning his face towards the east, he broke the bread, and throwing a piece over his shoulder, he cried, "This I give to thee, O storm, that thou mayest be favourable to our corn and pasture; this to thee, O eagle, and this to thee, O fox, that thou mayest spare our lambs and kids."

Hiallus-nan-urd was much interested in the ceremony, though he shuddered a little

with strange dread; but good King Olaf turned away pained, as he devoutly crossed himself, murmuring, "When will the people have done with these vain customs."

At last they passed through sea-washed Ramsey, and reached Bewaigne Point, and the night being clear, the king and the hammerman opened their leathern shields, got on them, and sailed away over the sea, and before sunrise they landed at St. Bee's Head. Then after four days' journey on foot they crossed the Tyne, and came to the sea coast, where Olaf hired a ship to convey them to Trondhjem, and after a prosperous journey they beheld the beacon-lights of the Trondhjem tower shining brightly over the fiord.

III. HOW MACABUIN WAS AVENGED.

All this time Loan MacLibuin was brooding over the disgrace that had come upon his magic sword, and awaiting with impatience the arrival of King Olaf. There was but one way to purify the weapon, and that was to shed the blood of some nobly born person; therefore Loan MacLibuin had determined that Olaf himself should die.

Now it happened on the day that Olaf was approaching the smithy, Loan MacLibuin's beautiful daughter, Emergaid, was with her father at the forge, and he, aware by his magic power of the king's approach, revealed to her what he was about to do, and how for many days he had been fashioning a sword for this very purpose.

Soon they heard the hammerman's voice shouting out, "Open the door," for he wished to warn his master. But before he could enter the smithy, Olaf, foreseeing some treachery, sprang forward, and appeared at the entrance, calling out in his clear, ringing voice, "Shut it!" Then immediately he seized the huge forge hammer and struck the anvil such a blow that it was split from top to bottom, and also the block on which it rested.

Emergaid stood astonished at this display of strength after so long a journey, and a tender feeling of love and pity rose up within her for the hero whose death her father had plotted. She determined, if possible, to save his life, so whilst MacLibuin and the hammerman were slowly replacing the anvil, Emergaid stole up to Olaf's side.

"My father intends your death, noble Olaf," said she. "He is even now replacing the anvil in order to finish the sword you see in yonder fire, and that sword he has prophesied will spill royal blood, and thus avenge Macabuin."

"Is not your father the seventh son of old Windy Cap, King of Norway?" asked Olaf, unmoved.

"Yes, truly," said Emergaid, wonderingly. At this moment Loan MacLibuin, having finished his business, approached the king.

"Now!" cried Olaf, "let the prophecy be fulfilled!" and drawing the red steel from the fire, he struck the magician and quenched the sword in his blood. Emergaid, with a cry of anguish, tried to defend her father, but Loan MacLibuin's last hour had come, and he died where he fell.

Olaf raised the weeping maiden, and as he seems to have been wifeless at this time, the legend concludes in the good old-fashioned style, *i.e.*, that the brave and good King of Man married Emergaid, who had saved his life, and that they lived happy ever after!

History further tells us that Olaf Goddardson died much lamented by his people. They buried him at Rushen Abbey, and the modern tourist may still see the lid of a stone coffin, on which is sculptured a rude sword. Surely this can be no other than King Olaf's coffin, and the sword a representation of the far-famed and mighty Macabuin!

ESME STUART.



Celebrated Birthplaces:

JONATHAN SWIFT AT DUBLIN.



DURING those troublous times of Charles the First, when the nation broke out into rebellion against the sovereign, a parsonage-house stood within a few minutes' walk of the village of Goodrich, near Ross, in Herefordshire. The owner and builder thereof was the vicar of Goodrich, the Reverend Thomas Swift. Mr. Craik, in his recently-published admirable *Life of Jonathan Swift*, has told us some of the peculiar features of this building, and

how indicative it was of its owner's idiosyncrasy and strength of character. The Reverend Thomas Swift was a royalist, while all around him were for the parliament.

The royal standard had been raised at Nottingham in August 1642. In October of the same year, Thomas Swift's stout house and thriving homestead were visited by the parliamentary marauders. Twelve times, so it was said, his flocks were driven off; fifty times his house was plundered from roof-tree to cellar. (*Craik's Life*, p. 5.)

Stout and royal as the indomitable vicar was, the force of events was against him, and, dying two years before the restoration of the royal family, he left his ten sons and three or four daughters to shift for themselves.

The mother of this large family of Swifts was Elizabeth Dryden, niece to Sir Erasmus Dryden, the grandfather of the poet John Dryden. But if this family were, as Mr. Craik says, "broken and impoverished," they had inherited from their parents great and useful talents. They went forth into the land, as other Englishmen have done, and still do, to make their fortune. Five of the sons went to Ireland. One of these five was the seventh or eighth of the family, and he bore the name of Jonathan. "He had come to Ireland," says Mr. Craik, "a lad of eighteen at his father's death. Before he had secured any sure income, and while he could settle on his wife no more than £20 a year," he married Abigail Erick, the dowerless daughter of an old Leicestershire house. A daughter was soon born to this thriftless pair; and in 1667 another child was expected. But before this latter momentous birth, death overtook Jonathan Swift very suddenly. And then, that same year, on the 30th of November,

1667,* was born a son, afterwards to become one of the greatest of England's literary heroes. We can almost picture to ourselves the young widow's mournful tribute to her dead husband, when she christened her infant by the name his father had borne, Jonathan Swift.

These events took place at No. 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin.† The house is now pulled down, and the site enclosed in the castle grounds. It is still remembered, says Mr. Craik, by the older inhabitants as one of the largest houses in the court. Before its destruction, however, a drawing of it was made, and an engraving, reproduced for this journal, was given in that curious and useful miscellany of notes and queries, *Willis's Current Notes* for 1853. This now famous court was erected in the seventeenth century by Sir John Hoey, on a portion of the site of Austin's Lane and Sir James Ware's house, and, though now dirty and mean-looking, was in Swift's time one of the best in Dublin. Robert Marshall, third sergeant of the exchequer, and the friend of Swift's "Vanessa," resided here from 1738 to 1741, so that Swift was all his life connected with the spot of his birth.



NO. 7, HOEY'S COURT, DUBLIN: BIRTHPLACE OF SWIFT.

The boyhood of this extraordinary character has many incidents, which show his intense association with localities. Mr. Craik has

* It is worthy of note in connection with this birthday, that long after Swift had passed from active life the Irish population still continued to light bonfires on his birthday. See Macaulay's *History of England*, i. 299.

† Mr. Gilbert, in his *History of Dublin*, p. 6, says it was No. 9, Hoey's Court, the house of his uncle, Counsellor Swift. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, alludes to the statement in Spence's anecdotes, that Swift was born at Leicester. But there is no doubt that No. 7, Hoey's Court, was the place of his birth.

collected these together in his admirable volume, and we must be pardoned for summarizing them here. Surely a tale of so much interest bears repeating so long as we are in touch with, and have sympathy for, the literary careers of those who have gone from amongst us.

Swift's mother was not too poor, thanks to the eldest brother of her late husband, Godwin Swift, to have had in her service a nurse whose relations were English, and with whom is connected the first strange story of Swift's life. The nurse became so attached to her charge, that, having occasion to visit a dying relation at Whitehaven, she carried with her secretly the infant of a year old, and kept him with her for more than three years; and it was to this residence at Whitehaven that Swift's earliest recollections belonged. At four years of age he returned to Dublin, and he had then learned to spell, and even to read any chapter of the Bible. At the age of six he was sent by his uncle, Godwin Swift, to the grammar school of Kilkenny, and there he remained till he was fourteen years old. Long after his death there was to be seen in the old schoolroom his name cut in the desk with a penknife. Of his schoolfellows there was his cousin, Thomas Swift, who afterwards brought on himself that sarcasm of his greater kinsman by laying claim to the authorship of the *Tale of a Tub*; and there was William Congreve, for whom Swift entertained a life-long admiration. At fourteen, Swift left Kilkenny school for Trinity College, Dublin, where he was entered as a pensioner, still owing his livelihood to his uncle Godwin. Thus we get him at Dublin during these early years for two years between the ages of four and six, and then for seven years between fourteen and twenty-one. But he never loved his birthplace. He told his friends that he was born at Leicester, whither during his college days at Dublin his mother had gone to reside with her own relations.

When Godwin Swift died, Jonathan left Dublin, and sought his mother's home at Leicester. He was then twenty-one years of age. He tenderly loved his mother, and of her we get some knowledge, knowing her to be in many respects the author of some of her great son's many peculiar characteristics. But she was a tender, lovable woman, way-

ward, and occasionally perhaps something more nearly akin to eccentric; but not, on the whole, so far as we can see her at this distance of time, out of unison with her son's greatness and fame. Swift's birthplace at this period of his life lay far enough behind him, with no pleasant recollections, but he journeyed thither later on, and built his fame in Dublin city.



Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England.

II.

*Vix lepori hospitium præbent, silvestribus olim
Quæ timidus latebris damas ursosque tegebant.*

VANIERIUS, *Præd. Rust.*



T remains for us now to say something about the beasts and birds for whose preservation the forest laws were originally established and were maintained so long.

One word of caution is perhaps necessary at the outset: it is this. Manwood's *Treatise of the Forest Laws*, first published towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, is beyond a doubt the highest authority upon all matters with which it deals. When, therefore, he differs, expressly or by implication, from other writers upon the same subject, we shall accept his ruling as conclusive, and, with few exceptions, shall make no reference to any contrary or divergent opinion. If we were not to adopt this course, the apocrypha of forest law and custom would be so voluminous that our readers might easily lose sight of the canon altogether.

The beasts of forest were five in number—the hart, the hind, the hare, the boar, and the wolf. We will devote a little space to each of these creatures in turn.

"The Hart," says Manwood, "is the most noblest and the most worthiest beast, and taketh the first place." From time immemorial, indeed, precedence would seem to have been given to this gallant animal. The so-called *Charta Canuti*, which in our first article we referred to as untrustworthy, but which must yet of necessity possess a certain amount of historical value, draws a broad line of distinction between offences committed

against the common *fera forestæ* and those committed against the *regalis fera quam Angli* Staggon *appellant*. William I., as we have already seen,* “loved the high deer as though he were their father”—just as it is sometimes said nowadays of a keen sportsman, that he would as soon fire at his grandmother as at a fox. And, as our readers are no doubt aware, deer have from the earliest times occupied a prominent position in the English statute-book. The hind, though of course she is but the female red deer, as the hart is the male, was for the purposes of the forest laws accounted a distinct beast of forest. The reason for making this distinction was that, while harts were in season from Midsummer until Holy-Rood Day, the season for hinds began on Holy-Rood Day and lasted until Candlemas. These seasons were, it would seem, in the seventeenth century found to be too long, at least in the royal forests, chases, and parks. For by a Proclamation issued by Charles I. on the 17th of January, 1637, the king's foresters, rangers, keepers, and officers attending his “Game of Deer” are commanded

to forbear the hunting or killing upon Warrants of any of our Harts, Stags, Bucks, or other Male Deer, Red or Fallow, in any our Forests, Chases, Parks or elsewhere, within this our Kingdom of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*, in any Year hereafter, before the seventh day of *July*, being about the end of the Fence Month, or after *Holyrood* day, and likewise that they from henceforth yearly forbear to hunt or kill upon Warrants, any Hind, Doe or other Female Deer, before *Holyrood* day, or after the Feast of *Epiphany*, commonly called the twelfth day.†

The fence month, or *mensis vetitus*, during which the deer were specially protected from disturbance on account of the calves and fawns, began on St. Edmund's day, fifteen days before Midsummer, and ended on St. Cyril's day, fifteen days after Midsummer.

It is pleasant to think that the love of sport has hitherto succeeded in preserving the red deer in a wild state on the borders of Somerset and Devon. The following extracts from Collins's *Chase of the Wild Red Deer* link together, so to speak, the practices of mediæval and of modern times :

When the stag's neck begins to swell, evidencing the approach of the rutting season, the time for hunt-

ing him is at an end ; and, accordingly, shortly after the 8th of October, which should be the last day for hunting the stag, the autumn season for hind hunting commences (a fortnight or three weeks being allowed to elapse, during which time the stags and hinds are permitted to consort together without molestation), and continues for the five following weeks, or even up to Christmas if the weather permits and no frost sets in (pp. 53, 54).

Again :—

The period for stag-hunting commences on the 12th of August, and ends the 8th of October. . . . Hind-hunting recommences in the spring, as soon after Ladyday as the weather will permit, and continues until the 10th of May. In the autumn hunting, a “yield” or barren hind should, if possible, be selected. . . . About the end of July again, the hounds may be allowed to hunt one or two hinds, so as to get them in wind for the stag-hunting ; and, indeed, unless there be a great scarcity of deer, a kill may be permitted, as I have no doubt that the eagerness of the pack will be materially increased by giving them blood (pp. 72, 73).

So much for wild red deer in England. As for their semi-domesticated brethren, Mr. Shirley, to whose interesting book on *English Deer Parks* we are under considerable obligations, tells us that about thirty-one English parks contain red deer, or at least did contain them less than twenty years ago.* So that for the present at any rate, there is small chance of this indigenous British animal becoming extinct in this country.

The hare, the third of the beasts of forest (although in the *Charla Canuti* she is not included among them), from very early times, and in other countries beside our own, has been highly esteemed both for the sport she affords in her lifetime and for the meat she supplies after death. Martial sings her praises in almost ecstatic tones :—

Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus (xiii., 92).

By some old foresters, as Manwood tells

* Mr. Shirley gives no separate list of these parks ; but they would appear to be the following :—Richmond in Surrey, Eridge and Ashburnham in Sussex, Eastwell in Kent, Thorndon in Essex, Charborough in Dorset, St. Audries in Somerset, Melton Constable in Norfolk, Helmingham in Suffolk, Woburn in Beds, Ashridge and Langley in Bucks, Windsor in Berks, Blenheim in Oxfordshire, Bradgate, Donington, and Gopsall in Leicestershire, Deane in Northants, Charlecote in Warwickshire, Spetchley in Worcestershire, Calke in Derbyshire, Bagots and Chartley in Staffordshire, Grimsthorpe and Syston in Lincolnshire, Badminton in Gloucestershire, Tatton, Lyme, and Doddington in Cheshire, Knowsley in Lancashire, and Burton Constable in the East Riding of Yorkshire. We doubt whether this list is quite complete.

* *Ante*, p. 22.

† *Acta de Rymer*, xx., p. 186.

us, she was called "the king of all beasts of Venerie, and in hunting maketh best sport and delight." And Harrison, who wrote the *Historical Description of the Island of Britain*, which stands first in the collection known as Holinshed's Chronicles, says that hare-hunting is "mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doo vse."* The same writer, however, ranks the hare after the roe, an animal which is not properly a beast of forest at all.

According to Gyfford and Twety (or Twici), who wrote a treatise on hunting in Edward II.'s reign, "the hare is alway in sesoune to be chasyd."† This may no doubt have been the case at a very early period; but the practical necessity for a close season must soon have asserted itself. Manwood and others say that the hunting season lasted from Michaelmas to Midsummer. This was obviously carrying on the season too far into the year. "You should never hunt after March," says Beckford; "and if the season is forward, you should leave off sooner."‡ So far as the Game Laws are concerned, however, hares may still be hunted, coursed, or shot at any time of the year. Their destructiveness to crops is no doubt the reason why they are debarred from that periodical protection which is given to all the other creatures included within the statutory definition of "game." Viewed in certain aspects, and in relation to certain persons, hares are not game but vermin.

Of wild boars Manwood naturally says but little, and in at least one passage he omits both them and wolves from the list of beasts of forest. He tells us, however, that the season for boar-hunting lasted from Christmas until the Purification of our Lady (Candlemas). At a later period, indeed, these limits would seem to have been disregarded; for in a letter dated 28th September, 1617, and addressed by Adam Newton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., we read § that the king and princes had a few days previously gone to Windsor "to the hunting of the wild boar." But at that time wild boars in this

country must have been wild in about the same sense in which the cattle at Chillingham are wild in the present day. As late as 1683-4 "wild swine" were kept in Lord Ferrers' park at Chartley in Staffordshire;* but the extent of their wildness may be inferred from the fact that they were supplied at that date with a "paile," which cost two shillings. Several attempts have been made at various times to reintroduce wild boars in England for the purpose of hunting or shooting;† but, though the exact date of their becoming extinct is uncertain, there can be little doubt that as beasts of forest they were practically extinct long before Manwood's day.

Wolves, the last of the beasts of forest, are said to have been a favourite object of sport with the Britons and the Saxon chiefs; and in feudal times estates were sometimes held by the serjeanty or service of keeping wolf-dogs, for the use of the king whenever he should visit the various districts in which those estates lay. But a spirit of destruction as well as a spirit of preservation in respect of wolves seems to have animated our forefathers from an early period. The tax or tribute of three hundred wolves a year imposed by Edgar on the Welsh prince Judwal is well known to all; and though it did not succeed, and probably was not meant to succeed, in exterminating these animals in England, there can be no doubt that it must have thinned their numbers very considerably, and driven them, at least temporarily, from one of their favourite strongholds. Our old friend the *Charta Canuti* makes mention of wolves in somewhat contemptuous terms, saying that *nec forestæ nec veneris habentur*, and ranking them, therefore, after wild boars, which were termed forest beasts though not beasts of venery. And in Blount's *Tenures of Land* we find wolves classed with "martens, cats, and other vermin," for the destruction whereof dogs were to be kept by the tenant of certain lands in Pighlesle (Pythley), Northamptonshire—a place associated in modern times with the pursuit of another kind of animal. Mr. Harting, in the book to which we have

* Holinshed, bk. iii., c. 4 (ed. 1587).

† See Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii., p. 121 (1776).

‡ *Thoughts on Hunting*, pp. 151, 152 (ed. 1810).

§ *Court and Times of James I.*, ii., 34.

* Shirley, *Deer Parks*, p. 177.

† See Harting's *British Animals Extinct within Historic Times*, pp. 94—100.

already referred, says that in the half-century between 1327 and 1377,

While stringent measures were being devised for the destruction of wolves in all or most of the inhabited districts which they frequented, in the less populous and more remote parts of the country, steps were taken by such of the principal landowners as were fond of hunting to secure their own participation in the sport of finding and killing them. In Edward III.'s time, Conan, Duke of Brittany, in 1342, gave pasture for cattle through all his new forest at Richmond in Yorkshire to the inmates of the Abbey of Fors in Wensleydale, forbidding them to use any mastiffs to drive the wolves from their pastures (pp. 146, 147).

The general statement with which the passage above quoted begins is, we daresay, true enough; but the particular illustration which follows is unfortunate. Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, who gave to the Abbey of Fors the valley watered by the Ure (*Joreval*, Jervaux), to which they removed in 1156, died more than 150 years before Edward III. came to the throne. And though Burton, in his *Monasticon Eboracense*,* which Mr. Harting follows, tells this story about the monks being forbidden to keep mastiffs, Conan's charter itself, if it be correctly given in Dugdale, † contradicts him flatly in this matter. In that charter Conan says :—

Deo & beatæ Mariæ, & abbatiæ de JOREVALLE Cisterciensis ordinis, quam fundavi in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & monachis meis ibi Deo servientibus, & pro me orantibus, dedi & concessi pro me & meis hæredibus imperpetuum pasturam per totam novam forestam meam juxta RICHMOND ad omnia averia sua, quæ habere poterunt, sine contradictione mei vel hæredum meorum. Et præcipio quod habeant mastivos ad lupos coercendos de pasturis suis.

It would therefore appear that, far from "forbidding them to use any mastiffs," Conan expressly commanded the monks to keep them. Such express command may, no doubt, fairly be deemed to show that, but for its insertion in the charter, the monks would not have been allowed to hunt or disturb the wolves in Wensleydale. Nevertheless, if Dugdale is right, Burton and Mr. Harting are clearly wrong in their statements respecting Conan's grant.

Though wolves survived in Scotland and Ireland until about the middle of the last

century, in England they probably became extinct during Henry VII.'s reign.* Manwood was, therefore, fully justified in saying "wee haue none here in England, nor I thinke we neuer shall haue in any of our Forests." The season for wolf-hunting is said to have lasted from Christmas to Lady Day.

So much for the beasts of forest, strictly so called. But, as Manwood tells us,

Because a Forest is the highest and greatest Franchise, being also a general and compound Word, it comprehends both a Chase, Park, and Warren; and for that Reason the Beasts of Chase, and the Beasts and Fowls of Warren, are privileged in a Forest, as well as the Beasts of Forest; and therefore, if any such Beasts or Fowls of Chase, Park or Warren, are hunted or killed in a Forest, 'tis a Trespass of the Forest, and to be punished by the Laws thereof, and by no other Law whatsoever.

We propose in another article to say something about these other creatures—the beasts of chase and the beasts and fowls of warren—to which the forest laws afforded special protection.

F.



Charities of Over, etc., Cambridgeshire.

BY J. KING WATTS.



THE charity estates in Over, Cambs., are very valuable and of considerable relief and importance to the inhabitants. From some ancient records respecting those charities it is clearly shown that for a long time previously to the 13 Henry VIII. (1522) the feoffees or trustees of the town were in possession of many charity estates for "the use and benefit of the Inhabitants." It is, however, not very well ascertained by what means some of such charity estates became vested in the feoffees, as some of the earlier records of the parish in that respect, after the long period of more than 350 years, appear to be lost. However, I find by an old record dated at Westminster the 16th May, in the 17 Elizabeth (1575), that it is evident such feoffees had previously to that time in their possession several lands and commons for the use and

* P. 370.

† *Monast. Angl.*, p. 875, ed. 1655; vol. v., p. 572, ed. 1825.

* Harting, p. 204.

benefit of the town, as will appear by the following extracts :—

The Feoffees of the Town of Over hold one Messuage or Tenemt: called the "*Court House*" with a Garden adioyning in Over afsresd & three roods of meadow in Owze Fen in Hempstretch and six roods of meadow in ye Shoft and two Tenemts called Cades p^r. ann 12^d. And two roods & a half of meadow in Owz Fen aforesd with one selion of Land called Blonritt holt And 7 ac^r & halfe of Land arrable Whereupon the Downe, half an acre in Golyfield one acre in ye severall fields there And 18 roods of Comon in House Fen All which s^d pemisses the s^d Feoffees hold freely by fealty & suit of Court as appeareth by ye writing of Geffery Brizland dated ye 10th day of July in ye 34th year of Henry ye 8th As well as ye use of bearing and paying ye tenth & fifteenth or Taxation when they shall be granted by authority of Parliamt: as for bearing and supporting of all comon charges of the Towne & reparacon of ways of Over aforesd hereafter when needs should require And do pay therefore p: ann at ye feast aforesd 7^d.

The aforesaid Feoffees of the Towne of Over do hold one Tenemt: called Keys with all lands arr: Meadows Marishes & Comons to the s^d Tenemt: belonging together wth one Croft To have to y^m and their Successors freely by Charter in free socage by feuly as appeth by writing dat: ye 9th day of January in ye 18th yr of King Henry ye 8th paying &c. nothing but suit of Court only.

The Feoffees of Over do hold one tenemt & 3^r of Mar in House fen wth the appt & one croft or grove to ye sd messuages adioyning To have to y^m & their heirs freely as by writ dat. 23 day of Octob in ye first yr of 2 Eliz. holding as aforesd.

The record also contains an enumeration of several other estates as belonging to the town for charitable purposes. Disputes, however, appear to have arisen in the parish prior to the year 1729 relative to the distribution of some of the charity funds, and a petition was presented to the Court against the feoffees by a parishioner named John Collett relative thereto. An Inquisition was consequently issued out of the Court of Exchequer dated 20th December, 2 George II. (1729), appointing the Reverend William Nichols, D.D., William Greaves (Commissary of the University of Cambridge), Joseph Kettle and Hoste Archer, Esqrs., as Commissioners to inquire and examine into the affairs of the charity estates. In Mr. Collett's petition he alleged that the charity funds and profits had been "misemployed and misconverted." After due and proper inquiry had been made by

fourteen gentlemen named as assessors, it was ascertained that on 20th January, 1692, several persons had been appointed as trustees of the charity estates upon certain trusts as therein set forth, and that upon the decease of several of the trustees certain other persons were appointed as feoffees in lieu of those deceased by a deed dated 25th March, 1726. The Commissioners, upon hearing Mr. Collett's petition at Cambridge on 25th September, 1729, decided and made their decree that he had no just cause of complaint against the feoffees—dismissed his petition, and caused him

to pay the sum of £5 towards the Costs for his having occasioned the Feoffees to be put to extraordinary Costs and Charges by his unjust complaint.

The old trusts of the estates were thereby confirmed—namely, that after paying certain charges out of the rents the remainder of such rents should be divided by the feoffees into three parts for the ease and benefit of the town, and they should pay one-third part thereof towards the expenses of the constables' charges and levies, one-third part for payment of the churchwardens' charges and levies, and the other third part thereof towards the payment of the overseers of the poor's charges and levies. Up to the present time the moneys have always been paid over to the beneficiaries in pursuance of the trusts, the accounts regularly kept, and annually audited and published. The property consists of 148 acres of first-rate quality arable and pasture lands, besides several messuages, school gardens, etc., comprising thirty-one different estates and several holdings. The annual rents or income, which are moderate, amount to £388, and that sum is divided yearly between the recipients in the manner above stated. Exclusive of the above there are several small charities payable out of, or arising from, some lands devised many years since to the vicar and churchwardens for the time being in trust for the poor; they amount to £40 and upwards annually. These sums are always divided between such poor people two or three times a year when necessary, and regular accounts always taken and balanced.

There were also several other districts in the parish which had some peculiar rights and

privileges pertaining to them. As, for instance, the lands in "Ouz Fen," "Swalney," "Ausley," "Hawcroft," "Fordfen," "Forehill," "Bluntishmere" and "Skeggs" were to be occupied in a certain manner. These districts were formerly called *Fens* according to an old Field and Fen Book made in the year 1487 as to such lands, and upon which lands many hundreds of cattle were maintained and depastured. The "Milches" also were properly attended to by duly-appointed herdsmen. In the above-mentioned records the following quaint clauses occur :—

In times past many wetty years hapned together & some of the Inhabitants yⁿ being very poor for that in those times there benefit and advantage out of y^e fens was very small & some years nothing at all by reason of the great abundance of ye moysture that then happned for in one moist sumer & a hard winter following they lost more by death and drowning of Cattle then they gained by the fens in three years. The sd Inhabitants for their more ease and mittigacon of charges wch they then were evil able to endure and because that every poor person y^e had parte of ye Fens was not able pently at every brake & rage of water to disbust money towards ye repaire of the Bankes Bridges ditches & draynes wch at that time were most argeable to maintaine & notwithstanding must of necessity be done, made order by ye genrall consent as well of ye Abbott & Covent of ye late dessolved Monastery of Ramsey Lords of ye Manr; and ye Lords of divers other Lands there as of all and every ye Inhabitants that there should be defaulted of every man prte of the s^d Fen 4 foot for every pole in ye aforesd fen called House Fen aforesd so that every man y^e had 18 foote to ye pole had by this means left 14 foot for every pole, and ye residue which after yt porcon was by ye fen Greeves sold and employed towards ye repaire of ye sd Banks Bridges ditches & draynes by means whereof & ye good behaviour of ye officers the fens were gratefully amended & as well ye rich as ye poor beare their parte equally together with less griefe & hindrance then if they should have paid in ready money.

And so the matters have continued up to the present time.

Many years previously to the Norman Conquest, in 1066, the ancient town of St. Ives was called Sleppe by the Anglo-Saxons.

It is very near to Over, but is divided from it by the river at Holywell. St. Ives was well known as a place of great resort in early times, as well on account of its chalybeate spring, so well described by Drs. Layard and Morris in Vol. 56 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. The existing fairs therein were established in 1020 and 1110 by

Charter. The present Charter for a weekly market was granted by King Edward I. in 1290. The fairs and market were supplied by Over and the neighbouring villages with large quantities of dairy and agricultural produce, as well as with a plant there cultivated called *woad*. The woad was grown in some of the warm fields of Over, particularly in "Mill Field," so well adapted for its production. This pretty cruciform flowering plant, the *Isatis tinctoria*, was cut and carried at the proper time, and bound up in sheafs fastened and enclosed with osier bands to prevent injury, and so exported from Over by or down the escarpment or hillside, in Mill Field and "Lowberry Holme," and adjacent parts to and over the water and river to St. Ives, and there disposed of. It was from the juice or dye of this plant that the ancient Britons painted themselves of a purple colour, as recorded by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, lib. 5, § 10, who says :—

The Britons paint themselves with Woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle.

The cultivation of woad was no doubt a lucrative one, as well for Over as for other places near thereto, and we find that privileges were granted by Charters dated 1237 and 1334 to certain merchants of "Amias" (now Amiens), in the department of "the Somme" in France, to allow them to export woad from Britain to their own country. Those merchants exacted from St. Ives (the only place in England except Winchester where woad was allowed to be exported to foreign countries) the sum of twenty-five marks annually ;—a good round sum in those early times. Over, of course, felt a portion of this exaction. So lucrative did the growth of woad and produce become, that the Bishop of Ely endeavoured to establish a fair at Ely, near to where the Normans had landed from Willingham, and close to Over. This would have injured the cultivation of woad in Over, St. Ives, and other places. St. Ives' fair would have been injured if the fair at Ely had been continued. But I find in Vol. ii., p. 439, App. 17 of *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore, Edwardi R. III.* it is stated that—

Whereas the Abbott of Ramsey hath Ancient

Charters of the Kings of England to hold a Faire at St. Ive at Easter, for 20 days for confirmation whereof they payed D marks to H. III and L lis per annum to the Exchequer and John the Bp. of Elie not regarding the Clause of the said Charter forbidding any other Faire at that time doth keepe a Faire at Elye in the Eve of the Ascension, which is the best tyme of the Faire at St. Ive.

The bishop was therefore ordered to come before the King and make answer, etc., to the matters contained in the Petition, etc.; see Rot. 10. The fair at Ely was therefore from that time abolished.



Reviews.

De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo: Ein Polemischer Tractat Johann Wiclifs, aus den Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien und der Universitätsbibliothek zu Prag. Zum ersten Malet herausgegeben von DR. RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG, Dresden. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1880.)



It is not altogether inopportune to the Wycliffe quincentenary, we mention a book pretty well described in the title-page. It is a controversial tract of Wycliffe's; published for the first time from the MSS. at Vienna and Prague. It will be an addition, if not to the University of Oxford "Select Works of Wiclif," at least to the "Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif," published in 1858, by direction of the Master of the Rolls, edited by Dr. Shirley. Being in Latin, it loses one incidental interest,—the philological value of Wycliffe's English, as showing the formation of our language, and its transition state in his day.

Dr. Buddensieg rightly terms it a polemical treatise; it is that, and something more; marked, as it is, throughout by unusual virulence even for its class and its day. We do not care to quote, but one of its phrases, p. 52, may pretty correctly convey a notion of its manner of speech: "Papa edificans castra Ecclesie, realiter est fur et latro." Though of small interest for its polemics, it is of great interest for the position which such a treatise holds in the controversy then begun. It is of interest, too, chronologically. Written with power and with vigour, full of scriptural and patristic quotations, it is marked by that tone which bespeaks an intimate knowledge of the sacred books and of the Fathers,—we will not say shown chiefly in perverse misapplication, but which using them, rightly or wrongly, only for polemical purposes, certainly uses them as familiar weapons.

This tractate, then, is an added proof that the clergy of that day were not the ignorant folk it was at one time a popular error to suppose; and then again that such a treatise should have been written, presupposes that it would not have been written if there had not been an audience for it, and an audience prepared to receive it. The marvel is,—and this is another lesson we learn from what Dr. Buddensieg naively calls

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"this new Wiclif's tractate for the first time published by me,"—the marvel is—and no less the moral to be drawn from it—that with the large following Wycliffe must have had, so few traces of it survived when the movement of the sixteenth century began. The time was not ripe; political mischances no doubt befell them as a body; still the "Lollards," as Wycliffe's disciples were called at the end of the fourteenth century, were to be found not alone in the Church, or among the poor, but in the castle and on the throne, or what then overshadowed even the throne. It remains one of the problems of history. The strong impress Wycliffe left on his own age cannot be doubted, and it may be reasonably concluded that if it slumbered it was not wholly effaced or extinguished when what is called "The Reformation" overtook it.

We will only add that this contribution to English history, and to English theological history, has been edited with most exact, conscientious care by Dr. Buddensieg. He is, we believe, Rector of the Vitzthum Gymnasium at Dresden. He has bestowed on it a minute and loving attention, in collation and recension of the double MS., and has, without doubt, given from the two a perfect text. To the text he has added several papers of his own, three of which at least are excellent as profuse dissertations: 1. "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Wiclif Literatur"; 2. "Die lateinischen Werke Wiclifs und ihr Werth"; 3. "Die polemischen Schriften und die Polemik Wiclifs."

There is yet another entitled, "Stellung des De Christo innerhalb der Polemik Wiclifs," which, accompanied by a classification and an index of its contents, shows keen appreciation of this "De Christo Adversario" tractate. The second part of this dissertation treats of the respective MSS., their "gegenseitiges Verhältniss," and the like, showing an amount of painstaking care and minute collation worthy some important codex; a favourable specimen of German editorship, of which it might be well if there were a few more like examples among ourselves, exercised on subjects deserving such, and worthy of it. As this article is going to press we hear that the Wyclif Society have despatched Mr. Reginald Lane Poole to Vienna, on the subject of the Wyclif MSS., presumably, *inter alia*, as to this duplicate there and at Prague.

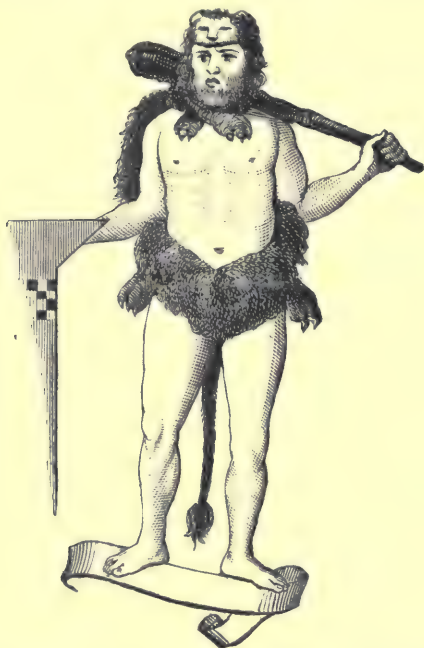
Ancient and Modern Britons: a Retrospect. (London, 1884: Kegan Paul.) 2 vols. 8vo.

This book is written by one who acknowledges, in one or two passages, that he is not a scholar. We agree with him. And we are inclined to go further, and to say that he has had no previous literary experience, and possesses naturally no literary taste. Without any attempt at order or sequence, with absolutely arbitrary and meaningless divisions into "books" and "chapters" and "appendixes," with no index of any kind, the reader flounders through the nine hundred pages with something akin to dismay. Facts crowd upon him, theories creep out, quotations follow one after the other, second-hand references are constantly made to books easily obtainable—until we ask ourselves in despair, what does it all mean? and who can it be who has given us this medley? An author who quotes

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all sorts of out-of-the-way books should surely not be content with saying upon one subject, not unimportant to his object, that "a reference to Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* would no doubt throw a good deal of light upon the matter." As a matter of fact, Strutt does give some curious facts and two illustrations, and the author, in the course of his long series of arguments, has used many more doubtful pieces of evidence than this from Strutt would have given him.

But objecting, as we must do, to the style of this book, objecting, moreover, to many of the minor conclusions, and, most of all, to the general theory of the book, there is, curiously enough, a great deal remaining which is of great and unique importance upon a subject that has not been properly dealt with, namely,



the survival of pre-Aryan races in the British Isles. Many of the author's propositions are undoubtedly correct, and deserve some close attention from those authorities who are not content to take all their history from chronicles and official records. Now and then in the narrative there appear passages which show some considerable powers of historical insight, as, for instance, the definition of Billy Marshall's position as the last chieftain of Pictish Galloway. That we are much nearer "savagedom" than is quite possible for us to understand, has been suggested by Dr. Mitchell in his *Past in the Present*, and the present work is but an elaboration of the same idea upon totally different grounds. The anonymous author tries hard to prove that "black" races have existed in Ireland and Scotland to within quite historical times, and that the gipsy is the best representative of this race.

The customs, superstitions, and characteristics of the gipsy race are all brought out with singular force, but nowhere does the author grapple with the first great problem. The history and migration of the gipsies, says Professor Sayce, have been traced step by step by means of an examination of their lexicon. The grammar and dictionary of the Romany prove that they started from their kindred, the Jâts, on the north-western coast of India, near the mouths of the Indus, not earlier than the tenth century of the Christian era; that they slowly made their way through Persia, Armenia, and Greece, until, after a sojourn in Hungary, they finally spread themselves through western Europe into Spain on the one side, and England on the other. We are quite aware that much of what the author of the book before us has advanced would meet the proposition of Professor Sayce, that philology and ethnology in point of fact may be, and sometimes are, at variance; but still, it is not for us to settle this dispute, but rather for the author, who has raised it; and, of course, it is self-evident that, though the author may be, and probably is, right in suggesting that some of the marauding clans who infested the borders were descendants of old and dispossessed families, just such as readers of *Lorna Doone* will recognize, it does not follow that these are to be identified, either archaeologically or actually, with the Romany gipsy. In such a subject as is here discussed pitfalls meet the unscientific inquirer everywhere, and if it has been our duty to point out that the anonymous author of this book has very frequently fallen into them, we must also state that he has opened up a question of immense importance, that he has laid before the student plenty of new facts which in juxtaposition and in their collected form must be of the utmost value to future inquirers, and that if the unskilled reader is careful to avoid the theories, he will find plenty of curious and interesting reading in these goodly volumes. By the kindness of the publishers we reproduce a curious illustration of the "savage in modern history," as we may call it, representing, as it does, one of the supporters of the Colville family arms, and this certainly curious fact of heraldry has been duly dragged in to build up the theory of the survival of savagedom in English modern civilization.

A True Report of Certain Wonderful Overflowings of Waters in Somerset, Norfolk, and Other Parts of England, A.D. 1607. Edited by ERNEST E. BAKER. (Weston-super-Mare, 1884: "Gazette" Office.) 4to, pp. iii, 41.

Readers of Mr. Green's *Making of England* know full well the value of all evidence which throws light upon the early topographical history of our land; and not among the least valuable of such evidence are those few tracts which remain to tell us of the floods that now and again came suddenly and disastrously upon southern and middle England. One of these relates to the 1607 flood, and Mr. Baker has reprinted two hundred copies. We welcome it most cordially. It reports facts which are of the greatest interest and value. "Who would not have thought," it is written, "this had bin a second Deluge! for at one time these

inhabited places were sunke cleane out of sight. Hunsfelde (a market towne) was quite drowned. Grantham, a village, utterly overflowne. Kenhouse, another village, covered all over. Kingson, a thyrd village, likewise lies buried in salt water. So (besides other small cottages standing in valies) is Brian Downe, a village, quite consumed." The description of these floods is graphic enough, and tells of the severity with which the people suffered. There are not wanting touches of unconscious humour either, as for

Notes and Essays on Shakespeare. By JOHN W. HALES, M.A. (London, 1884 : G. Bell & Sons.) 8vo, pp. x, 295.

We have read through this little book with almost unmixed pleasure, and considering how Shakespeare is dealt with nowadays, it is something to be able to say this. Professor Hales' idea of a "Note" upon Shakespeare is to give something definite by way of illustrating his life and his work, some small fact



instance, when a father, seeing his whole family drowned before him, adds his tears to swell the waters, and when the church bells being rung, people, thinking it was to announce a fire, cried out, "Water! water!" and upon viewing the approaching floods found they had got more of that commodity than they desired. The quaint woodcut on the title-page was well worth illustrating, as it shows some very curious points, and we have to thank the author for being allowed to reproduce it in these pages.

gleaned from out-of-the-way books or from personal observation of places known to and loved by the great poet. Opening the book at an account of a journey from Stratford-on-Avon to London, we feel quite sure that Professor Hales journeyed thence on foot himself, or he could not have put on record his simple but telling little narrative. It is graphic and delightful in the extreme. "Round about Stratford in 1605" is just such another treat, but it ought to have been much longer. These and one or two other papers,

such, for instance, as those on "Shakespeare's Greek Names," and "Wily Beguiled and the Merchant of Venice," have direct and important bearing upon the personality of Shakespeare himself; while the rest of the contributions give us excellent textual criticisms based upon minute observations of "men and things" outside Shakespeare's plays. Thus there are two distinct groups of studies in Professor Hales' book, and we cannot but be struck with the acute and oftentimes, as it seems to us, intuitive knowledge which the author shows in his interesting handling of all things connected with Shakespeare.

Professor Hales is often very severe, and rightly so, upon those who without *knowing* Shakespeare venture to criticise him. One or two of these reprinted papers are reviews of books on Shakespeare literature, and it is useful to get ready to hand the opinion of so good an authority. Throughout the pages of this dainty little volume we have been entertained and instructed, and, adapting a phrase used by Professor Hales, we, who love but cannot criticise the great master, have truly found that the few miscellanies here put together are "not useless for the better understanding of the masterpieces they concern."

Offspring of Thought in Solitude. By W. CAREW HAZLITT. (London, 1884: Reeves & Turner.) 8vo, pp. 384.

It is a pity that the title of this book is not more indicative of its interesting and instructive contents. We all know Mr. Hazlitt as an indefatigable worker at old English literature—the editor of many old tracts and publications, which we of this age most gladly welcome, and the compiler of three bibliographical works, which are of the greatest value to students. During these heavy labours, ranging from 1858 to the present day, it would be strange indeed if an acute observer of men and things like Mr. Hazlitt had not something worth the telling, some chips, indeed, from his workshop which were worth preserving. As a matter of fact, he has much to tell us of great interest and value; and those who read this volume of essays will, we have no doubt, be prepared to endorse our opinion. It deals with some of the side-lights of literature and history, and the author has succeeded in placing himself, as it were, outside literary circles, in order to view literature from afar off, from the point of view of an outsider rather than as a devotee. Mr. Hazlitt has some bitter things to say about the neglect of English literature by the general run of middle class Englishmen, and he says them in a manner which tells us he feels the neglect keenly.

Many of the essays will be of special interest to the antiquary. "Englishmen in Italy and Italians in England" deals with a subject too much neglected by historical students. Our insularity of opinion is appalling. We can never understand that the Continent has been to us the means of obtaining great advantages, political and social, over and over again, and when we read this paper of Mr. Hazlitt's, it dawns upon us almost suddenly that Chaucer was not the first, or the last, Englishman who profited by a visit to, and intercourse with, the sons of Italy. Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, banished in 1399, went to Italy and borrowed from Antonio Bembo 750 ducats

of gold and did not repay them, a fact which shows in part the source of the Duke's ways and means during his forced absence from England. Then there are papers on "Old Ballads," "a chapter on Saws," "a leaf of errata," and a literary essay of some considerable interest "on persons who have done only one thing." Mr. Hazlitt alludes to the late Mr. Thoms, but we are glad to say that the veteran antiquary is still with us, a link with a very old past. Finally we would ask why Mr. Hazlitt spells the name of our great poet "Shakespear."

The History of S. Nicholas' Church, Leicester. By T. W. OWEN, M.A., Vicar. (Leicester, 1884: Tompkin & Shardlow.) Small 8vo, pp. 46.

This is a very practical and interesting guide to one of the oldest churches in England. Ten years ago the chief architectural features were plastered over, and this concealed the distinctive masonry of the different styles and periods of Gothic architecture which adorn the church. The author has carefully discriminated these features, which are now fortunately exposed to view. Two narrow openings above the arches in the north wall of the nave are among the most striking features of the Saxon church. The Anglo-Norman church is believed to have consisted of nave, chancel, or choir, tower in the centre with transepts, and north and south aisles. To these some beautiful specimens of Early English work were added. At an early period the Norman south aisle and transept were swept away, and a much broader aisle built in their place. The restoration operations were carried out in 1873-76, through the exertions of the late vicar, the Rev. T. Henry Jones. The present vicar, the author of this valuable little book, states that the north transept, the north side chapel, the outside of tower, and west wall and windows of south aisle, still require to be restored; and he adds that the church is worthy of better roofs for south aisle and chancel.

Southwell Minster. An Account of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of Southwell—Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical. By GREVILLE MAIRIS LIVETT, B.A. (Southwell: J. Whittingham, 1883.) Small 8vo, pp. 160.

Southwell Minster has always been an object of interest to architects and antiquaries as one of the fine old churches of England, but its claims to attention have been brought lately more prominently forward by reason of the proposed formation of the bishopric of Southwell, and the consequent raising of the church to the dignity of a cathedral. A considerable stone church is believed to have existed in the eleventh century, but no part of the present fabric, with the exception of one or two fragments, dates further back than the twelfth. Mr. Livett has produced an excellent history of the church, and has added to this a careful description of the College of Secular Canons, which is of special interest. The town is not without its points of interest, and Roman remains have been found here in some quantity. Charles I. lodged at the Saracens Inn on several occasions, and Cromwell is said to have afterwards lodged in the same apartment.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—At the August meetings held in Armagh, presided over by Lord Charlemont and by Dean Reeves, the following papers were read by Mr. James J. Phillips: (1) "Notes on some old Wrought-iron Grille Work in the Vicinity of Armagh."—"I could not help observing when first I visited Armagh, some eighteen years ago, the frequency with which, in certain parts of the city, one met with excellent examples of a peculiar class of architectural wrought-iron work, which, on a return journey to the locality some years afterwards, I noticed was very sensibly diminished, owing, no doubt, to municipal exigencies, and the structural changes of residences into shops, etc. There is, however, sufficient of this work now remaining in the vicinity of the cathedral and elsewhere to show that at one time this was the *locale* of the labours of a blacksmith or family of blacksmiths, whose artistic power was very considerable, and for the merit of whose productions we must entertain the highest respect. Owing to civic changes just referred to, we need not seek in the bustling and changeable streets of the city, or even under the shadow of the Abbey Minster, for the culminating work of this handicraftsman, but in the more remote suburbs where cluster the gables of the quaint old mansions (few and far between though they be) of the county families, and to which such art-works serve as the harmonious adjuncts. Accordingly, we find in the pastoral village of Richhill, about five miles distant from Armagh, a veritable trophy of the blacksmith's handicraft, in which design and execution go hand in hand; and we have preserved to us here, where the *requiescat in pace* of a monumental work of art is little likely to be disturbed, the most beautiful specimen of old wrought-iron grille work in the province of Ulster. It is of a period of art which *sui generis* has its *habitat* in such classic localities as the Inns of Courts in London, at Gray's Inn, and the Inner Temple, or Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; and it is quite a charming surprise to us to come on it here in this quiet out-of-the-way village in Ireland, and leads one to cast about in the vicinity for old red brick mansions, with brindled brown-tiled roofs, or for that class of dormers and oriels, and such features, so greatly sought after by that school of architects who are partial to Free Classic treatments. In England such work has been variously termed late seventeenth-century work, and by some called Queen Anne work, although probably the majority of it was executed during the reigns of the two first Georges. Even the casual observer is struck with the dignity and breadth of treatment of the grille and screen-work at Richhill, and with the clever manner in which each field of vertical bars is alternated with panels of characteristic scroll-work, the upper parts enriched with forgings, forming a sort of *chevaux-de-frise*, while the gates are crowned by convoluted and foliated forgings, which upheld the arms and crest of the owners, the details of which are manipulated with great taste and refinement." (2) "The Ancient Abbey of Armagh."—This

paper bore upon "The Carol of the Prior Claustralis in Irish Abbeys."

Royal Archæological Institute.—Aug. 5th.—At the annual meeting, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the members were welcomed to the city by the mayor, who, in his speech, briefly reviewed the history of the place. The Duke of Northumberland then delivered the presidential address. His Grace maintained that there was no part of England which afforded so great and varied a field of interest for the archæologist as the Northumbrian district, and, in conclusion, said:—"The daily life of the natives of the county was characterised by the rudeness and absence of culture and civilization which a state of constant disturbance and danger naturally produces. He who is liable to have his house burnt over his head at intervals of five or six years is not likely to be very choice in his domestic arrangements. A most amusing description is given by an Italian who accompanied an envoy from Rome to the Court of the Scottish King, James II., in the fifteenth century. Lodged in a peel tower near the Tweed, he tells how the men came flocking into the fort, not deeming that anything worthy of notice would happen to wife or children, though they had to take refuge in the tower to secure their own lives; how they stood round the table as he dined, and passed from hand to hand bread given them as an article they had never before seen, and how the writer was astonished at finding the monks of the priory in which they were quartered on the Scotch side giving to the poor a dole of "black stones," to wit, coals. This state of things will sufficiently account for the comparative poverty of design and execution which generally characterises the ecclesiastical architecture, and which finds a counterpart in the stern and bare outlines of the military buildings. This is exemplified in the castles and towers with which this county is studded, where we have nothing to compare to some of the fortresses on the western frontier, or to Warwick, unless it be in the instance of Warkworth, which is a very curious and skilful attempt to combine domestic comfort and external beauty. Yet Prudhoe, Bamburgh, Dunstanborough, Norham, and Mitford are grand and striking examples of the feudal stronghold. When the feudal power declined, and more especially after the union of the crowns, many of these last were naturally abandoned, and fell to ruin, as the surveys made in the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth show. Some, nevertheless, remain, additions having been made in subsequent reigns to fit them for more refined usages and habits of life than were aspired to by their first masters. Chipchase, Chillingham, and Belsay present most pleasing instances of this very picturesque combination. The remains of the ecclesiastical buildings are numerous and interesting; witness Hexham, Brinkburn, Holy Island, Tynemouth Priory, etc., and the details of their architecture will often be found very curious. But the rage of the destroyer has fallen heavily on most of them. The fine lines in "Marmion" describe well the results of the storm which swept over the Church of Rome in Henry VIII.'s days. Of all those named, and more than those left unnoticed, Hexham only remains undestroyed. The rest present but ruined walls and desecrated shrines, save in the

case of Brinkburn, lately restored to the proper condition of a place of worship by the munificence of its owner.—Afterwards there was a reception by the local Society of Antiquaries, and the castle and cathedral were visited. [We are compelled to postpone the remainder of our report.]

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—July 30th.—The third meeting of the members of the Club for the season was held at East Linton. At Whittingham, the Rev. Mr. Robertson exhibited the church plate (silver communion cups of date 1683), and gave a synopsis of the contents of the old session minutes of dates from 1674 to 1690, and which are very legibly written. In the churchyard are curiously sculptured gravestones of last century, and an interesting piece of architecture of last century (the Sydserriff vault). Mr. Robertson also pointed out that in the field below the present factor's house there was a central space with much black soil, which was reputed to be an old churchyard; the field itself was known as the "Kirk-lands." That it had been an ancient place of sepulture was proved by its being on one occasion ploughed deeper than customary, when the tops of numerous slab graves were struck on, in which the bodies had been interred at full length. It may, from the character of the graves, have been a cemetery of the early Christians of the district, possibly Saxon descendants of those who settled under the founder of the colony. It was stated by others of the company that another ancient burial with slab graves has been detected on opposite sides of the Tyne above Linton. In this instance the graves were mostly short, which indicated an earlier people, who folded up the bodies of their dead, and probably also practised urn-burial. Originally Whittingham church—the historical church—was the chapel of the lord of the manor. When Dunbar was erected into a collegiate church in 1342, by Patrick, 9th Earl of Dunbar, the dean at the head of the establishment was to receive as his prebend all the tithes and offerings of the parish of Whittingham, where he was to have a vicar. The dean had a right to the kirk lands. On the 17th of August, 1560, William Douglas, laird of Whittingham, obtained a charter of the ecclesiastical lands of Whittingham from Claud Hamilton, then dean of Dunbar, with the consent of the Duke of Chastelherault, his father.

Bucks Archæological Society.—August 11th.—This Society held its usual annual excursion, the places visited being Buckingham church, Castle House, Buckingham, and St. John's Grammar School at that town. A further visit was made to the Church of Maids-Moreton and to Stowe House. The visitors at Stowe numbered about 150, and all were very courteously received and entertained by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Papers were read in Buckingham churchyard by the vicar of Buckingham, and Castle House by Major Hearn. At Maids-Moreton church some curious entries in the parish registers were found to be interesting. After luncheon at Stowe House the Duke read an exhaustive paper on the history of the house. The annual meeting of the Society was then held. From the report read at the meeting it would appear that the Society is about to enter on a more active existence than of late years.

Essex Field Club.—Aug. 4th.—The members

made a visit to Colchester and its neighbourhood. The first business was to assemble in the keep of Colchester Castle. Mr. J. Horace Round showed the Castle, commenting briefly upon its more remarkable features. He thought that it was now generally conceded that the building dated from early in the twelfth century, and mentioned that he had lately discovered a charter in the British Museum, proving that the Castle was in existence in 1103. Luncheon concluded, the party were driven to Mersea. Mr. Henry Laver made a few remarks on the antiquities of Mersea Island, and the special features of interest connected with it. He mentioned that the mud which was visible in such abundance was in places from eighteen to twenty feet deep, or even more. Previous to the Roman occupation nothing was known of Mersea, but under the Romans it was an important place. A large Roman villa—one of the largest in the country—existed where the church and churchyard now stood. This villa was fully explored and described in 1730 and 1740 by Dr. Mortimer, who found that the church was built in it. Persons buried in the churchyard had their graves placed upon beautiful Roman tessellated pavements which covered the whole churchyard, and extended also beyond it. It was not unusual to find a church placed on a Roman villa. It had been done at Woodchester and several other places. The tessellated pavements he had mentioned did not contain figures, but simply patterns. During the Danish invasions Mersea was frequently occupied by the Danes, and after their defeat at Farnham, they retreated here as well as to Brightlingsea, and were attacked by King Alfred or one of his lieutenants. Next year they returned, and from Mersea made the well-known expedition up the Lea and the Thames. He had traced from Colchester to Mersea a Roman road, not following quite the track of the modern road. There was every probability that the Stroud or Causeway was the remains of a Roman road, and it had been found, like many other Roman roads, of great use ever since. Near where they were standing there was probably a ferry to the large station of Othona, the site of which had been almost entirely unknown till lately. If people had paid the slightest attention to Bede they would have known where Othona was, because in his *Ecclesiastical History* he described its situation as well as could be. The fact that the station was now submerged, proved that the whole of the coast had been sinking. It was not to be supposed that a clever people like the Romans would have built on a place which was liable to be inundated by the sea, but now the whole of Othona was under water at spring-tide, which was, he thought, a clear proof of the sinking of the shore. A few years ago, in making excavations, the remains of a town were discovered here, and a large number of Roman relics were disinterred, clearly proving that this was the long-lost Othona. It would have been a long way to get from Othona by road to any other inhabited station, and, therefore, no doubt, there was a ferry across to West Mersea. A good deal of pottery was found in the red hills which surrounded the Essex coast at various points. But none of the vessels were perfect, and the pottery was coarse, none of it having been on the wheel. This

showed that it must be of a very early date. It had been said that these red hills were the remains of salt works, but he could not for a moment believe that there could have been such numbers of salt works all round the coast, or that they would have made such enormous quantities of *debris*. The hills were quite red, being formed of burnt clay. There was nothing in them to explain their origin in any way, and there were no traditions connected with them, a fact indicating apparently their great antiquity. They were all on London clay, or a very stiff clay, and great quantities of animals' bones were found in them, cut, broken, and sawed—bones of sheep, goats, and rabbits, and great quantities of bones of domestic fowls. The rabbits' bones were probably due to rabbits having burrowed in and died in their holes. These red hills were found all round the coast from Kent to Norfolk, and up the different rivers and estuaries as far as the tide extends. Some covered as much as thirty acres. He thought that the idea that they were the *debris* of salt works must be at once dismissed. What they were he could not attempt to explain. On the island there would be found a number of barrows, some of them rather large. These had never been explored, but they were supposed to be of Roman origin.

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society.—Aug. 27th.—The members of this society had an excursion to Ilkley, Otley, and Farnley Hall. The Rev. A. C. Downer, M.A., vicar of Ilkley, read a paper on "the church and churchyard," which occupy the site of the ancient Roman fortress. Coins, pottery, and other articles have been found from time to time in digging graves. The tower was no doubt constructed of the stones of the fortress, as is evidenced by the sculptures still to be seen on the north side of the interior.—Mr. J. Romilly Allen then read a paper on the Ilkley crosses. He said: "The history of the Ilkley crosses takes us back to the dawn of Christianity in the north of England, when Yorkshire formed a portion of the kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from the Humber to the Forth. The first historical notice we have of these monuments is in Camden's *Britannia*, where they are briefly referred to as 'pillars of Roman work.' All that now remains of what must once have been three very beautiful crosses, are the complete shaft of the central one, and the mutilated shafts of those on each side. The mortice holes for fixing on the heads of two of them still exist, and in the grounds of Myddelton Hall is a portion of one of the heads. A few years ago the base of the central cross was surrounded by three circular steps, which concealed the lower portion, as can be traced by the weathering of the stone. One of the other shafts was used for a long time as a gatepost in the churchyard wall, and consequently shockingly defaced. All three shafts are now securely fixed in a new stone base, and it is to be hoped that there is no further chance of injury. The centre shaft is the most important, both on account of its great size and the special interest of the sculptures. On one side are the symbols of the four Evangelists, and on the other the Lord holding a pastoral staff. From the third to the thirteenth centuries, Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists is one of the most common subjects

which occurs upon Christian monuments, but the method of representation changed considerably as time went on. In the Catacombs at Rome, in the early centuries, Christ is symbolised by the cross and the four Evangelists by four books, or scrolls at each of the corners; or, again, Christ is represented as the Agnus Dei, standing upon the Mountain of Paradise, from the base of which issue four rivers, which are the four Evangelists. As early as the sixth century we find the Evangelists symbolised by the four beasts described in the Apocalypse, St. Matthew having the face of a man, St. Mark that of a lion, St. Luke that of a bull, and St. John that of an eagle, and they carry either books or scrolls in their hands. Generally the bodies are those of winged beasts, but on the Ilkley cross the bodies are human. This curious deviation from the usual method of representation occurs only in a few rare instances, as on a Saxon slab at Wirksworth Church, in Derbyshire, and in one or two MSS. Above the Norman doorway of Adel Church, is a good example of Christ as the Agnus Dei, surrounded by the four symbolical beasts. In connection with the present subject, it may be mentioned that the cross at Clonmacnois, in Ireland, which is sculptured with scenes from the life of Our Lord, is referred to in the Irish annals under the date 1060, as the 'Cros na Screaptra,' or cross of the Scriptures, and the same name might fairly be given to the cross of Ilkley. Three of the panels of the central shaft are sculptured with grotesque animals, arranged systematically in pairs, and facing each other, or shown simply with one paw upraised and the tails interlaced. The two sides are ornamented with scrolls of graceful foliage, such as occurs on many of the stones of this period within the ancient Northumbrian area, but not in the Celtic MSS., or on stones in Scotland north of the Forth, or in Wales or Ireland. The carving on the two smaller shafts is of similar character to that on the centre one, consisting of conventional foliage and animals, together with interlaced work, and in one case a human figure holding a book. The meaning of the monstrous animal forms which are found so frequently upon the stones of this class has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but perhaps a study of the various manuscripts of the Middle Ages may eventually throw more light on the matter. In addition to the shafts of the three crosses in the churchyard, there are fragments of at least two others preserved within the church."—Mr. J. Romilly Allen then read a paper on "The Rock Sculptures of Ilkley." He said: "Perhaps one of the greatest claims of the scenery of this part of Yorkshire is the way in which, by climbing a few hundred feet up a hillside, one passes suddenly out of the fertile valley, with its broad meadows, to find oneself in the midst of wild moors covered with purple heather, and grey weather-stained rocks. An equally rapid change takes place with regard to the archaeological surroundings. Roman camp and altar, Christian cross and church, are left behind, and we find ourselves face to face with the burial mounds and sacred rocks of the primeval man. It is with the sculptures of the latter that we have now to deal. Upon the south side of the valley of the Wharfe, behind the town of Ilkley, are a line of the Gritstone Craggs, extending for about

four miles from the Cow and Calf towards Addingham, and rising gradually from 800 feet to 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. These crags form the line of demarcation between the fertile valley of the Wharfe and Rombald's Moor, and the pre-historic sculptures which form the subject of the present paper. The most important groups are situated near the Panorama Rock, and near the Cow and Calf. The sculptures belong to a class known as the cup-and-ring markings, on account of their shape. The simplest form is a cup-shaped depression, varying from one inch to three inches in diameter. This is often surmounted by one or more concentric grooves about an inch wide and the same distance apart. Sometimes there is a straight radial groove, and lastly, the ends of these radial grooves are in many cases connected by an elaborate system of channels. Cup-markings were observed at Old Berwick, in Northumberland, as far back as 1825. I believe that the late Dr. Call was the first to notice the rock sculptures at Ilkley, and it is entirely to him that I owe my knowledge of their existence, although it is to my friend, Mr. Fred. Fison, I am indebted for having been shown several new examples. There are a large number of sculptured rocks on Rombald's Moor already known, and no doubt there are many more yet to be discovered. Most of the sculptures are of the usual type, but there are others that call for comment. Near the Panorama Rock are three large masses of gritstone, close together, and averaging ten to twelve feet across each way, the horizontal surfaces of which are covered with cups and rings, and two of these stones have also a peculiar arrangement of grooves, somewhat resembling a ladder in form. This pattern occurs in only one other stone at Ilkley, which was discovered by Mr. Frederick Fison in 1878. At Woodhouse Crag is a mass of gritstone bearing a pattern which also occurs in Sweden—namely, that of the Swastika or Buddhist cross. It would seem, therefore, that there is thus established a link between the sculptures of Sweden and Ilkley. Besides the variations in the carvings upon the stones on Rombald's Moor, it must be noticed that many of the rocks upon which the sculptures occur are very remarkable in shape, and often have curious names. The stones on Addingham High Moor are striking both as regards form and position. There is a good deal to be learned from the geographical distribution of rocks with cup markings. There are in England and Wales 102, in Scotland 204, in Ireland 42, in France 21, in Switzerland 32, and in Scandinavia 42. In all these cases the sculptures are of exactly the same type, except in Sweden, where the drawings are associated with rude drawings of men, animals, etc. It is evident that the race who carved these rocks must have spread or passed over the greater part of Europe. For the most important fact connected with the cup-and-ring markings is their being found in a large number of instances in connection with sepulchral remains, such as stone circles, cist and urn covers. We are thus enabled to say with certainty that some at least of the cup-marked stones are of the Bronze Age on account of the sepulchral remains found in connection with them. Cup marks are applied to superstitious uses still in many places. Cup marks have been found in India on rocks and

sepulchral monuments, and it may eventually turn out that they are of Eastern origin, and that their meaning and use is still understood in that country."

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—July 30th.—An excursion was made to Bottisham, Swaffham, Burwell, and Anglesea Abbey. The first halting place was the Church of the Holy Trinity at Bottisham, the fine architecture of which was much admired. This church is justly said to be the finest specimen of pure Decorated work in the county. The richly-carved parclofes of Decorated oak, at the east end of the aisles, and the arcading of the south aisle, both within and without the church, attracted much attention, as also the Lombardic inscription for Elias de Bekingham, Justiciar of England under Edward I. From Bottisham the Society proceeded to Swaffham Bulbeck, where the interesting woodwork and chest at the parish church were examined, and after some words from Professor Babington, the following notes, written by the vicar, the Rev. C. W. Coddington (who was not able to be present), were read by Mr. Lewis. The church, which is dedicated to St. Mary, is, with the exception of the tower and clerestory, a pure specimen of Late Decorated. It consists of nave of four bays, north and south aisles, chancel, and tower; the chancel is in good order, having been restored by Mr. Christian in 1872. There is in the church an ancient and remarkable vestment chest, with three locks, made of cedar; on the inside of the lid are representations of the Annunciation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and the symbols of the four Evangelists; it measures 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. After a few minutes at the Abbey Close, Swaffham Prior was next reached. Swaffham Prior, otherwise called Great Swaffham, was also known occasionally by the name of "Swaffham-two-Churches," from the fact of its having two churches: they stand side by side in the same churchyard. This, though not common, was, until of late years, sometimes to be met with. The origin of the two churches at Swaffham Prior is unknown. From very early days this parish was intimately connected with the ecclesiastical establishment at Ely, and the land belonged in great part to the abbots and bishops and deans and chapters of Ely. In 1309 A.D., a market on Fridays at Swaffham Prior was granted to the Prior of Ely, together with a fair, which lasted five days, at the feast of St. John the Baptist; and, quoting from Pentham's *Ely*, he says that the manor of Swaffham Prior was obtained for the convent of Ely by the first abbot, Brithnoth. The manor belongs to this day to the Dean and Chapter. Up to the year 1677 there were two benefices of Swaffham Prior—namely, St. Mary's, the church now under restoration, and St. Cyriac, the one in use—the patronage of the one being in the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and the other in the Bishop of Ely. In this year the two parishes were united by Act of Parliament, and the patronage became alternate. About the year 1808 or 1809 the church of St. Mary was struck by lightning, and was supposed to have become unsafe. This proved, however, to be untrue, for as time went on the crack in the masonry which had excited apprehension turned out to be superficial only, and the old walls were so solid and compact that the authorities of that day were glad to accept an offer for their purchase and leave them

standing. There is much that is interesting in the parish, —with its hamlet of Reach,—once a city, and preserving its fair, granted by royal charter, to this day. The remains of three of its reputed seven churches have disappeared, but in the case of two of them within living memory, while the eastern wall and window of the third is still standing. Tradition carries the place back to the time of the Danes, who are said to have had a strong colony at Reach, and it is further believed that they made at a certain time a raid upon the neighbouring town of Burwell, and sacked and burnt the place, and succeeded in retreating with their plunder behind the rampart of the Devil's Dyke, which they had cut through for the purpose. The cut through the ditch is still visible, though much grown up, and is called by the name of Brokeditch. Of the Devil's Dyke itself nothing is known positively. The old wives' fable in this case has it that it was thrown up along its entire length of seven miles in a single night, but by whom or against whom is not mentioned. When the railway from Cambridge to Mildenhall was cut through it, some Roman remains were discovered, portions of amphoræ and a coin, possibly of the date of Constantine, and what appear to be portions of harness iron.—The next halting place was at the Devil's Ditch, where Professor Babington delighted his audience by a recital and criticism of the various theories propounded as to the origin of the "Ditch," special stress being laid on the fact that it must have been an insuperable barrier to herds of cattle in its original condition. After this Burwell was soon reached. The church of St. Mary was first visited, and here Canon Cockshott drew attention to the chief points in the history and architecture of this magnificent church so interesting to members of the University. Besides the grand proportions of the sacred edifice, the points of chief importance are the Saxon work in the tower and Norman windows in the west wall, the remains of a former church in the south wall, on the north wall an old figure of St. Christopher in fresco, showing that the same architect and workmen who built King's College Chapel also built Burwell Church. From St. Mary's the Society was conducted to the remains of the ancient castle, the following account of which was kindly given by Dr. Lucas, of Burwell: Is a structure of very remote antiquity, being built many years before the Conquest; it was stated by some that it was built for the support of the rampart, called Reach Ditch, Divalier's Ditch, or, commonly, the Devil's Ditch, particularly as a corresponding tower existed at Cowlinge End; situated as the Burwell Tower is, only about a mile to the east of the before-mentioned rampart, and having all the belongings of a regular castle, it would furnish all the requirements, either for offensive or defensive wars. The Kings of East Anglia, having also a house or palace at Exning or Landwade, where they frequently came to enjoy the sport of hawking, might look upon this tower as one of the strongholds, and certainly it was a very strong place, as the remains of earthworks, etc., show. These consist of an oblong mound, 80 paces long by 50 wide (probably the keep), surrounded by a deep top and earth, thrown up in a regular order of earth fortifications, forming scarp and counterscarps. There are also traces of an outer ditch, with banks, which has been thrown down to fill up with: these depres-

sions on the north-east corner terminate abruptly, and seem to point to this place being the entrance to the castle grounds; here, also, probably, the castellated gateway stood, as in the memory of some old inhabitants very large heaps of rubbish existed, particularly on the south-east corner, corresponding to that on the north-east. So high were they that from the top of the hill one might see beyond and over the cottages; a large house built near had its windows open to the east because of this hill. The present road is probably the original road, but continued on towards Exning Church by a road obliterated at the time of the enclosure, and called Foxlow. The road to Swaffham seems to be made in the fosses. There are numerous mounds within the enclosure of the outer fosse, as if buildings many and various had existed. This church is contained within this space. The place seems to have been kept up by the Abbot of Ramsey, the Lord of the Manor for many years. Geoffrey de Mandeville, the first Earl of Essex, being outlawed and having a quarrel with the abbot, besieged this Castle, was shot in the head by an arrow and killed; some Knights Templars being present threw over him a cloak of their order, enclosed him in a leaden pipe, and hung him on an apple-tree in the Temple gardens, where he remained for some years. Subsequently a dispensation was obtained from the Pope, and he was buried in the Temple, where his tomb is still shown. This took place in the reign of Stephen.

Durham and Northumberland Archæological Society.—Aug. 28th.—A second excursion this year into the South Durham district bordering on the Tees took place. A considerable number of gentlemen, headed by Canon Greenwell, proceeded first to Gainford Church, which is an object of great interest to archæologists, being built about 1200 A.D., and containing, as it does, many ancient crosses and Saxon and Norman remains, the sculpture of the former being in some cases in a wonderful state of preservation. Canon Greenwell and Mr. Hodges gave an historical and archæological history of Gainford and the church and the architecture, and different objects of interest were carefully inspected. On leaving the church, the interesting old building, Gainford Hall, of the seventeenth century, was also visited. From Gainford a move was made to Haughton-le-Skerne for the purpose of inspecting the church there, which has many features of great interest. The main parts of the structure are of pre-Reformation date, but there are many older portions of Norman and Saxon times. Canon Greenwell gave a history of Haughton and the church, and the party inspected the building, including an old oak gallery built by Bishop Butler, author of the *Analogy*, who was rector of Haughton.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Aug. 27th.—Rev. Dr. Bruce presiding.—Mr. T. Hodgkin (secretary) drew attention to a complete suit of Japanese armour which had been presented to the society by Mr. Blechynden.—Among the objects exhibited to the meeting was the famous "Salmon Ring," lent by the Rev. W. Paley Anderson. The ring, the Chairman explained, was the same that was dropped into the river Tyne by Mr. F. Anderson, an ancestor of the exhibitor, and afterwards found in a salmon which was served up at Mr. Anderson's very

table. Mr. Hodgkin remarked that there was an exactly parallel story told by Herodotus of Polycratus the tyrant of Samos. Polycratus had been so absolutely fortunate in everything he undertook that he was advised by a philosopher to sacrifice some most favourite object to Nemesis. He accordingly threw into the sea a beautiful seal, and before the philosopher had left his court a fisherman brought to Polycratus a large fish, in which, on being cut open, was found the seal. At this the philosopher prophesied that sooner or later he would meet with some great catastrophe, which in time became verified. There was also a story told of a Venetian fisherman who found a ring in a fish, but it was slightly different from that respecting Mr. Anderson's ring.—The Rev. J. R. Boyle exhibited an early fifteenth century missal, on parchment.—Mr. R. Blair (secretary) read two letters from Mr. Hawkins, of Gateshead, drawing attention to the bridge over the Spittle Dene between Preston and Tynemouth, which was interesting on account of its age, and to the bridge over the Teams between Lamesley Church and the old mill, which was remarkable for the way in which the difficulty of crossing a stream obliquely was overcome at a time when oblique arches were not understood. He advised the members to see both structures.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.—Aug. 19—20th.—The thirty-ninth annual meeting, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn in the chair.—On Tuesday an excursion was made up the left bank of Bala Lake to Castell Corndochan. The Rev. W. Hughes, the local secretary, read a paper, in which he referred to the leading objects of the day's excursion—Caergai, Castell Corndochan, and Llannwchllyn Church. The parish of Llannwchllyn was one of much archaeological interest, not the least point in which was that the historical river Dee rose in it under the hill called Duallt, and not at Pantgwn, as was sometimes supposed. No river in the kingdom presented a more fertile source for archaeological research than the Dee. The poet Spenser put the scene of King Arthur's home at the foot of the Aran and on the banks of the source of the Dee. There was a place on the spot in the parish of Llannwchllyn called "Llys Arthur"—Arthur's Court. Spenser, in his *Fairie Queene*, makes Arthur speak of his foster-father, who is supposed to have lived at Caergai. Caergai, the next place of interest in the day's excursion, was described by Mr. Hughes. Camden said it was at one time a castle built by one Caius, a Roman, while the Britons ascribed it to Gui, foster-father of Arthur, which seemed to be the view adopted by Spenser. In that case, Caergai would be a British and not a Roman fort. Pennant, however, favoured the theory that it was a Roman fort, and mentioned the discovery of many coins there. Roman tiles had been found in abundance about the houses and fields, and round bricks may be seen now, probably the remains of hypocaust pillars. Traces also remained of an old Roman pond diverging towards Mons Hririthrough Pyrsam, Castell-y-Wann, Mvel Strodyd, Cwm Prysor, and Lwm Helen. Castell carn Dochan, the next place of interest, was described as occupying an imposing situation on a precipitous projection of Ifud-helyg-y-Moch. The ruins form an inner parallelogram, 24 feet by 20 feet, with

walls 6 feet thick, defended by a wall of loose stones and other walls. The bare walls simply remain, and there are no architectural details. The portion now exposed probably formed the dungeon and cellars of an old fort, perhaps a fortress in times of trouble. The excursion of Wednesday produced important results in new discoveries which are worthy of record. Two Roman mounds of observation or defence, were set down in the programme, the first being Tomen y Mur (Mons Heriri), a short distance from Maentwrog. This is a very conspicuous tumulus within a large parallelogram, formed of a strong vallum and ditch. On both sides of the tumulus another strong vallum has been thrown up, dividing it into two equal parts. The approach to this is well guarded by lines of defence, and in one portion a section of Roman paved way, four yards in width, has been hit upon. At a distance of a few hundred yards to the north-east, and near a point where two Roman roads cross each other, is a very fine amphitheatre, nearly circular, the distance north and south being 114 feet, and east and west 104 feet. These have before been noticed, and have been described in *Archæologia Cambrensis*; but on the present occasion much more was discovered, the Rev. Canon Thomas having personally made a prior investigation leading to important results. An extensive square (120 yards across), with a well-marked vallum on the east and a sharp dip on the south, forms the main portion of this part, but to the east and south of it are evident traces of considerable buildings, sufficient to prove that a very important and extensive station once occupied the spot. A covered way to the water supply was shown both on the east and on the south, and a line of much wider circumference was shown to have enclosed various parts of the area. A hypocaust and some Roman urns have been found near. After this Rhiwgoch was visited, a fine old mansion, now appropriated as a farmhouse. It is in a very dilapidated condition, but possesses some curious features, the chief of which are an old gatehouse, banqueting hall, and some bedrooms, with a great amount of carved panelling. The following inscription is over the gatehouse:—"Sequere iusticiam et vitam invincas." On the same stone is a family shield of arms between the Cornish choughs. The next item in the programme was the inspection of a remarkable monumental stone in the centre of a meadow, with an inscription which has been a fruitful source of controversy. This is "Bedd Porius," or the tomb or grave of Porius, in the middle of a field about a mile and a half from Trawsfynydd. The stone lies horizontally on short supports, and is protected by other flat stones. Another remarkable stone at Llanelltyd also came under observation. The stone was discovered in 1876 among some *débris* from an out-building near the Church of Llanelltyd, having been removed from a neighbouring cottage, where for an indefinite period it had been used as a washing-stone. The length is 37 inches, and the width from 17 inches to 11 inches, thickness 8 inches. A rough drive down the valley of the Mawddach brought the party to the ruins of Cymnur Abbey, which lie hidden amidst trees, and which form part of the buildings of a farmhouse. This is much prized as the only abbey situate within

the county of Merioneth. After a short look in at Llantysilio Church, Valle Crucis Abbey was reached by eleven o'clock. This venerable ruin, like other Cistercian buildings, is most picturesquely situate in a deep hollow by the side of a brawling brook, now shrunk to its smallest dimensions, amidst the Berwyn Mountains. It is a restored ruin—*i.e.*, its broken parts have been gathered and placed as near as may be *in situ*, the floor of the abbey presenting now a smooth greensward. Broken columns of the nave have been placed *in situ*, and memorials of the dead pieced together. The accumulated dirt and rubbish of centuries have been cleared away.

[We are compelled to postpone our reports of the meetings of the Archaeological Association at Tenby, Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, Hull Literary Club.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Fondness for Antiquities by Ancient Greeks and Romans.—The ancient Greeks and Romans were very fond of antiquities, and used to look upon them as sacred, and a very great ornament of their houses and palaces. They, therefore, adorned the vestibules and porches of their temples, halls, etc., with armour, weapons, trophies, statues, urns, tables, and inscriptions, etc. Several countries and cities were rendered famous by them; and though they have most of them been destroyed long since by carelessness and a too great neglect of such holy relics, yet Tully himself tells us (in *verrem*) that of old time they were so fond of them that “*nulla unquam civitas tota Asia et Græcia Signum ullum, tabellam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis, sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit*,” etc.—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. i., p. 261.

An Ancient Mode of obtaining Husbands.—Nisbet mentions a fashion formerly prevalent in Spain, which certainly ranks under the category of curiosities of heraldry. Single women frequently divided their shield per pale, placing their paternal arms on the sinister side, and leaving the dexter *blank* for those of their husbands, as soon as they should be so fortunate as to obtain them. This, says Nisbet, “was the custom for young ladies that were resolved to marry.” (*Essay on Armories*, p. 70.) The arms were called “Arms of Expectation.” See Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, p. 38.

London Pleasures in 1730-35.—Covent Garden from the year 1730 to 1735 was a scene of much dissipation, being surrounded with taverns and night-houses. This, and the vicinity of Clare Market, were the rendezvous of most of the theatrical wits, who were composed of various orders. The ordinaries of that day were from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per head; at the latter there were two courses, and a great deal of what the world calls good company, in the mixed way. There were private rooms for the higher order of wits and noblemen, where much drinking was occasionally used. The butchers of Clare Market, then very numerous, were staunch friends to the players; and on every dread of riot or disturbance in the house, the

early appearance of these formidable critics made an awful impression.—*Antiquary's Portfolio*, vol. ii., 386.

Learning of the Ancients.—“It is very remarkable to consider the methods by which the ancients acquired their great learning. Printing not being in use, they were forced very often to travel into other countries if they desired the advantage of any book. And where there were no books they were obliged to make use of old stones, on which inscriptions and figures were engraved. Pythagoras travelled into Egypt and stayed there many years before he could be admitted to a knowledge of their mysteries. But then he returned a most complete scholar and philosopher. For aught I know he might understand all those inscriptions which are reported to have been upon one of the pyramids. But then that which made the ancients the more ready and expert was the arts they used to strengthen their memories. When they were particularly in love with any book, they not only read it over and over, but would be at the pains of transcribing it several times. Demosthenes was such an admirer of Thucydides that he writ him over eight times with his own hand. We have other instances of the same nature. It was also for this reason that the late Dr. H. Aldrich used often to transcribe the authors he read, especially when he was to print anything. Now such care being taken by the ancients, it is heartily to be wished that we had those transcripts of the books, which were made by their own hands; because those must certainly be correct, though it must be allowed that other transcripts made by scribes were in those times likewise correct, being examined by learned men themselves.”—Bliss's *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, ii. 85.



Obituary.

Mr. Henry George Bohn.—Died August 22nd, aged eighty-eight.—The father of the deceased, Mr. John Henry Martin Bohn, learned the art of book-binding in his native country, Germany, in Westphalia; but alarmed by the progress of the French revolution, he sought refuge in this country, and settled in Soho, then, as now, the foreign quarter of the metropolis, and commenced business at 31, Frith Street, in 1795. His son Henry took an intelligent, active interest in the business, and as soon as the Napoleonic wars were over, and the Continent open, he went abroad, picking up in Holland and in Germany hosts of valuable books, which, purchased abroad for shillings, sold for as many pounds in this country.

In 1831, he married Elizabeth, only child of Mr. William Simpkin, of the firm of Simpkin, Marshall & Co., and the same year commenced business on his own account at No. 4, York Street, Covent Garden, in the house previously occupied by a classical bookseller, Mr. J. H. Bohte. In the catalogue which he issued he gave as a reason for commencing business the disappointment he felt at finding that, after so many years' labour in building

up his father's business, room could not be found for him with a share in the profits. By some means he during the next ten years collected one of the largest assortments of books ever brought together; and, more marvellous still, they were all catalogued, and when the catalogue appeared it fairly took the world by storm.

In 1845, Mr. David Bogue, of Fleet Street, commenced the publication of the "European Library," to be composed of standard works, English and Foreign. His first volume was the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, edited by William Hazlitt. This was one of the books of which Mr. Bohn had the remainder. It was out of copyright; but there was also another volume of "Illustrations," some of which Hazlitt "conveyed" into his edition. Bohn not only moved the Court of Chancery and obtained an injunction against Bogue, but commenced the publication of a rival "Standard Library." The announcement of the first volume of this series, which was to be called "Henry Bohn's Standard Library," stated that "The undertaking had been forced upon him by the prospect of having some of his best copyrights infringed by a cheap serial publication. Holding, as he did, many of the most valuable literary properties, he saw the propriety of taking into his own hands the republication of them in a popular and attractive form. The best French, German, and Italian authors, by translators of undoubted talent, would be included, and the whole produced at a price which nothing but the extraordinary march of printing, and the present demand for cheap books, would render possible."

Mr. Bohn's exertions, says the *Bookseller*, were enormous; he pushed the books in all directions: his travellers placed them at every bookseller's; the public became interested and purchased them, and, no doubt contrary to the publisher's own expectations, they became a very valuable property. Then followed the "Extra Volumes"—in 1847, the "Scientific" and the "Antiquarian" Libraries; in 1848, the "Classical;" in 1849, the "Illustrated;" in 1850, the "Shilling Series;" in 1851, the "Ecclesiastical;" in 1852, the "Philological;" and in 1853, the "British Classics;" and when he disposed of them, they numbered in all about 500 volumes. The service rendered to the community was immense. The best literature in the English and other languages was placed within the reach of all classes.



Antiquarian News.

During the present renovations and cleaning of St. Peter's Church, Sudbury, the remains of an ancient fresco over the chancel arch have been rediscovered. Thirty years ago the painting in question was found under layers of whitewash, and Mr. Gainsborough Dupont, one of the churchwardens, was desirous of its preservation and restoration. But it was found to be too far gone, only a central and two side figures being partially visible, and the fresco was again coloured over. It represented "The Doom," or the last judgment.

The dispersion of collections of art work is being apparently followed up by the sale of properties remarkable for historic or antiquarian features. The sales of the island of Herm and of Boscastle, in Cornwall (both of which were abortive), are to be succeeded by two others of a still more remarkable character. The one is the extensive ruins of Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire, celebrated for its splendid Norman keep, built by Robert Fitz Ranulph, and famous as the stronghold of Warwick, the King-maker, and as the favourite residence of his son-in-law, Richard III. The fine appearance of the keep has, however, been considerably interfered with by the decorated buildings which surround it, and which were erected in the fifteenth century by Robert Neville, "the Peacock of the North." Many of the scenes in *The Last of the Barons* were laid at Middleham.—The second sale is that of Goodrich Court and Castle, which for picturesque effect is one of the most beautiful and attractive localities in the scenery of the Wye. Goodrich Court was, in Sir Samuel Meyrick's time, noted for its unrivalled collection of mediæval armoury. The mansion itself is a restoration by the late Mr. Blore. The castle, of which the principal remaining features are the gateway, a three-storied Norman keep, and an Edwardian banqueting hall, was successively the residence of the Earls of Pembroke and the Talbots, and later on stood a gallant siege under Sir Henry Lingen, who held it for the king against the Parliamentary army.

A human relic of Pompeii has been discovered among the ruins in an exceptionally well-preserved state. It is the full-length fossil of a man who was probably struck while in flight at the time of the destruction of the city, upwards of eighteen centuries since.

A discovery of high interest has been made at a place called Port Bara, on the coast of Morbihan. A large and lofty grotto, the entrance to which had hitherto completely escaped notice, owing to its being blocked up with stones of great size, has been discovered. Excavations were made at low tide, and several human skeletons of both sexes were found, together with earthenware vessels of various shapes and sizes, flint weapons, bracelets and rings in bronze, several objects in oxidised iron, and two coins, appearing to be of the Gallic period.

The workmen employed on the excavations at Alnwick Abbey made a discovery of a "stone coffin" in the chapter-house of that place, which is supposed to have belonged to one of the De Vescy, or Percy, family, of whom several were interred in the Abbey or in the conventual church. In the *Cronica Monasterij de Alnewyke* it is mentioned that William de Vescy, son of the founder, Eustace Fitz-John, died (most probably in the abbey) in 1184, and was buried beside his wife, Burga, before the door of the chapter-house, having become a monk before he died.

On the Yorkshire Wolds a number of entrenchments have been found by the Rev. E. M. Cole, vicar of Wetwang-with-Fimber, Yorkshire, the latter village being completely surrounded by them. In one near the monument to Sir Tatton Sykes at Garston were a large number of dead bodies. The entrenchments are V-shaped, and are supposed to be the work of the Ancient Britons.

Near the figure of the White Horse, in Berkshire, the steam-plough has lately turned up fragments of tiles, bricks, and pottery. Mr. Dudgeon, steward to the Earl of Craven, accordingly instituted a systematic search, and several fine tessellated pavements were soon unearthed. Some skeletons, apparently of men slain in battle, were next found, one of a young man more than six feet long, on which were two Saxon daggers. Among other skeletons were those of a woman and a boy. All are believed to be of the Saxon age.

A partial restoration of All Saints' Church, Pavement, York, is in progress. The work consists of the renewal of the pinnacles on the nave and chancel, the entire replacing of the upper portion of the open tracery parapets between them by new masonry, and the restoration of the pinnacles at each corner of the octangular tower. The decay of the stonework and the unsafety of those parts of the edifice have rendered the restoration necessary. The church is in the Perpendicular style of architecture, of which it is a neat specimen, having several interesting features which have not escaped the notice of local historians who have written about the City of Churches. All Hallows, as it is commonly called, before the Conquest belonged to the Prior and Convent of Durham, and at the Reformation it reverted to the Crown. According to that eminent authority on such matters, Drake, the fabric was partly built out of the ruins of Eboracum. In 1835, however, the whole structure underwent a complete restoration, and in 1837 the tower was rebuilt after the same design as before. The church narrowly escaped destruction when many buildings in High Ousegate were burnt down in a conflagration which occurred in 1694. The tower is an exquisite piece of Gothic architecture, the top being finished lantern-wise and tradition records how a lamp once hung in it, the light from which served to guide travellers in their passage over the great forest of Galtres to York. The present tower is said to have been built about 400 years ago. There were four chantries in the church, Acaster's, Belton's, and two others. Both Torre and Drake have given a close catalogue of the rectors. We read that Robert Craggs was presented on the 28th of October, 1544, by Henry VIII., but afterwards deprived, and William Peacock was presented by Queen Mary. In January 1585, the church of St. Peter the Little was united to All Saints. There are some interesting monuments in the church which have been well described by Torre, Drake, and Gent, Drake also giving a view of the edifice. In Gent's days the highest roof was clouded in imitation of the sky, and there were then three large bells and one small one. The register books commence in the year 1554.

The restoration of the great north door of Westminster Abbey is rapidly advancing towards completion. The sculpture is very elaborate, and has occupied the workmen many months.

Among the later additions to the Health Exhibition where Old London is reproduced is a collection of views and etchings of Old Southwark, shown by Mr. Drewett, in the Guard Chamber over the Bishop's Gate. Old London Bridge, as it appeared in the time of Henry VIII., and at several periods since until its demolition, may here be seen, as well as some of the

historic buildings of Southwark, Winchester Palace, etc., and its famous hostels, the old Tabarde and the White Hart, of which the picturesque characteristics have been preserved in etchings by Mr. Thomas. Some reproductions of old maps and a small collection of pottery, weapons, and coins found in the borough of Southwark, and most of them during the progress of excavations on the site of the old Tabarde Inn, should not be passed unnoticed. The rooms over the workshops on the north side of the Old London street at the exhibition have been filled with furniture of antique form, and the walls hung with tapestries from the Royal Tapestry Works at Windsor. Along the south side a very fine collection of armour, arms, and ancient and mediæval ironwork has been arranged by Messrs. Starkie Gardner, among the contributors being Lady Dorothy Nevill, Sir Coutts Lindsay, the Rev. Canon Harford, Mr. J. G. Litchfield, and Mr. J. E. Gardner.

A few of the Abertarff relics, the sale of which began at Inverness on Wednesday, Aug. 6th, may be mentioned. Of Simon, Lord Lovat, there were a bust in plaster of the year 1745, and a plaster cast of his face, taken after his execution in the next year; there were also wax casts of Lady Lovat and of Simon's youngest daughter; with various portraits of Lord Lovat at different periods of his life, a half-length portrait of Flora Macdonald, and a picture of Frederick the Great, presented by Marshal Keith to the Hon. Arch. Fraser. Other articles of interest in connection with Lord Lovat were his massive walking-stick, a pair of pistols presented by the French king, the watch he wore (by a French maker), a silver tankard adorned with the ducal coronet with which he was to be rewarded, and an old oak chest, furnished liberally with secret drawers.

The next great book sale will be in December, when the library of Sir John Thorold, now at Syston Hall, will come to the hammer. It is particularly strong in early printed books.

The explorations at Roche Abbey are being actively continued. Many large sections of the mullions and of the tracery work of the east window have been discovered. Perhaps the most important discovery which has recently been made is that of a sink, about two feet square, for the disposal of the surplus holy water. It is thought that this is the only sink of its kind which has been found in a church of the same order. The efforts of the explorers are now being directed to the site of the chapter-house, which adjoined the church on the south side, and it is hoped that the tombs of at least some of the abbots may be found there. Already the outlines of the walls of the chapter-house have been exposed to view, and many specimens of beautifully carved stonework have been discovered, as well as a piscina, which is supposed to have been used in the adjacent Lady Chapel. On the south side of the chancel some hitherto concealed doorways have been re-opened.

The Fayum papyri are yielding further treasure. Much information has been obtained from the Greek ones regarding the chronology of the Roman emperors. They show that Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Annus Verus reigned together. The length of the joint rule of Caracalla and Geta is determined by them.

Of the Arab MSS. fifteen belong to the first century from the Hegira. A new system of cipher has been discovered among the Arab private letters.

There are still standing in Canton Vaud, at Gourze, Moudon, and Molière, three towers, belonging to the times in which *la royale filandière*, "Good Queen Bertha, span," besides the tower at Neuchâtel. They were all originally constructed for defence, for neither of them has any exit for attack, and the doors are about ten feet above the ground, so that they must have been entered by ladders. The old "Tower of Queen Bertha," which has stood for nearly a thousand years at Moudon, the Roman *Minodunum*, or *Minni-dunum*, has just been examined by the architect of the cantonal board of works, who reports that it must be at once restored or lowered by several feet. This mighty building threatens to fall, and is a source of danger to the neighbouring houses.

About two years ago Captain Hope purchased Cowdenknowes at Earlstoun, and, during the short time he has been in it, he has done more to restore the original ancient character than any of his predecessors. This old baronial tower seems to have undergone some change when the present mansion was built, as they both bear the same date, 1584. Mary Queen of Scots occupied it for a short time when visiting the Scottish Marches. There is a room which still bears her name. It has now been substantially repaired, under-built, re-roofed, and painted in a style preserving the character of the old masonry, which is different from that of the mansion.

Much attention has been given of late years to the registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London, which was founded by letters patent of King Edward VI., dated 1550. These registers, which are complete from 1571, contain very many entries concerning the numerous families in this country, descended from the religious refugees from the Netherlands, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which may be sought for in vain elsewhere. An edition of these registers, limited to three hundred copies, will be published by Mr. W. J. C. Moens.

The musical library of Julian Marshall, Esq., was sold by auction at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on July 29th and two following days. The entire collection consisted of 1339 lots, among which were many books of the greatest rarity. A goodly number of the choicest books were purchased for the British Museum. Mr. W. H. Cummings and Mr. J. E. Matthews secured many rare gems, as also did Mr. W. Reeves of Fleet Street, the well-known dealer in musical antiquarian works, no less than 496 lots falling to his share. Among the rarer works were Elwy Bevan's *Instruction of the Art of Musick*, 1631; J. Croce, *Septem Psalmi penitenciales sex Vacum*, 1599; Carey's *Musical Century*, 1739-40; Couperin, *Pièces de Clavecin*, 1713; Frescobaldi, *Toccate*, 1637; Gafori, *Practica Musica*, 1496; D'Urfeys's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719-20; Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can*, 1652; Locke, *Melothesia*, 1673; Locke, *Vocal Musick in Psyche*, 1675; Ravenscroft, *Melismata*, 1611; Scarlatti, *Essereize per Gravcembalo*; Warren's *Thirty-two Collections of Canons, Catches, and Glee's*.

The new railway excavations at Winchester, through the western face of St. Giles's Hill, have revealed some *ficilia* of Roman times, namely, some vases of elegant shape and three in number, whilst there was found also a handsome cinerary urn. These interesting objects are in the possession of Mr. Scott, of the engineering staff, a gentleman who exercises a beneficial influence over "finds," and thoroughly appreciates their value and interest. The vases are small, and were possibly used for domestic purposes by the Roman or Romano-British owners. One is of the red lustrous ware made in Gaul, and imported here in considerable quantities. It is a circular vase, rising from a small base to a funnel shape, and the potter's mark is on the inside of the base. The two other vessels are of dark grey or Upchurch ware; one of them hexagonal and ornamented with six hollows, such as a finger would make before the vessel was put in the kiln, and the other is globular shaped and elegantly decorated with a notched band below the neck. Thanks to Mrs. Scott's artistic restoration, the vessels may be called perfect.

The churchwardens of Lambeth Church have removed the stained glass window commemorative of the Pedlar who endowed the parish with the lands known as "Pedlar's Acre." Surely no such act of folly has been done in the way of church spoliation for some time. Next month we propose to give an account of the far-famed Lambeth Pedlar, and we hope to be able to announce the restoration of the old window.



Correspondence.

FRENCH COINS.

I should be obliged by some precise information as to a French copper piece of the First Revolutionary period, in my possession. It is of the size of an old English halfpenny, and is highly preserved. On the obverse occurs a portrait of Bonaparte, the features remarkably spare, but the hair less cropped than at a somewhat later date, with the legend BONAPARTE, 1^{er} CONSUL. The reverse has L'AN. . x. in a wreath, and the legend PROCÈDE DE GENÈMBRE MECⁿ. DES MONN^s. Is this a coin, a token, or a medal? The piece appears, so far as I can see, to be interesting, if not important, as exhibiting the earliest published likeness of the great Napoleon. I do not think that the regular coinage bore his portrait till the eleventh year of the Republic (1803). This portrait differs altogether from the 1803 currency, which I have seen.

W. CAREW HAZLITT.

Barnes Common, May 16.

A "BLACK JACK."

I enclose a copy of a lid to a Black Jack, which was found in Middlegate Street in this town, on the pulling down of some houses, the rear of which formed part

of a monastery known as the Grey Friars or Minorites. Halliwell gives us "the Black Jack," and to quote his own words it was a large leather can, formerly in use for small beer. The Unton Inventories in the "*Butterie* inn one plate cubbard, iij. bynnes, two table bordes, one covering basket, iij. dozen of trenchers, iiij. tynne (tin) salte sellars, xiiij. tynne candlesticks, viii. *Black Jacks*—one flagon of tynne—and one joyned stole praised at 1s." See *Unton Invent.*, Berkshire Ashmolean Society, MDCCCLXI.—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii., 206, informs you that the French, seeing the English at that time, "reported home that they drank beer out of their boots," or as Taylor has it in his *Workes*, 1630, i., 113:—

"Nor of Black Jacks at gentle Buttry bars,
Whose liquor oftentimes breeds household wars."

Thus I give you that which has come to my possession by a heelball rubbing; the words are on the obverse:—

"If you | love me | looke | within | me."

It then turns by a thumb tilt, when you see this:—

"Ha Ha | knave | have I = Sp I D—THE."

P. PROCTOR BURROUGHS.

DIARIES OF NATHANIEL HONE.

[*Ante*, vol. ix., p. 244.]

With reference to the paper on Hone Diaries, in your June No., I think it may be of interest to some of your readers to know that I have an original MS. genealogy of Mr. Nathaniel Hone, dated 1729—commencing thus:

The Genealogy and Ensignes Armorial of Mr. Nathaniel Hone, of y^e lineal descent of Sir John Hone, who was knited by King Henry y^e 8th, in y^e 16th year of his reign, as Sir Thomas Hawley, who was principal Herald and King-at-Arms of England, in y^e aforesaid years, gives an account of his antient annals, transmitted to me by my ancestors, who were successively Chief Antiquaries of Ireland, therefore Charles Linagar having the said transcripts or true copies thereof, have from thence drawn out the following Antiquity of the above said Mr. Nathaniel Hone, as a memorial to his posterity, his genealogy faithfully extracted from the root whence sprang his worthy ancestors, A.D. 1729.

(Signed)

CHARLES LINAGAR.

Then follows the genealogy, etc.—I should be glad if any of your readers could throw any light on Hone's family history.

NATHANIEL J. HONE.

SILCHESTER v. CALLEVA.

(viii., 39, 85, 134; x., 86.)

Mr. Napper admits that Silchester is identical with Caer Segont, I and others affirm it to be Calleva, and he does not tell us why this village may not have borne two diverse names in former ages.

It is no unusual thing for towns to have names in

duplicate. Thus several European towns have names in French and German; others in German and Slavonic; numerous towns in India have Dravidian, Sanskrit, and Semitic names, arising from the intermingling of races; take Constantinople, which is also Stamboul and was Byzantium; even so Berkshire and Hants have been graced by various speech-confounding tribes.

Finally, if the tablet to a Segontian Hercules is held to prove that Caer Segont was Calleva, the iters as clearly prove that Calleva is Silchester.

A. HALL.

Aug. 1st, 1884.

Mr. Napper is in error in supposing that the Silchester inscriptions are not of the time of Septimius (not *Septimus*) Severus. They can in no way relate to the personage he suggests. If he will refer to the chief towns of Gaul, he will find that many of their names are not from the Roman appellations, but from the peoples; *ex. gr. Lutetia* gave way to *Civitas Parisiorum*. It was not so much so in Britain, and Canterbury is almost an exception. But there is no reason whatever why Calleva should not also be called *Civitas Segontiorum* or *Caer Segont*. I suggest that, as probably some few of the Society of Antiquaries will, this autumn, pursue researches at Silchester, they be guided by Mr. Napper to *Calvepit*. I and others make no doubt that he has misread its character, and not fully seen the import of the Itinerary of Antoninus.

F. S. A.

"POETS' CORNER."

[See *ante*, iv., 137.]

"Poets' Corner!—We could wish, most heartily, we knew the name of him who first gave this appellation to the south transept of the Abbey, and thus helped, most probably, to make it what it is—the richest little spot the earth possesses in its connection with the princes of song: such a man ought himself to have a monument among them." So writes Charles Knight, and I want the readers of THE ANTIQUARY to join in a serious attempt to discover the author. I will venture to begin with a small contribution to the question. It was probably not known in Addison's time, or he would certainly have mentioned it in his celebrated paper in the *Spectator* (No. 26, March 30th, 1711). Had it been in vogue then he would surely have used it in preference to the bald phrase, "the poetical quarter," which he employs to designate the south transept when speaking of the tombs of the poets.

The expression was certainly well known in 1791, for it is mentioned in F. A. Wendeborn's *View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (vol. i., p. 311). There is a guide-book to the Abbey published about 1784, I think, and I remember looking through it in a cursory manner some time ago, but without finding anything about "Poets' Corner;" but I am writing from memory and cannot be certain. It ought not to be difficult to ascertain approximately the period when the expression became current, even if we are unable to determine the actual originator.

R. B. P.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Rogers' Italy and Poems, 2 vols., 4to. full morocco, by Hayday, belonged to the family of Rogers, has an autograph letter of Turner pasted in, plates on India paper, £12; a Horn Book, price £5; Turner's Views in England and Wales 1838, 2 vols., 4to, full tree calf, was bought in original parts at Turner's sale (price £20, in London catalogue), price £12 12s.; Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols., first edition, original emblematic cloth, £2 10s.; Walton and Cotton's Angler, 2 vols., imperial 8vo, Pickering, 1836, half morocco, by Hayday, £10; Hamerton's Etching and Etchers, 1868, rough uncut edges, very rare. £12, 1876 edition, uncut, £2 10s., 1880 edition, uncut, £5 5s.; Arabian Nights, 1839-41, 3 vols., Knight's edition, half bound, £3 3s.; Dickens' Five Christmas Books, first editions, red original cloth, rare and fine set, £6; Ruskin's Seven Lamps, fine copy, 1849, £6; Ruskin's Modern Painters, five vols., 1857-60, full calf, £20; Modern Painters, 1873, five vols., fine copy, original cloth, £20; Ingoldsbys Legends, 3 vols., early edition, with author's visiting card and autograph letter inserted, £5, very interesting copy; Marryatt's Pottery and Porcelain, full morocco, fine copy, 1850, £1 12s.—266, care of Manager.

Magnificent large Antique Mirrors (carved frames), late property of a nobleman. Advertiser, private gentleman, wishes to correspond with a likely purchaser.—263, care of Manager.

Rare old Engravings, small private collection, for disposal, some exquisitely coloured, some proofs, including extremely fine coloured Morlands and Bartolozzis.—264, care of Manager.

The "Edwardus prius Anglie" sword, described as the "Armethwaite sword" by Mr. J. C. Earwaker, B.A., F.S.A., in a pamphlet on words, published some years ago.—Apply to M. D. Penny, 15, High Street, Hull.

A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

Gray's Elegy, illustrated by Harry Fenn. Large paper edition. Only 50 copies printed. Offers requested.—119, care of Manager.

Old Latin Folios, several for sale or exchange.—Cheap list on application to E. W. Drury, 51, High Street, Hull.

Book Plates (*ex libris*) for sale at 3d. each (unless otherwise stated), as follows:—Tasker, Joseph, Middleton Hall, Essex; Taswell, Wm.; Taüt, N. C.; Rugby; Taylor, Thomas, M.D.; Teed, J. C.; Tennant, William, Aston Hall; Thomson, John Deas, commissioner of the navy; Thomson, Sir John Deas, K.C.B., F.R.L.S.; Torraine, William Harcourt;

Tower, Rev. Charles; Treacher, John; Treacher, Henry; Trotter, Alexander, Esq.; Turner, Charles, Henry; Turner, Rev. William Henry; Turner William; Turner, William Henry; Van Sittart, Augustus Arthur; Ward, Charles A.; Ward, John Petty Hamilton; Ward, W., D.D.; Watts, John James, Hawkesdale Hall, Cumberland, Knight of Malta; Waugh, A., A.M.; Weale, Robert; Webb, N., 24, Portland Place; Webber, Rev. Charles; Whateley, John Welchman; Wheatley, Edward Balane; Wilton; Williams, David Williams, Joshua; Winterbotham, J.B.; Wintle, Thomas.—Post free, 3d. each, from Briggs and Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Tooting. (*Letters only.*)

Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine, large paper edition, price 21 s. Paul and Virginia with eight etchings in duplicate (50 copies only printed), bound in parchment, 25s. Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo calf, covers of one vol. damaged; London, printed by John Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5; very fine engraved title-page to each volume, and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as *Douglas*; book-plate of Francis Hartwell in each volume, 20s. Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474; a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L., forming part of the first issue of "The Antiquary's Library," 7s. 6d. Shakspeare as an Angler, by Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., vicar of Bitton, 1883, parchment, 10s. 6d.; *very rare*. Advice from a Mother to her Son and Daughter, written originally in French by the Marchioness de Lambert; done into English by a gentleman, MDCCXXIX, 18mo, calf, 1s. 6d. The Juvenile Forget-me-Not, edited by Mrs. Clara Hall; illustrated by fine engravings in steel, 2s 6d. Œuvres de Monsieur de Boissy contenant, Soir, Théâtre François et Italien. Nouvelle édition, eight volumes old calf, with book plate of Princess Sophia. A. Amsterdam, etc., a Berlin Chez Jean Neaulme, Libraire, MDCLXVIII, 10s. The Bab Ballads, original edition, in paper boards, 2s. 6d.—191, care of Manager.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Book Plates purchased either in large or small quantities from collectors. No dealers need apply.—200, care of Manager.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county. Also "Notes and Queries," third series, with Index Volume.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Wanted, for cash, Works of Pardoe, Freer, Shelley, Keats, Swinburne, Browning, Lecky, Froude, Ruskin, Doran, Lamb, George Eliot, Thackeray, Titmarsh, Swift, Tyndall, Lewes, Lewis, Jowett, Dollinger, Jameson, Trench.—Kindly report, Rev., 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Gentleman's Magazine, between 1846 and 1868, either in volumes or in parts, any portion taken.—J. Briggs, 122, High Street, Sevenoaks (letters only).



The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1884.

History and Development of the House.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART III.—THE BEDROOM.

IN no room of the house is the distinction between different classes at different periods of our history more clearly seen than in the bedroom. We certainly find our early kings living in a somewhat shiftless manner, and we read that on one occasion Edward I. and Queen Eleanor were sitting on their bedside, attended by the ladies of their court, when they narrowly escaped death by lightning; but in the next century luxury had greatly increased, and very different customs had become common among the rich. The poorer classes, however, continued for many years to be far from comfortable in their bed accommodation. The worthy parson William Harrison speaks of the improvement in bedding which became common in Elizabeth's reign, but this improvement did not consist in much more than the substitution of a pillow for a log and a mattress for a bed of straw. A well-known passage from Harrison's *Description of England* is of so much importance in this inquiry that I transfer it entire to these pages :—

The second is the great (although not generally) amendment of lodging, for, said they, our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered onlie with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I use their owne termes), and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster (or pillow). If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven years after his marriage purchased a mattress or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head upon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peradventure laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so

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well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture, which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes, said they, were thought meet onelie for women in child-bed; as for servants, if they had anie sheet above them, it was well, for seldome had they anie under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.*

This description shows that for several centuries little change took place in the arrangements of the bedchamber. In the Anglo-Saxon house the beds were fitted up in recesses or closets, as will be seen in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), taken from Aelfric's version of Genesis (Claudius, B. iv.). A sack filled with fresh straw was laid on the raised bench or board, and a curtain hung down in front, shutting the bed off from the room. If we may judge from the various representations of men and women in bed, little covering was used by our ancestors, but, of course, such pictures are not altogether conclusive on this point. It was the custom to take off all clothes, and then to warp a sheet round the person; over all a coverlet being thrown. A goatskin bed covering was considered an appropriate present for an Anglo-Saxon abbot, and bear skins are described as a part of the furniture of a bed. A pillow for the head appears to have completed what was then considered necessary for the comfort of the sleepers. The word *bedstead*, which has continued in use to the present day to represent a separate piece of furniture, originally merely meant the place for the bed, and would more accurately describe the beds shown in our illustration than what we now understand by the word. Movable pieces of furniture were also used by the Anglo-Saxons, and are sometimes represented in the illustrations of old manuscripts. The manners and customs of the Saxons in England were doubtless much like those which were common to them in the old country. In the romance of Beowulf we find an indication that the bedchambers in the palace of a chieftain were completely detached and far removed from the hall. The hall of Hrothgar was visited by a monster named Grendel, who came at night to prey upon its inhabitants, and it was

* Harrison, ed Furnivall, 1877, Part I., p. 240.

Beowulf's mission to rid the place of this infliction. After the festivities, at which Wealhtheow, Hrothgar's queen, assisted, the family retire from the hall, and leave Beowulf and his followers to sleep there. In the night the monster appears, and after a fearful combat is killed by Beowulf. The watchmen on the wall hear with a "fearful terror" the sound of the fray, but Hrothgar and his family in their bedchambers hear little or nothing of what is going on in the hall.

Although a greater degree of luxury was common among the Normans than the Saxons were accustomed to, yet we do not find any great change in the bedsteads and bedding, as may be seen from Fig. 2, which is taken from MS. Cotton, Nero, c. iv. The

and on the other a like pole for hanging clothes upon. If this was a fair representation of a bedchamber at that time, we must allow that a considerable amount of household comfort had been attained by the richer classes. One feature is omitted in this picture, and that is the lamp which was commonly used, at all events, in the following century. Sometimes the lamps were suspended, but in other cases they were fixed on a stand. Mattresses were used by Henry III., and linen sheets had become somewhat common in the thirteenth century. In the Liberate Rolls of Henry III. the bedchamber is occasionally mentioned as separate from the other chambers, but in the fourteenth century the distinction had be-

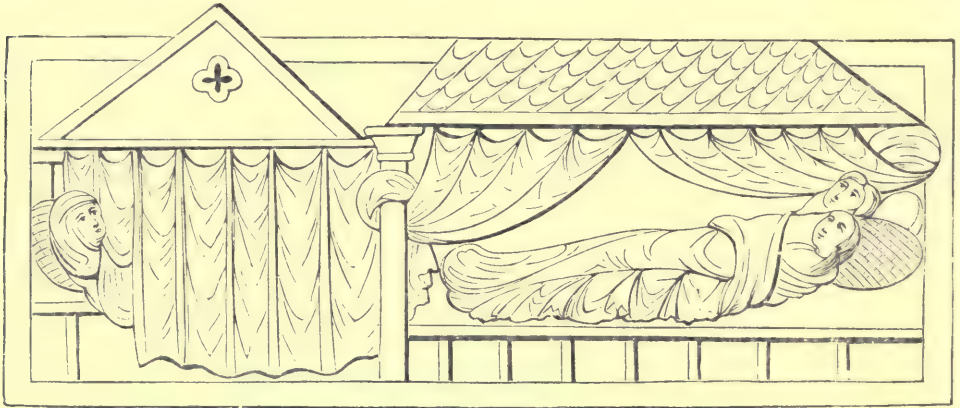


FIG. 1.—ANGLO-SAXON BEDS.

tester bed came into use soon after the Conquest, and the hangings were sometimes the cause of accidents. Tales are told of fires caused by the setting light to the curtains by some careless reader in bed who fell asleep with the candle burning by his side. Neckam, in the latter part of the twelfth century, describes how a bedroom should be furnished. He says the walls should be covered with a curtain or tapestry, and besides the bed there should be a chair and a bench at the foot of the bed. A feather bed, a bolster, and a pillow, an ornamental quilt, sheets, either of silk or linen, with a coverlet of green, say, or fur, completed the necessary bedding. On one side of the room was a pole for the falcon,

come more common. But this was not the case in France, for there beds often formed imposing features of the chief rooms of the house. Lacroix, in his *Arts of the Middle Ages*, describes the dwelling room of a seigneur of the fourteenth century, which, besides a large bed, contained a variety of other furniture needed for the ordinary requirements of daily life. The time that was not given to business, to outdoor amusements, to state receptions, and to meals, was passed, both by nobles and citizens, in this room. The bed stood in a corner, and was surrounded by thick curtains, and formed what was then called a *clotet*, or small room enclosed by tapestry. A huge chimney admitted many persons to the fire-

side, and near the hearth was placed the seat of honour of the master or mistress. Stools and chairs were placed about the room, and cushions on the window benches allowed those who desired a view to enjoy it. Carpets covered the tiled floor, and a dresser along one side of the room, filled with valuable plate, completed the furniture.

The feather bed is said to have been introduced in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century it had become common among the richer classes. We have seen, however, that Neckam mentions what may either have been a feather bed or quilt of feathers, not to lie on, but to be used as a covering.

John Russell, who was usher of the chamber and marshal of the hall to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, wrote a book of directions called *The Boke of Nurture*, in which the bedroom is not forgotten:—

Than to youre sovereynes
chambur walke ye in
hast,

All the clothes of the bed
them aside ye cast ;

The fethurbed ye bete,
without hurt, so no fed-
durs ye wast,

Fustian and shetis clene
by sight and sans ye
tast.

Kover with a keverlyte
clenly, that bed so manerly made,
The bankers and quosshyns, in the chambur se them
feire y-sprad,
Bothe bedshete and pillow also, that they be saaf up
stad,

Wyndowes and cuppeborde with carpettis and cos-
shyns splayd ;

Se ther be a good fyre in the chambur conveyed,
With wood and fuele redy the fyre to bete and aide.

From the *Household Ordinances* it appears that Henry VII. had a fustian and sheet under his feather bed, over the bed a sheet, then "the overfustian above," and then "a pane of ermines" like an eider down quilt. "A head sheete of raynes" and another of ermines were over the pillows.* Fustian was

* *The Babes Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, 1868), p. 179.

a cotton material, and usually kept for summer wear. Fustian of Naples was of a finer texture, and used for pillow cases, but linen of Reynes was a specially fine material. The woollen blanket was introduced in the fourteenth century ; it was sometimes made of a texture originally imported from Chalons, in France, and called shalloon. In Chaucer's *Reve's Tale* we are told—

And in his owne chambir hem made a bed,
With schetys and with chalouns fair i-spred.

(ll. 219, 220.)

In the fourteenth century the hangings of the bed began to be very luxurious, and large sums of money were spent upon them. In 1377 Gilbert Prince, a famous artist of his day, received from the exchequer forty-four

pounds for ornamenting a pair of bed-curtains, and in wills of the period we often find bequests of these hangings. In 1398 the Duc d'Orleans paid eight hundred francs for *un chambre portative*, which consisted of a set of hangings, a seler, dorsar curtains, and a counterpoint. The last item was one of the most gorgeous pieces of furniture in the bedroom, and the coverlid found by the

populace in the palace of the Duke of Lancaster in 1381 was estimated to be worth a thousand marks. The illustration of a bedchamber in the fifteenth century (Fig. 3) shows a half-tester bed, and represents the death of the Emperor Nero from a French MS. of Josephus.

In the *Boke of Curtasye* (fifteenth century) the duties of the grooms of the chamber are described. They were to make pallets of litter nine feet long and seven feet broad.

For lordys two beddys schalle be made,
Both utter and inner, so god me glade.*

* *The Boke of Curtasye* (Furnivall's *Babes Book*), p. 313.



FIG. 2.—A NORMAN BED.

The visitors at a house often slept in the same room as the master and mistress, and it was quite common for friends and even strangers to sleep together. This is illustrated by the constant use of the word "bedfellow" in old literature. In the *Boke of Curtasye* we are told that it is courteous if you sleep with any man to ask what part of the bed he likes, and lie far from him.

In bedde yf thou falle herberet to be,
With felawe, maystur, or her degre,
Thou schalt enquire be curtasye
In what part of the bedde he wyll lye;
Be honest and lye thou fer hym fro,
Thou art not wyse but thou do so. *

in his *Toothless Satires* makes the trencher-chaplain

lie upon the truckle-bed
Whiles his young maister lieth o'er his head.

Even as late as Butler's day, the thing was still in use :—

When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aking
'Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking,
Began to rub his drowsy eyes,
And from his couch prepared to rise,
Resolving to despatch the deed
He vow'd to do, with trusty speed;
But first, with knocking loud and bawling,
He roused the squire, in truckle lolling.

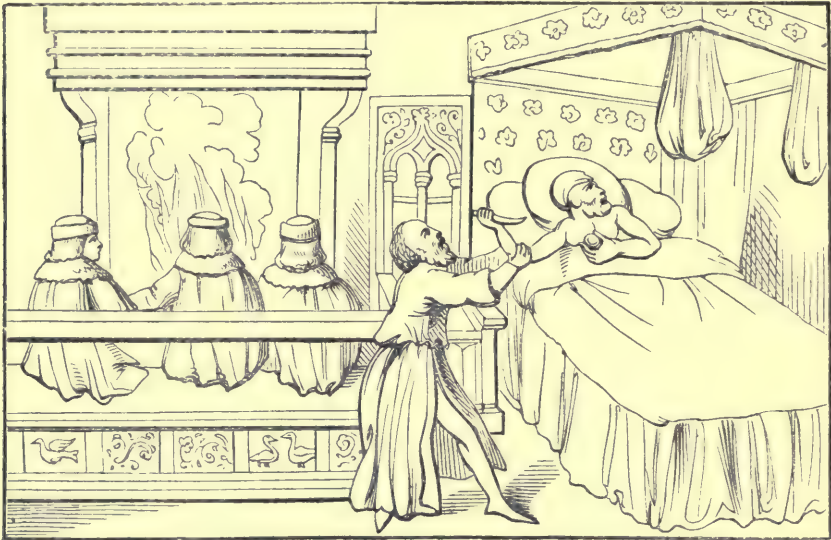


FIG. 3.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY BEDCHAMBER.

In course of time greater privacy was sought for, and the number of bedrooms increased. Still the truckle or trundle bed which rolled under the larger bed long continued to be used. The lady's-maid slept in the bed below her mistress, and the valet occupied the wheeled bed, while his master slept in the standard bed with its handsome canopy. This custom was wide-spread in the sixteenth century. The rollicking host of the Garter in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* describes Falstaff's room as follows :—"There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing bed and truckle bed"; and Bishop Hall

* *The Boke of Curtasye*, pp. 307, 308.

Mention may here be made of a custom of our ancestors which appears to us singularly unbecoming; that is, the "naked bed." So universal was the custom that, in the *Roman de la Violette*, the Lady Oriant excites the surprise of her duenna by going to bed in a chemise, and is obliged to explain her reason for so singular a practice, which is a desire to conceal a mark on her body.* In some moral lines in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (ii. 15) against pride, the ladies are told that however gay may be their clothing during the day, they will lie in bed at night as naked as they were born.

* Wright's *The Homes of Other Days*, p. 269.

Sometimes, as early as the fourteenth century, a bath room was attached to the bed-chamber in the houses of great nobles, but more often a big tub with a covering like a tent was used.

In *Sir Beuys of Hamptoun* we learn that

In to chamber she gan him take,
And riche bathes she let him make ;

and Froissart records that

among other places, these men of Ghent destroyed at Marle a house belonging to the Earl of Flanders, containing the chamber where he was born, the font in which he had been baptized, and his cradle, which was of silver. They also beat to pieces and carried away the bathing tub wherein he had been washed.

The four-post bed held undisputed sway in England as the favourite form for three or four centuries, and it is not many years since it was deposed from that position. Abroad there were more frequent changes of fashion in respect to the bedstead. Mons. Jacquemart, in his *History of Furniture*, writes:

The bed, placed under a canopy and on a platform, had its head to the wall, and was accessible on both sides ; the head-board alone and the pillars were visible to the eye with their sculptures ; all the rest was drapery ; at first the curtains used to be drawn, then came the fashion of the bedsteads, *jaçon d'imperiale*, of which the curtains lifted up. There was even a time when the hangings invaded the pillars of the bedsteads, which were surrounded by chosettes (sheaths of drapery). These pillars were to disappear later on, under Louis XIV. ; the canopy was to be suspended, allowing all the foot of the bed to be seen ; and it was then that the bedside became the rendezvous of pleasant company, bringing the latest news, and sometimes scandalous gossip. In the time of Henry IV. we see the alcove appear, tending to replace the canopied bedstead ; in the *salle* of the Louvre, where the dying monarch was carried, the curtains are represented in sculpture and borne by genii. The balustrade still exists in front of the platform on which the bed rests.

Although the tester, half-tester, and four-post bedsteads were common, some persons

entirely dispensed with hangings, and this was especially the case among recluses, as may be seen by reference to miniatures in old manuscripts and to early engravings.

The bed of Ware, which still exists, is a good example of the great size of many of the state bedsteads. In days when money was carried about by its owner, and hidden away in all manner of out-of-the-way corners, secret receptacles were often fixed in the bedsteads. Roger Twysden relates that on the 21st of August, 1485, Richard III. arrived at Leicester. His servants had preceded him with the running wardrobe,

and in the best chamber of the "Boar's Head" a ponderous four-post bedstead was set up ; it was richly carved, gilded, and decorated, and had a double bottom of boards. Richard slept in it that night. After his defeat and death on Bosworth Field it was stripped of its rich hangings, but the heavy and cumbersome bedstead was left at the "Blue Bear." In the reign of Elizabeth, when the hostess was shaking the bed she observed a piece of gold, of ancient coinage, fall on the floor ; this led to a careful examination, when the double bottom was discovered, upon lifting a portion of which the interior was found to be



FIG. 4.—A BED OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

filled with gold, part coined by Richard III. and the rest of earlier times.

Queen Elizabeth was fond of good bedding, and the following wardrobe warrant, dated 1581 (B.M. Add. MS. 5,751, fol. 38), is of considerable interest in proving this. It orders the delivery, for the Queen's use, of a bedstead of walnut tree, richly carved, painted, and gilt. The selour, tester, and vallance were of cloth of silver, figured with velvet, lined with changeable taffeta, and deeply fringed with Venice gold, silver, and silk. The

curtains were of costly tapestry, curiously and elaborately worked, every seam and every border laid with gold and silver lace, caught up with long loops and buttons of bullion. The head-piece was of crimson satin of Bruges, edged with a passamayne of crimson silk, and decorated with six ample plumes, containing seven dozen ostrich feathers of various colours, garnished with golden spangles. The counterpoint was of orange-coloured satin, quilted with cut work of cloths of gold and silver, of satins of every imaginable tint, and embroidered with Venice gold, silver spangles, and coloured silks, fringed to correspond, and lined with orange sarcenet.* The next illustration (Fig. 4), of a foreign bedchamber, is taken from a print by Aldegraver, dated 1553.

Such gorgeous beds as these were the glories of our palaces, and the heavy furniture and nodding plumes are familiar to us in pictures and in museums of curiosities. Mr. Ashton, in his *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, mentions a bedstead put up as a prize in a lottery, which was said to have cost £3,000.

The best bed was not always to be found in the chamber of the host and hostess, but in the guest chamber or spare room, which was often adorned with the richest furniture in the house.

Before concluding this chapter, I will mention the old customs connected with the nuptial bed, and a curious superstition. When the newly married noble brought his bride home to his castle, they found a costly bed, upon which the maker had expended much pains, and, strange to say, the chamberlain looked upon this bed as his perquisite. He was not, however, averse to receiving a money payment in place of it. In 1297, when the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., was married to the Earl of Holland, Sir Peter de Champvent claimed the bridal bed as his fee, and he received a sum of money in lieu thereof. A still grander precedent is found in the claim of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the bed upon which Queen Philippa slept, when she was married to Edward III., as well as her slippers and the lavers in which she washed. The Earl received one

hundred marks, and the Queen kept her property. The old custom of putting the bride and bridegroom to bed was sometimes improved upon by sewing the bride up in one of the sheets. Herrick alludes to this in a nuptial song on Sir Clipseby Crew and his lady:—

But since it must be done, dispatch and sowe
Up in a sheet your Bride, and what if so, etc.

It is a wide-spread superstition that no one can die easy in a bed, and from Yorkshire to India the ignorant peasant will take the dying from the bed and lay him on the floor to facilitate the departure of his soul. Mr. Henderson (*Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*) says that this superstition is equally prevalent among Mahomedan and Hindu. In some parts the notion is confined to a peculiarity in the feathers, as that of pigeons or game-fowl. The Russian peasantry have a strong feeling against using pigeons' feathers in beds. They consider it sacrilegious, the dove being the emblem of the Holy Spirit.*

For several centuries the arrangements of the bedroom have remained tolerably uniform, and the four-post bedstead, with its heavy hangings, reigned supreme, but in the present century a great change has been made. The "four-poster" has been completely set aside, and in its place the iron bedstead reigns. The heavy hangings were a survival of a time when the walls and doors let in much of the outer air, and curtains were required to keep the sleeper warm. In these days of sanitary knowledge, when the cold air is better kept outside the room, and when the need of fresh air (not necessarily cold) while we sleep is now fully realised, these stuffy hangings that may harbour disease and keep us breathing our own vitiated air stand self-condemned.

The contrast between our own habits and those of our forefathers can well be studied by comparing the luxurious rooms shown in this year—1884—at the International Health Exhibition with the appointments of those we have been considering in this article. At the same time we are not prepared to say we might not lie in worse quarters than in a bedroom in a country house furnished in the old-fashioned manner.

* Quoted in *Our English Home*, 1860, p. 173.

* Henderson, p. 60.

Accounts of Henry VI.

(1422-1422.)

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY.

THE dealing with so long a reign I have thought it better to take up the first twenty years separately, leaving the rest of the reign to be dealt with afterwards. The period under consideration will include the whole of the king's minority, and something more, as the regency was tacitly allowed to expire in the autumn of 1437, when the king's governor, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was sent over to France to assume the direction of affairs in Normandy. Certainly from 1438, or 1439, the king was ruling in person; but his personal intervention is chiefly shown in acts of kindness, detrimental to his own interests; on most matters the answer to communications from his ministers is, "Content if my lordes are content."

The period is not an interesting one in itself, though it contains one episode of unique interest, that of the sweet, crazy village-girl, Jeanne the *Pucelle*; Jeanne the awe-inspiring "Maid of God."

Through this period we may trace the brewing elements of civil war; private feuds unrepressed by the hand of a master; want of purpose and consistency in the public counsels, leading to humiliation, irritation, and discontent. These we cannot trace here; but I may point out that our accounts show clearly the firm control over taxation retained by the House of Commons; the consolation which they found for themselves and their constituents in the loss of the brilliant, masterful Henry V. was reduction of taxation. Five years and a half elapsed without the grant of any direct impost by Parliament; and more than seven years elapsed before a full Fifteenth and Tenth were given. From that time these subsidies were doled out with tolerable regularity. Nine and one-third in all were given during the period; together with one special grant of 6s. 8d. on each knight's fee or parish of socage land (1428); one of 20s. on the knight's fee, or £20 annual value of socage lands (1431, remitted a year later because

people refused to pay it); and one graduated income-tax, beginning at 6d. on the £1 of freehold rent from persons worth £5 a year, and rising to 2s. on the £1 from persons worth more than £400 a year (1435); lastly we have to record a miserable poll-tax on foreigners, granted either in December 1439 or January 1440; householders were required to pay 1s. 4d. a year for three years, servants and inmates 6d. Thus apart from these special grants parliament did not give the king half a subsidy a year on the average of the twenty years;—Henry V. received ten and a third subsidies in a reign of nine and a half years. But, on the other hand, from the year 1433 parliament managed to extort from the weakness of the Government a reduction of £4,000 on the assessed amount of the Fifteenth and Tenth. This £4,000 was to be remitted rateably to decayed places where population had sunk. This allowance was probably fair enough, but it ought to have been made up by a reassessment of the whole impost. It should be noted that the first five years of the reign during which parliament refused to make any grant for the continuance of the war was a period of successful and apparently hopeful warfare. These were the days of Cravant and Verneuil, when the English ascendancy north of the Loire seemed fully established, and even the Scots had been driven from the field.

The clergy were not slow to follow the lead of the Commons in refusing to tax themselves. The convocation of Canterbury allowed three years to pass without a grant; and then they only gave half a tenth; altogether they gave ten and three-quarter tenths during the period. The clergy of the northern province practically emancipated themselves from direct contribution to the wants of the state; in twenty years they gave just four and a quarter tenths; and as the York tenth had apparently sunk to about £2,200, their aggregate offerings did not reach £10,000.

The revenue totals, therefore, are moderate throughout. Our table of the issues gives an average under £105,000 a year, even with the help of two big years, when the expenditure exceeded £172,000. These were both remarkable years. The first of

them, 1430-31, witnessed the close of the struggle with the *Pucelle*; the latter, 1435-36, was the year following the reconciliation of Burgundy with France at Arras, when the English were persuaded to make war on Burgundy, when the duke retaliated by attacking Calais, and when for the relief of Calais England turned out nearly 8,000 men for one month, besides the very unusual force of 6,000 men already sent to Normandy. For the first five years when parliament did not vouchsafe any direct grants, the average expenditure was only a trifle over £67,000 a year. But the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* have been informed before now that the sum totals on the Rolls, whether Issue Rolls or Receipt Rolls, are always in excess of the real legitimate income; and that for this we must have recourse to analyses of the individual sources of income. This time I have been relieved of the trouble of making these for myself by the kindness of Lord Cromwell, the treasurer appointed in 1434, at the instance of the Duke of Bedford, who signalled his accession to office by preparing a complete budget of the estimated receipts and expenditure for the coming year, the earliest parliamentary budget that has come down to us. For this I beg to tender his lordship my most respectful thanks; and still more for a valuable schedule of debts which could not possibly have been compiled at the present day. The budget gives an estimated gross income of £58,358; or, if we take in the revenues of Calais and Aquitaine, of £62,032 4s. 11d.; while the primary ordinary expenditure is taken at £56,878.

But even the ordinary income was burdened with encumbrances and allowances; while the budget only charges for garrisons on a peace footing, and without allowing one penny for operations in the field. I may remark, by the way, that the revenues of Calais and Aquitaine went only in reduction of expenditure; nothing ever came into the home exchequer from either source, and they do not figure in our revenue totals.

The reader will be astonished at the smallness of the treasurer's figures. One material addition to his income has to be made in the shape of direct grants from parliament and convocation; the treasurer could not take

credit for these, because they had not yet been voted, but grants were made which I estimate at £25,000 for the period covered by the budget, and with these we get an unquestionable legitimate income of £87,000 for the whole year. The reader may urge that the totals on the Pell Rolls give an actual expenditure of £103,000; my answer is that the balance must be put down to borrowed money, cross entries, and continued accounts. The treasurer's schedule of debts gives us items of this character to an amount exceeding £74,000, the whole of which must have figured at least once on each side of the public accounts. In truth the estate of a king no less than that of a subject suffered during minority. After making all deductions we could still make out for Henry V. an income of £102,000 a year. Of the converse case a striking instance may be found in Scotland at the very time we are now considering. Under the Albanys, the customs in Scotland, practically the only ordinary revenue of the Crown, had sunk to about £2,200 a year. After the return of James I., they promptly rose to £4,000 and £5,000 (*Excheq. Rolls, Scotland*, IV. xciii. cxxv.).

The only head in Lord Cromwell's revenue budget, which does not exhibit a falling off, is that of the old hereditary revenues. These amount in round numbers to £13,800, or, with the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, Cheshire and Wales, to £24,500. These figures are larger than those brought out in some of our previous analyses. The revenues of the duchy of Lancaster remain the same. The principality of Wales, which during the time of Henry V. was still unproductive, now yields £2,200; but subject in each case to charges and deductions amounting to about one half. The Hanaper, which under Henry V. could yield from £1,640 to £5,000 a year, subject to deductions of about £600 a year, now returns £1,668; but the first charges have risen to £1,530. Again, the receipts of the Tower Mint stand at £390 gross, or £140 net; while under Henry V. the net receipts ranged from £236 to £900 a year. The lay subsidy, a fifteenth from counties and a tenth from boroughs, stands much as it did. Under Henry V. we took it as probably under £36,000. The proceeds of the first grant of this reign, as given in our table,

come to £35,077: so the half tenth from the convocation of Canterbury, the first of the reign, comes to £6,422, implying a total of some £13,000 for the whole tenth; the half tenth from York only comes to £1,079. The original *taxatio* assessed the two provinces at £16,000 and £4,000 respectively.

But the dismal falling off is that of the customs. Under Henry V. we took the yield at from £40,000 to £42,000 a year; now the treasurer thinks that he can only reckon on £30,000. One of the three years on which his estimate was based was incomplete, the returns from Newcastle not having come in yet; but we can easily allow for that; and his calculation is supported by the returns for the eighth year (1429-30), which, as I have taken them from the Receipt Rolls, give in round numbers £30,350. No very material change had been made in the rates of duty. Tonnage and poundage were practically levied at the same rates as under Henry V.; namely 3s. the tun of wine, and 12d. on the £1 value of general merchandise: the wool duties had been somewhat lowered; the rates from natives had been reduced from 50s. to 40s. the sack; and those from foreigners from 60s. to 53s. 4d. the sack: but in the case of such heavy imposts the reduction ought to have been, to a certain extent, compensated by increased exportation. Various causes may be suggested as having contributed to this loss of revenue. The keeping of the sea was totally neglected; yet at the same time it must be admitted that the complaints of privateering at this time are comparatively trifling, and that we hear nothing of naval enterprises by the French. Malversation and neglect may be assigned as two leading causes. Of these we hear great complaints (*Devon Issues*, 420; *Proceedings Privy Council*, iv. 239; Stat. 11 Henry VI., cap. 16). In connection with this I may notice a statement by the Duke of Gloucester, that Cardinal Beaufort was the largest dealer in wool in all England (Stevenson, *Letters Henry VI.*, ii., 443). If this was true it is easy to understand the commercial advantages a man in his position would enjoy, and the statement helps to explain the cardinal's mysterious command of money. Again, we hear that Spanish and Scotch

wools, being less heavily taxed, were competing with the English article (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 126). The last cause of the falling off which I am able to suggest is also the most interesting, and it is this, that the heavy export duty on wool was at last developing the domestic manufacture of cloth and yarn. These could apparently be exported at the light duty of £5 per cent., while the duty on wool at the lower rate paid by natives came to just 25 per cent. on middling wool, which we are told sold for £8 the sack at Calais (*Rot. Parl.*, iv., 454, conf. Rogers' *Prices*, iii., 704). The development of the English woollen manufacture is specially noticed by foreign writers at this time, and noticed with alarm by the Burgundian writers.

In the estimate of expenditure we may notice a substantial reduction in the royal household, for which £13,000 is allowed, a fair amount for a king twelve years old, but, still, greatly below the sums of £40,000 and £50,000 we have seen under previous reigns. On the other hand Pensions have risen from £5,000 and £6,000 to £7,700; and Civil Service has risen from £8,000 and £10,000 to £11,700. The increase under these two heads is one—payments to members of the royal family, and members of the Regency Council. As already stated, the "Naval and Military" expenditure is merely for defensive garrisons on a peace footing; the inclusion of the navy in this account is really formal; the only item entered being £100 for the keeping of the king's ships, doubtless laid up in ordinary. On the actual Issue Rolls, considerable sums are paid in every year for shipping hired for the transport of reliefs to France.

On the table of issues, where the shillings and pence are given, the totals are taken from the rolls; where the shillings and pence are omitted, the tables are my own.

The schedule of debts follows, to a certain extent, the lines of the budget of expenditure, but with a still more decided predominance of the war items. The list is not exhaustive, secured creditors not being included, as, for instance, Sir John Radcliffe, who had a charge on the Welsh revenues for £7,000 due for his services in Aquitaine. But the whole of the debt had not been contracted during

the reign, as a foot-note calls attention to debts of older standing, as, for instance, £1,200 still due to the widowed Duchess of Clarence, for the services of her late husband in the Agincourt campaign. Under the general head of war debt I would place not only the sum expressly mentioned as due for wages of war, but also the loans and the overdue drafts of the sixth head. These are the cancelled tallies of which the reader has heard so much, drafts tendered to creditors, but not honoured, or not fully honoured, at maturity; the amount left owing being re-entered as a loan from the creditor. The holders of these were usually persons of high position, to whom money was due for public services. Thus in fact the war was carried on to a considerable extent at the expense of the noblemen and gentlemen who liked to take part in it,—a hint for the Peace Party of the present day. The loans, of course, were all raised to meet war expenses for which the

Commons had failed to provide. Large as the amount of the debt seems, it was not really very much; four lay subsidies would have cleared off the whole, and four extra subsidies could easily have been provided in the twelve years.

The lightness of England's war taxation may be estimated by comparing the grants extracted from the estates of Normandy, where the people had war frequently among them, and always round them. The English parliament granted less than half a subsidy a year during the twenty years under review, that is to say, not £18,000 a year on the average. The Norman estates from the years 1423 to 1440, both inclusive, gave on the average 250,000 livres Tournois, or more than £41,000 a year, irrespective of indirect taxes, *impôts d'office*, and local subventions on emergencies. (Beaurepaire *Etats de Normandie*, 16-74; and Stevenson, *Letters Henry VI.*, *passim*.)

TABLE I.
ISSUES HENRY VI. (FROM THE PELL AND AUDITOR'S ROLLS.)
(Beginning of reign 1 September 1422.)

Regnal Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
			£ s. d.
1	Mich.	Thursday, 15 Oct., 1422—Thursday, 11 March (given as 10 March), 1423	27,490 — —
—	Easter	Wednesday, 14 April—Saturday, 17 July, 1423	37,444 7 7
2	Mich.	Monday, 4 Oct., 1423—Thursday, 2 March, 1424 (Auditor's Roll)	54,580 15 10
—	Easter	Monday, 1 May—Thursday, 3 August (given as 4 August), 1424	27,572 0 6
3	Mich.	Thursday, 5 Oct. (given as 6 Oct.), 1424—Thursday, 22 March, 1425...	35,589 1 5
—	Easter	Friday, 20 April—Thursday, 2 Aug., 1425	38,444 15 10½
4	Mich.	Thursday, 4 Oct., 1425—Monday, 4 March, 1426	32,704 19 4½
—	Easter	Monday, 15 April—Friday, 30 August, 1426	30,860 8 4
5	Mich.	Tuesday, 1 Oct., 1426—Thursday, 20 March, 1427	33,514 5 10
—	Easter	Wednesday, 7 May—Friday, 18 July, 1427	24,004 17 8
6	Mich.	Monday, 13 Oct., 1427—Thursday, 25 March, 1428	50,953 4 4½
—	Easter	Thursday, 15 April—Monday, 19 July, 1428	35,837 19 1
7	Mich.	Wednesday, 13 Oct., 1428—Wednesday, 23 Feb. (given as 25 F.), 1429	32,897 — —
—	Easter	Tuesday, 12 April—Thursday, 14 July, 1429	39,608 — —
8	Mich.	Tuesday, 4 Oct., 1429—Wednesday, 12 April, 1430	86,019 13 4
—	Easter	Friday, 21 April—Wednesday, 19 July, 1430	71,782 16 2½
9	Mich.	Friday, 13 Oct., 1430—Friday, 16 March, 1431	112,985 12 8½
—	Easter	Saturday, 21 April—Monday, 13 August, 1431	59,380 15 8
10	Mich.	Monday, 8 Oct., 1431—Monday, 3 March, 1432	39,751 19 7½
—	Easter	Thursday, 1 May—Monday, 21 July, 1432	74,823 13 9
11	Mich.	Tuesday, 7 Oct., 1432—Tuesday, 17 March, 1433	57,398 — —
—	Easter	Monday, 20 April (given as 21 April)—Saturday, 18 July, 1433...	26,788 8 9
12	Mich.	Wednesday, 7 Oct., 1433—Thursday, 25 Feb., 1434	43,870 17 9
—	Easter	Wednesday, 14 April—Wednesday, 14 July, 1434	59,147 2 0
13	Mich.	Thursday, 14 Oct., 1434—Monday, 21 Feb., 1435	30,536 10 11
—	Easter	Tuesday, 10 May—Thursday, 21 July, 1435	54,338 16 4
14	Mich.	Monday, 10 Oct., 1435—Wednesday, 4 April, 1436 (Auditor's)... ..	101,779 16 4
—	Easter	Wednesday, 18 April—Tuesday, 25 Sept., 1436	69,488 15 2
15	Mich.	Monday, 8 Oct., 1436—Monday, 18 March, 1437...	40,576 16 8½
—	Easter	Monday, 22 April—Thursday, 25 July, 1437	91,862 18 8½
16	Mich.	Thursday, 10 Oct., 1437—Thursday, 27 March, 1438	48,705 3 1½

Regnal Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
—	Easter	Friday, 2 May—Thursday, 24 July, 1438 (figures indistinct)	£ s. d. 45,335 14 11
17	Mich.	Thursday, 9 Oct., 1438—Saturday, 28 March, 1439	56,539 1 1½
—	Easter	Monday, 20 April—Monday, 27 July, 1439	65,141 11 4½
18	Mich.	Tuesday, 13 Oct., 1439—Monday, 29 Feb. (given as 28 Feb.), 1440	78,590 4 8
—	Easter	Thursday, 14 April—Saturday, 23 (given as 22) July, 1440	41,043 — —
19	Mich.	No Roll on either side: Receipts, £72,583 16s. 6d.	
—	Easter	No Roll on either side: Receipts, £38,492 os. 6½d.	
20	Mich.	Thursday, 12 Oct., 1441—Wednesday, 28 March, 1442	47,757 2 10
—	Easter	Saturday, 14 April—August ? (last day not given)	73,246 18 9

TABLE II.

ESTIMATED GROSS ORDINARY RECEIPTS OF THE CROWN FOR COMING YEAR; LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY TREASURER LORD CROMWELL, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 433.

(1) Old Crown Revenues—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Including—						
Lancaster	4,952	0	0			
Chester	764	0	0			
Cornwall	2,788	0	0			
South Wales	1,139	0	0			
North Wales	1,097	0	0			
"Green Wax"	1,200	0	0			
				24,580	8	9
(2) Customs (on average of 3 last years)	30,722	5	7½			
(3) Aulnage Cloth	720	0	0			
(4) Priories Alien	277	5	0			
(5) Hanaper (gross)	1,668	3	4			
(6) Tower Mint and Exchange (gross)	390	0	0			
				58,358	2	8½

N.B.—This does not include the special revenues of Calais, estimated at £2,866, nor those of Aquitaine, given as £808 2s. 2½d.

TABLE III.

ESTIMATED ORDINARY EXPENDITURE OF CROWN FOR COMING YEAR, LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY TREASURER LORD CROMWELL, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 435.

(1) Household: including—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Chamber	666	13	4			
Great Wardrobe	1,300	0	0 etc.			
				13,071	19	7
(2) Naval and Military—						
Aquitaine (about 260 archers)	3,400	0	0			
Calais	11,930	16	7			
Ireland	2,666	13	4			
Peace } Berwick	2,566	13	4			
Footings } Roxburgh	1,000	0	0			
	Carlisle	1,250	0	0		
				22,920	9	11
(3) Civil Service (with diplomacy, salaries of Regents, etc.	11,723	2	5			
(4) Public Works	733	6	8			
(5) Pensions	7,722	16	3			
(6) Miscellaneous (maintenance of French prisoners; Tower Lions, etc.	706	10	0			
				56,878	4	10

TABLE IV.

SCHEDULE OF UNSECURED CROWN DEBTS LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT, OCTOBER, 1433. ROT. PARLT. IV. 436.

	£	s.	d.
(1) Household	5,159	1	8
(2) Public Works	215	7	11
(3) Wages of War (Calais, £45,000; Aquitaine, £5,400, etc.	59,578	16	10
(4) Civil Service (with Pensions and Ireland)	27,705	11	3
(5) Loans (Cardinal Beaufort, £6,666)	18,013	19	9
(6) Overdue Drafts ("Item divers personis per Tall' iis assignat' prout patet per folia eorumdem remanent' in Scaccario nondum allocat'")	56,288	10	10
	166,961	8	3

TABLE V.

HENRY VI. CUSTOMS.

Eighth year. Michaelmas 1429—1430. From the Receipt Rolls.

Wool. "Magna Custuma," "Parva Custuma," and "Subsidium"	£	s.	d.
Tonnage and Poundage	23,626	4	3
	6,721	5	9

Ninth year, 1430—1431. Rot. Parlt. IV. 435.

Wool, as above	£	s.	d.
Tonnage and Poundage	27,931	16	4½
	6,920	14	5

Tenth year, 1431—1432. Rot. Parlt. sup.

Wool, as above	£	s.	d.
Tonnage and Poundage	23,805	3	10½
	6,998	17	10

Eleventh year, 1432—1433. lb.

Wool, as above (without Newcastle)	£	s.	d.
Tonnage and Poundage (without Newcastle)	20,307	2	11½
	6,203	1	6

Average of ninth, tenth, and eleventh years. lb.	£	s.	d.
	26,510	4	5½
	30,722	5	7½

TABLE VI.
SUBSIDIES.*From the Receipt Rolls.**Lay Subsidy.*—

Fifteenth and Tenth from Parliament: granted			
12 Dec. 1429. <i>Rot. Parl.</i> , IV. 336.			
Collected Michaelmas Term, 8			
Henry VI.	£34,904	9	9
Arrears collected Easter Term,			
8 Henry VI.	172	15	3
Total	35,077	5	0

Clerical Subsidies.—

Half Tenth from Canterbury: granted 18 July,			
1425. <i>Wilkins' Concilia</i> , III., 438.			
Collected Michaelmas Term, 4			
Henry VI.	£5,788	16	4
Arrears collected Easter Term, 4			
Henry VI.	633	16	5
Total	6,422	12	9
Half Tenth from York: granted 17 August, 1440.			
<i>Wilkins' Concilia</i> , III., 536.			
Collected Michaelmas Term, 19			
Henry VI.	£565	19	6
Collected Easter Term, 19 Henry VI.	513	3	4
Total	1,079	2	10



The Formation of the English Palate.

BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Presidential Address, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science, held at Penrith in 1884.

Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει,
Ο νοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.



HE learned and ingenious author of *The Romans of Britain*, Mr. Coote, F.S.A., in a paper on *The Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient*

Rome,* (which he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries), observed that "no one has yet written the history of the Roman palate, such as it became when the successes of that people had given occasion for its artificial cultivation." Mr. Coote's observation may be widely extended: we have many recipe books, and many cookery books, but we have no general history of the palate, and no history of cookery con-

sidered as one of the fine arts. Two books I may mention as exceptions, M. Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie du Goût*,* and M. Soyer's *Pantropheon, or the History of Food and its Preparation from the Earliest Age of the World*. Mr. Coote well says, in allusion to the want of a history of the Roman palate, "This is not merely an omission in archæology, it is a blank left in the annals of taste." I would say more—the want of a general history of cookery, considered as one of the fine arts, is an omitted chapter in the history of civilization; for cookery—good cookery—is one of the most important weapons by which civilization defeats the law of Natural Selection—under which, among the brutes, the sickly and the weakly die off, and the strong alone survive.

Far be it from me to rush into the gap—I do not know enough; long years of study would be necessary, nor am I vain enough to think my own palate sufficiently discriminating. I can only reproduce what I have culled from others—from Athenæus, from Apicius, from Pegge's *Forme of Cury*, from Mr. Coote's able article, from Alexander Dumas (*Dictionnaire de Cuisine*), from Francatelli, and Soyer, and from accounts of ancient feasts and records of ancient house-keeping buried in the transactions of various archæological societies.

To begin with the earliest inhabitants of this country—the palæolithic man, both river-drift and cave—we need not linger over him: there can be no historical continuity between the traditions of his kitchen, and those of ours. We do know something of how the cave-man cooked—the Esquimaux remains to tell us: his food, if cooked at all (and by the way, raw meat is in high lati-

* Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, judge of the Court of Cassation, member of the Legion of Honour, and of most of the scientific and literary societies of France, was born in 1755 at Belley. The *Physiologie du Goût* was published some time in 1825, and ran rapidly through five or six editions, besides reprints in Belgium. An English edition has just (1884) been published. The late Mr. Hayward, Q.C., says of it, "Its great charm consists in the singular mixture of wit, humour, learning, and knowledge of the world—*bons mots*, anecdotes, ingenious theories, and instructive dissertations—which it presents.—*The Art of Dining*, Murray, London, 1883, p. 49, where is a charming account of the *Physiologie du Goût*."

* *Archæologia*, vol. xli., pp. 283-324.

tudes conducive to health), is broiled or boiled. His vessels being of stone or wood, cannot be put on the fire; but heated stones are dropped in, until the water becomes hot enough, and the meat is cooked. The result is a mess of soot, dirt, and ashes, which, according to our notions, is intolerable; but (as Sir John Lubbock says, and I am quoting him) if the stench of an Esquimaux house does not take a man's appetite away, nothing else would be likely to do so.

But with the people the Romans found in this country we have a continuity, and it is worth while to inquire into what they had to cook, and how they cooked it.

From fragments which have come down to us, of the travels, in the fourth century before Christ, of Pytheas, the celebrated mathematician, we learn that wheat was abundant in the southern districts of Britain, and that the inhabitants made a drink of wheat and honey, still known in some districts as "metheglin," and he is the first authority for the description of the British beer, against which the Greek physicians warned their patients "as a drink producing pain in the head, and injury to the nerves."*

Cæsar tells us somewhat more: in his account of Britain he distinguishes between the people dwelling on the coast and those who inhabited the interior, the former being emigrants from Belgium; of these he says that they cultivated the fields, and had a large number of cattle. "*Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare, fas non putant: hæc tamen alunt, animi voluptatisque causa.*"† Of the inhabitants of the interior he says, "*Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt.*"‡ Pre-historic archæology has proved the truth of the statements made by Cæsar. In the kitchen-middens of this period we find the bones of the goat, the horned sheep, the small short-horned ox, the horse, the swine, and the dog, though the last was probably only eaten under stress of famine. Milk was probably a great staple of diet, and Canon Greenwell in this connection points out that at Grime's Graves, in Norfolk, where he excavated largely, a very large proportion of the numer-

ous bones found were of the ox, and nearly all were of animals of but a few days old. This, he says, seems to imply that the milk was required by the owner of the cattle, who could not spare it to keep the calves alive. Strabo expressly tells us the Britons had no cheese: the question is, had they any butter? It is nowhere mentioned that they had; if they had, it was probably churned in a skin, as the Arabs do to this day: hence it would be, like the Irish bog butter, full of hairs. The terraces, on which the people we are speaking of cultivated grain, have also been found, but we have stronger proof that they did cultivate grain in the numerous pestles, and mortars, and grain rubbers that are in our museums. These articles also show that their owners made some sort of dish out of the grain, whether mere crowdy, or porridge, or even bread I cannot say; but whatever it was, it was certainly full of sand and grits, as shown by the condition of their teeth, which, though often sound and strong, particularly among the older race, the longheads, are worn down to the very gum.

As for cooking utensils, their pottery was unglazed and porous: milk kept in it would soon be tainted, and as use is second nature, the earlier inhabitants of this country probably liked their milk "gamey," as do the inhabitants of the western isles of Scotland, where the "craggan" is still in use. Such vessels were ill adapted for cooking purposes; but in the later bronze period there were in Britain and in Ireland caldrons of thin plates of hammered bronze riveted together, some of conical, others of spheroidal shape. Whether there then were in the British Isles bronze-smiths capable of making these vessels, or whether the vessels were imported, I cannot now stop to discuss: my object in mentioning them was merely to show that these vessels were in the hands of the Britons, and that they thus had the means of boiling their food over a fire.

But, though the inhabitants of Britain had, when Cæsar arrived here, pots of bronze in which to boil, and viands with which to fill those pots, they could have had no cookery worth the name. They lacked two things essential in cookery: first of all they had no sugar: beet-root sugar and maple-sugar were not then invented, and cane-sugar was just

* Elton's *Origins of English History*, chap. 1.

† Comm., lib. v., c. 12.

‡ *Ibid.*, c. 14.

known by travellers' tales to the Romans, who used honey, or sugar made from honey. But the Ancient Britons had not even this, for the late Professor Rolleston has shown that they had no domesticated bees, though they did make mead [metheglin] from the honey of wild bees. "Now if we only consider," says the Professor, "how largely separated sugars enter into the dietaries of the poorest amongst us, we shall be puzzled to understand how in the days of Caractacus, people cooked at all without sugar."* I believe that in England every adult consumes weekly seven-and-a-half ounces of sugar. The other essential to cookery that the earlier inhabitants of Britain lacked was oil. We unfortunately are obliged to use butter in our cookery instead of oil: the Ancient Britons certainly had no oil, and they either had no butter at all, or else it was full of hairs, and probably rancid. I am inclined to think that they, like more civilized countries, had no butter: according to Bishop Patrick, the Greeks had no butter in the fourth century before Christ; neither Homer, Euripides, Hesiod, nor Aristotle ever mention butter, though they mention cheese.

It is to the Romans we must accredit the introduction of the art of cookery into these islands.

I hope to show from whence the Romans got the art of cookery, and when: what their cookery was like, and the influence it has had upon the present state of the art in this country.

Like many other things, the art of cookery came from the East: the Romans got it from the Greeks, and the Greeks got it from the Lydians, whose cooks were highly celebrated.

Some archæologists have speculated on the cookery of the antediluvians: as these persons were or ought to have been vegetarians, they probably cooked but little: the patriarchs seem to have been acquainted with roasting, boiling, and baking, and they knew how to make savoury meat with sauce, probably with oil, for though butter is mentioned in the Old Testament, cream is more likely meant. Kids and lambs were their main meats; the common fowl was unknown to the patriarchs; indeed, it is never mentioned by the writers of the Old Testament, nor by Homer or Hesiod. It was a later introduc-

tion, and found its way from India to Rome *viâ* the Red Sea, or far more probably by Babylon.

It is impossible to make a continuous history of the art of cookery from the times of the patriarchs downwards; we have to skip, and we pick up our thread again with the Lydians. Lydia was a district of Asia Minor, and was a very early seat of Asiatic civilization: from the Lydians the Greeks derived many civilized arts, such as the weaving and dying of fine fabrics; various processes of metallurgy; the use of gold and silver money; various metrical and musical improvements (particularly the musical scale); and the art of cookery.

We are now beginning to get upon the safe ground of a book on the subject, the *Δειπνοσοφισταί* (Deipnosophistæ), or *The Banquet of the Learned*, by Athenæus the grammarian. This book is a collection of *ana*, or anecdotes, on all sorts of things, particularly *Gastronomy*, and is put forth by Athenæus as a full account of the conversation at a banquet at Rome, at which he, Galen the physician, and Ulpian the jurist, were among the guests. Only a fragment of the book has come down to us: it is our authority for the high fame to which the Lydian cooks had attained. Athenæus also preserves for us the names of several writers on cookery, whose works, alas! are lost; he enumerates some seventeen, and these seventeen are not retired hotel-keepers, club-cooks, or old ladies, but doctors—doctors of high degree, such as Erasistratus of Ceos, the most famous anatomist and vivisectionist of his day, a physician second only to Hippocrates. Heraclides, who wrote on *Materia Medica*, and also wrote a commentary on Hippocrates; Criton of Rome, and Diocles of Eubæa, both distinguished medical writers. Don't let any one be surprised: in both classical and mediæval times, the arts of cookery and of healing were always considered closely allied. The word *curare* signifies equally to dress victuals and to cure a distemper. There is a well-known Latin adage—

Culina medicinæ famulatrix,

and another

Explicit coquina que est optima medicina.

The connection continued to the end of the

* *British Barrows*, by Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 725.

seventeenth century. In 1684 one Hartman, a chemist, published in one volume, *A choice collection of Select Remedies for all Distempers incident to Men, Women, and Children, together with excellent Directions for Cookery, and also for preserving and conserving*. The association of ideas still obtains at sea, and sailors always call their cook the doctor.

Not even fragments of the culinary works of these writers have come down to us, though some of their medical works have, and thus we are in darkness as to the Lydian and Greek art of Cookery, except so far as we learn it from Apicius, a book which I shall presently say a good deal about. But that among the Greeks the Art was highly thought of, we know from a quotation from a play of Euphron, preserved in Athenæus—

Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει,
Ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἑκάτερός τούτων τέχνη.

The Romans at first were far from holding cooks in such honour: a military and an agricultural people, their original cookery was a very simple affair; it was very vegetarian. Pliny describes an old-fashioned Roman dinner as—*Lactuca singula, cochleæ ternæ, ova bina, alica cum mulso et nive, olivæ Baticæ, cucurbitæ, bulbi, alia mille non minus lauta*. This peculiarity of being very vegetarian adheres to this day to the cookery of all the Latin races, and is (says Mr. Coote) in itself an evidence of much refinement.

The great national dish of the primitive Roman was *puls*: it was a sort of gruel, pap, or pottage made of *alica* (wheat grits) or of *simila* (semolina), flavoured with herbs, or brains. Sometimes it was merely milk and biscuit boiled together: a similar dish was *ptisana*, made from barley grits, and was a barley-water flavoured with herbs, vinegar, oil, and wine. The Roman had also a great weakness for sausages and smoked meats [*Lucanica, botelli, farcimina*]. Upon this simple style of cooking, the Greek art was engrafted, and the rich, invigorating Asiatic-Greek sauces warmed up the simple Roman fare into life and energy.

We learn the date of this change from Livy, lib. xxxix. c. 6. Writing of the effects of the victories in the year 189 B.C. of Cnæus Manlius Vulso in Asia, he says: *Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu*

Asiatico invecta in urbem est. After enumerating several instances, he says, "*Epulæ quoque ipsæ et cura et sumptu majore apparari cœptæ: tum coquus, vitissimum antiquis mancipium, et æstimatione et usu, in pretio esse; et, quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta*." Lucullus, also, after his victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, did a great deal to introduce sumptuous living into Rome. He had amassed vast treasures in Asia, and was thus able to gratify his taste for luxury and magnificence. The Romans threw all their strong nature into the new art: they became dinner-givers and diners-out; ransacked their most distant provinces for new luxuries; they discovered and imported the pheasant, the woodcock, and the guinea-fowl. Fame was to be attained by the successful culture of some new viand for the table: and Columella in his *De Re Rustica*, tells us that Sergius Orata, *i.e.*, Sergius the gold brasse (a small fish), and Licinius Murena, *i.e.*, Licinius the sea eel, derived their names from the successful cultivation of those fish for the table.

Of course there was a reaction. As Mr. Coote says, "ideas of such novelty taken second-hand from the lively and luxurious Greek, aroused what still remained of the stern and puritanical character of the Romans." Sumptuary laws were enacted; no one was allowed to have more than three guests to dinner; dormice, and shell-fish, and strange birds brought from foreign countries (the pheasant, woodcock, and guinea-fowl) were prohibited. "No success," says Mr. Coote, "could wait on such grim essays at retrogression. They accordingly proved failures, and the efforts of sumptuary laws and censors could not drive the Roman gentleman back into the plain cookery of his ancestors."

Now there has come down to us a book, which reveals to us the taste of the Roman palate—and the dishes of this Asiatico-Greeco-Romano-art which pleased it. It is a book whose name sounds familiar to most people, but which few, even among scholars, have ever seen. It rarely occurs even in the best libraries. No translation exists; the production of one would puzzle the best scholars of the day, who are not, as a rule, familiar with the terms of the art of the Roman or English kitchen.

But Smollett had read Apicius, and understood it too, and he had read the commentators, Humelbergius and Lister, and the famous "Dinner in the Manner of the Ancients," in *Peregrine Pickle*, is the work of a scholar in culinary matters.

The title of the work is—*Apicii Cœlii de Opsoniis et Condimentis sive Arte Coquinaria Libri Decem*. "The ten books of Apicius Cœlius upon Viands and Sauces, or the Art of Cookery."

Now Apicius did not write the book; he was no more a cook than I am; he was a famous *bon vivant* and *gourmet*, who flourished under the Emperor Tiberius, and whose name has passed into a proverb in all matters connected with the pleasures of the table. The dull idiot who wrote the account of him in the *Classical Dictionary* calls him a *glutton*, and a more stupid libel was never penned, and that upon one whom all writers, from Juvenal and Martial downwards, have agreed to take as the representative of the *haute cuisine* of ancient Rome; upon one who, as Pliny tells us, was the first to introduce to public notice *cymæ et coliculi*, in other words Brussels Sprouts, a dish which charmed the Emperor Tiberius, though it shocked the rigid principle of the virtuous Drusus.

The name of the compiler is unknown. Mr. Coote pleasantly conjectures him to have been the Soyer or Francatelli of the period, who prefixed the name of Apicius to his book by way of a good advertisement. Many of the dishes owe their nomenclature to historical personages, and by these names Mr. Coote is able to show that the book contains recipes ranging from the time of the Republic to the Emperor Heliogabalus; but the book is the composition of one writer, as shown by its cross references. Mr. Coote remarks, "In its literal style it resembles Mrs. Glasse, in her pleasant pleonasm and sagacious comments." For convenience I shall call the book by the name on its title page, Apicius, and the school of cookery it teaches the Apician.

There have been several editions of this Roman cookery book, but I need not trouble now about them. The best is that of 1705, edited by Dr. Martin Lister, "*e Medicis Domesticis serenissimæ Reginæ Annæ*." Of this only one hundred and twenty copies were printed, at the expense, as recorded on the

back of the title page, of eighteen gentlemen, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Norwich and of Bath and Wells; the Earls of Sunderland and Roxburgh; Sir Robert Harley, Sir Christopher Wren, Isaac Newton, Flamstead the Astronomer-Royal, Hans Sloane, etc. Since this publication the book has fallen almost entirely into oblivion, and the learned editor has been forgotten; but in his day he was a well-known London celebrity.

I must proceed to take some pickings from it.

The Roman *batterie de cuisine* much resembles ours, ours indeed being descended from it. Although we may have new inventions, I doubt if we have anything better: indeed Dr. Bruce told me that the Duke of Northumberland's French *chef* had had reproduced for his own use some of the Roman cooking implements in the duke's museum at Alnwick. Large collections of them are in the museums at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Their usual material is bronze tinned, but silver was frequently used. The Romans had the spit (*veru*), the gridiron (*craticula*), and the frying-pan (*sartago*). They had saucepans of every size, *cacabus*, *cacabulus*, *zema*, *angularis*, *pultarium*. The Roman saucepan differed in shape somewhat from ours: ours broaden to their base; the Roman narrowed like a teacup; and had a long flat side handle terminating in a circular expansion at the end, in which was a hole, so that the pan could be hung up by its handle. It has been objected that the Roman shape would upset very easily on a fire: so it would, on an open coal fire, but the Roman mainly cooked with charcoal, and to a great extent on stoves. Their saucepans seem to have been made in sets of five, each being, in capacity, a regular multiple of five *cyathi*, the *cyathus* being a Roman measure equal to .08 of our pint. A set preserved at Castle Howard hold each ten, fifteen, twenty-five, fifty, and sixty *cyathi*, and the smallest would hold four-fifths of a pint of our measure. There was the stewpan of bronze, *patina*, *patella*, and of earthenware, *cumana*; the braizing pan (*thermospodion*), the oven (*furnus*), the Dutch oven (*clibanus*), the *bain marie* pan (*duplex vas*). A net (*reticulus*), or a basket (*sportella*), was sometimes used in boiling: they had

steaming apparatus, strainers, skimmers, drying cloths, moulds, etc., mortars, pestles, hand mills, etc. The mortars (*mortaria*) are the best known of the Roman kitchen utensils to us: fragments of them turn up everywhere. They were usually made of yellow, drab, or fawn-coloured clay, sometimes of Samian ware, and the surface of the interior is often studded with small siliceous stones, broken quartz, and scoria of iron, to help attrition. When we come to understand the character of Roman cookery, we shall see why the remains of *mortaria* are so common.

We now come to a most important matter; the consideration of the Roman sauces as given in the pages of Apicius. On sauces Mr. Coote remarks, "As sauces are the demonstrations of cookery as a fine art, so they are the measure and gauge of its excellence." In fact, the excellence of any particular school of cookery is to be measured by the excellence of its sauces.

The general sauces of English cookery are formed of meat gravy with the flavouring of onion, spices, and *fines herbes*, the whole being inspirited by the addition of wine. To this conjunction is added ketchup, rarely anchovy; and where it is required the sauces are thickened by flour or arrowroot. The Roman sauces are the same in principle, and, with some exceptions, nearly the same in fact. The Roman cooks used honey for perfecting these sauces, where we now use sugar—cane, beet, or maple. Cane sugar was only just known to them by travellers' tales; beet and maple were not invented. But we must not imagine the Roman cooks used honey in the state we eat it at breakfast: it would be clarified, and manufactured, and the product (the *clere honey* of mediæval cooks), clarified by the whites of eggs and other means, would not be unlike our sugar. In fact, honey, as we use it, would bear about the same relation to it as used by the Roman cooks that the raw sugar-cane juice does to manufactured white sugar. Again, the Roman cooks used oil, where we use butter, "barbarian butter" Mr. Coote calls it, and there can be no doubt that in cookery oil is infinitely superior to butter. But it is essential that the oil should be fresh and good, and it is very difficult indeed in this country to get.

Instead of meat essence, which our cooks

use largely, the Romans used wine, and various decoctions of wine, as we English did in mediæval times—viz., *merum*, *defrutum*, *carænum*, *mulsum*, *passum*, all of which, except the first, were wines boiled down in different degrees, sometimes with honey.

The Romans used *herbes potagères* very largely. I give a list of their English names; we shall recognise them all as old English pot-herbs, used in English cookery. In fact, most of them were brought here by the Romans.

lovage	...	... ligusticum
sage	...	... salvia
cummin	...	... cuminum
coriander	...	... coriandrum
marjoram	...	... origanum
rue	...	... ruta
dill, anise	...	... anetum
basil	...	... ocyum
mint	...	... mentha
thyme	...	... thymum
wild thyme	...	...
fennel	...	... fœniculus
parsley	...	... petrosilium, petroselinum
pennyroyal	...	... pulegium
cat mint	...	... nepeta
savory	...	... satureia
saffron	...	...
asparagus	...	... asparagus
onion	...	... cepa
leek	...	... porrus
button onion	...	... cepulla
garlic	...	... alias
cyperus (galingage)	...	... cyperus

The seeds of many plants were in constant use:—

celery (or smallage)	apium
rocket	... eruca
caraway	... careum
mustard	... sinape
cummin	... cuminum
aniseed	...

Berries:—

rue	... ruta
laurel	... laurus
myrtle	... myrtha
juniper	... juniperus
lentise (marlich)	... lentiscus

Fruits:—

pine nuts	... nucleii
walnuts	... nuces juglandes
filberts	... pontica
hazel nuts	...
dates	... caryota, dactylus
damsons	... damascena
plums	...
raisins	... uvæ passæ
almonds	... amygdala
quinces	... mala Cydonia

were all used in the making of sauces.

Of spices they had plenty: pepper, long and short, ginger, malobathrum, cassium, folium, costus, spikenard—all from the East. Then they had another spice, a host in itself, *silphium*, *laser*, or *laserpitium*, used in root, leaf, and in juice. This was once the staple product of Cyrene, and sold almost for its weight in silver. It is now lost; we don't know what it was; the coins of Cyrene show it to have been an umbelliferous plant; assafoetida has been suggested, and Smollett adopts this notion, and introduces, at the "Dinner in the Manner of the Ancients," a jelly of vinegar, pickle, and honey boiled together, and garnished with candied assafoetida. But Humelbergius and Dr. Lister strongly oppose this view. Assafoetida is even now used in cookery by modern Arabs.

Cinnamon the Romans did not use, except on the funeral pyre. But with that exception, and the exception of lemon juice, almost all things that offered zest, that insured flavour, that assisted appetite, and promoted digestion, were imported by the Roman into sauce and stew.

There was a something else with which Roman cooks tempered all their sauces and all their dishes—namely, *garum* or *liquamen*. It was a sauce made from the intestines and heads of large fish—the tunny, the sturgeon, the mackerel: these were mixed in a vat with salt, and were exposed to the sun for a long time; wine was added, and pot herbs. The art is now completely lost, and we do not know what was this *garum* or *liquamen* which was so dear to the Roman palate. Where it was used salt was never used, and therefore *garum* must have had a salt flavour; yet it was bad if it was too salt, and honey then was added to it; salt fish were washed in it, to take away their saltiness. On the whole, one is inclined to think that *garum* was a thin sauce with a delicate salt flavour, a *nuance*, says Mr. Coote, "a *souffron* which recalled to the jaded Roman the healthy ozonic air of the fresh and tone-giving seas of Baïæ and Tarentum." Smollett substitutes herring pickle for it.

To go back to sauces in general: the gravy of the object for which the sauce was intended, was also mixed with the sauce. Starch, bread, and wafer biscuits were used for thickening sauces, also eggs, cooked or raw.

(To be continued.)

The Two Pedlar Legends of Lambeth and Swaffham.

TWO very distant and distinct places have two nearly-related traditions—Lambeth in Surrey, and Swaffham in Norfolk. Both the legends are commemorated by memorials in the parish church, and last month we had the mortification to record that the church window at Lambeth, dedicated to the Pedlar, had been removed, to make room for a modern memorial window. We are glad to see that the parishioners of Lambeth have bestirred themselves, and compelled the vicar to promise



restoration. So far, good. The restoration is not to be made to the place where the window was removed from, but a new window is to be built nearer to the original spot. If Lambeth people care to accept this compromise, archaeologists will not; if the window may thus be shifted from one place to another, at every one's bidding, there will be no security for its lasting preservation. We shall continue to urge the complete restoration of the window, and we trust that the people of Lambeth will be true to their local celebrities, and insist upon this illegal removal being remedied.

Let us now consider the history of this famed pedlar of Lambeth. An account is given in Allen's *History of Lambeth*, but the

best is that given in *Long Ago* for September 1873 (vol. i., p. 271), taken from a manuscript in the handwriting of Archdeacon Drune, formerly rector of Lambeth. A descendant of the venerable Archdeacon, the Rev. Bradford Drune Hawkins, Rector of Riverdale, Witham, forwarded the account to the editor of *Long Ago*; and the following is a literal transcript:—

"Among the estates belonging to the parish of Lambeth is a piece of land, antiently call'd Church Hopys,* but since called Pedlar's Acre. For what reasons it was so call'd I cannot learn, finding no historical vouchers to justify what the writer of the *New View of London* says about it in page 381; that a Pedlar gave this acre of land, besides ye following Benefactions in money, viz.:—

To ye Parish	£6	0	0
To ye Archbishop	100	0	0
To ye Rector	20	0	0
To ye Clerk and Sexton each	10	0	0

for leave (as tradition reports) to bury his dog in ye churchyard. So far is true, that there is a Picture of a Pedlar and his dog in painted glass in ye window over ye Pulpit; wh suffering by the high wind was renewed at ye Parish expense in 1703 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 7-19). There appears to have been a like picture there in 1607 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 171-173), tho' this Land was not then call'd by ye name of Pedlar's Acre: nor in the lease granted February 20th, 1656. The first mention of that name, as far as I can find, was in ye lease August 6th, 1690. And might not this story take its rise from another Benefactor? of whom we have ye following account given by Bp. Gibson in his Edition of *Camden*. 'Henry Smith was once a Silver Smith in London, but he did not follow that trade long. He afterwards went a begging for many years, and was commonly called Dog Smith, because he had a dog wh always followed him—when he dyed, he left a very great estate in ye hands of Trustees upon a general acct of Charity, and more particularly for Surrey—After ye Trustees had made a considerable improvement of ye estate, and purchas'd several farms, they settled 50*l.* per annum or thereabouts upon every market-

town in Surrey, or gave 100*l.* in money upon every Parish excepting one or two they settled a yearly revenue. Among ye rest Lambeth has rold.' (*Camden*, vol. i., p. 393.) From this acct I should suspect ye picture of ye *Pedlar and his Dog* to have been put up in memory of Mr. Smith, and to have no relation to ye Benefactor, who gave Church Hopys; could I acct for its being put up before his death, as it was in 1607, whereas he dyed in 1627, and was bur. at Wandsworth,—And yet such seems to have been ye Temper of ye man, yt he might do this in his own lifetime (as tradition says of the Pedlar), upon ye burial of his Dog in ye churchyard. He was whipt at Mitcham as a common vagrant for wh reason this parish was excluded from his Benefactions (*Aubrey's History*, vol. ii., p. 142). The Benefactor is unknown; but it appears to have been ye estate of ye Parish befor ye year 1504,* for its Rent was then brought into the Church Account; and its Title was defended† out of the Church Stock, agst the claim of Mr. Easton in 1581. It was formerly‡ an osier ground, and then let at small rack rents,§ but being afterwards severed and inclosed as a meadow, long leases were granted of it, and probably with a view to building; the last whereof dated August 6, 1690, for a term of 61 years at the yearly rent of £4, payable quarterly."

This account seems to contain all that is to be found about the Lambeth Pedlar and his acre. In 1851 Mr. John Smith asked in

Old Vestry Book, fol. 2-5.

† *Old Vestry Book*, fol. 104, and 108-110. Mr. Easton's claim was probably from a purchase of lands, given to superstitious uses under a Statute I. Edward VI., cap. 14, section 5 (1542), wh vested such in ye crown (Gibson, Cod. 2nd vol., p. 1256). The Court Rolls were searched and quit-rent paid for it in 1648. —*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2836.

‡ So called in 1623 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 223-6-225-a), in 1629 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 241), and in 1654 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 1), but in ye lease February 6, 1656, it was served and inclosed as a meadow, having been an osier Hoper. Thus described likewise in ye lease August 6, 1690, though it be also there called *Pedlar's Acre*, and as containing by estimation one acre more or less, tho' I never found it so call'd in ye Parish Acct Books till 1705.

§ At 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1504 (*Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2-5) at 4*s.* in 1514 (fol. 9-19), at 5*s.* in 1554 (fol. 52-55) at 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1557 (fol. 54), at 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1565 (fol. 63), at 11*d.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1581 (fol. 106-6), and at that rent with a fine of 50*l.* to Hen. Price, upon a lease of 21

* *Old Vestry Book*, fol. 2-5.

the pages of Willis's *Current Notes* (p. 59), whether any information could be obtained which connected the pedlar with the Henry Smith mentioned above, but he obtained no reply in response to his query, and we must perforce leave the question where it is, as a local legend which has still some form of attraction in it. But the point to dwell upon is that the present form of the legend is no doubt fragmentary; and the lost portion may perhaps be yet regained. The cue to this lost part may be found perhaps in the more perfectly preserved legend of the Pedlar of Swaffham. The representation of this worthy is carved in wood, and below him is what is commonly called a dog, though Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*, iii. 507) suggests it is a bear. At all events here is a similar picture to the Lambeth window, and to this is attached a legend of some importance. It would be interesting if the spoliation of the Lambeth window were made the starting-point for an inquiry, which should ultimately result in linking the legend of the Lambeth Pedlar to that class of local legends which the Swaffham Pedlar shows to be of remote antiquity.

It is worth while turning to the legend of the Pedlar of Swaffham. It takes us into the archaic studies of comparative storyology. The earliest account of this story to be found is that by Sir Roger Twysden quoted in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (vol. vi., pp. 211-213). Another, and it appears an independent version, is given in the *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, published by the Surtees Society. At p. 220 of this volume, under the date 10 Nov. 1699, the following relation occurs, and we quote this because it is less generally known than

years in 1620 (fol. 212), but for 61 years commencing from Xmas, 1659, to Edw. Smith, by lease dated February 24, 1656 (*Vestry Book*, fol. 14 and lease), which lease came afterwards to Bernard Whalley, Esq., of Bickley, Warwickshire, in right of his wife Lucy, dr to ye said Edw. Smith, who surrendered it in 1690, and had 61 years added to it in a new lease granted August 6, 1690, but to commence at Xmas following, by Geo. Hooper, D.D., John Acworth, Thomas Rode, and Tho. Walker, then Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish, upon paying a fine of 50*l*. This lease was assigned to Tho. Wymondgold, December 6, 1690, who paid 25*l*. for it to Mr. Whalley, probably in consideration of ye 30 years unexpired in his former lease.

that given in Blomefield, and should be compared with that version :—

Constant tradition says that there lived in former times, in Soffham (Swaffham), *alias* Sopham, in Norfolk, a certain pedlar, who dreamed that if he went to London bridge, and stood there, he should hear very joyfull newse, which he at first sleighted, but afterwards, his dream being dubbed and trebled upon him, he resolved to try the issue of it, and accordingly went to London, and stood on the bridge there two or three days, looking about him, but heard nothing that might yield him any comfort. At last it happened that a shopkeeper there, hard by, having noted his fruitless standing, seeing that he neither sold any wares nor asked any almes, went to him and most earnestly begged to know what he wanted there, or what his business was; to which the pedlar honestly answered, that he had dreamed that if he came to London and stood there upon the bridge, he should hear good newse; at which the shopkeeper laught heartily, asking him if he was such a fool as to take a journey on such a silly errand, adding, "I'll tell thee, country fellow, last night I dreamed that I was at Sopham, in Norfolk, a place utterly unknown to me, where methought behind a pedlar's house in a certain orchard, and under a great oak tree, if I digged I should find a vast treasure! Now think you," says he, "that I am such a fool to take such a long journey upon me upon the instigation of a silly dream? No, no, I'm wiser. Therefore, good fellow, learn witt from me, and get you home, and mind your business." The pedlar, observing his words, what he had say'd he dream'd and knowing they concenter'd in him, glad of such joyful newse went speedily home, and digged and found a prodigious great treasure, with which he grew exceeding rich, and Soffham (Church) being for the most part fal'n down, he set on workmen and reedifyd it most sumptuously, at his own charges; and to this day there is his statue therein, but in stone, with his pack at his back, and his dogg at his heels; and his memory is also preserved by the same form or picture in most of the old glass windows, taverns, and alehouses of that town unto this day.

Now this version from Abraham de la Pryme was certainly obtained from local sources, and it shows the general popularity of the legend, together with the faithfulness of the traditional version. But other evidence of the traditional force of the story is to be found. Observing that Pryme's *Diary* was not printed until 1870, though certainly the MS. had been lent to antiquaries, it is rather curious that the following almost identical account is told in the *St. James's Chronicle*, of 28th November, 1786, which shows that the writer had obtained the legend from the same source as Abraham de la Pryme, and that the traditional form had been faithfully preserved :—

A Pedlar who lived many Years ago at Swaffham, in Norfolk, dreamt, that if he came up to London, and stood upon the Bridge, he should hear very joyful News; which he at first slighted, but afterwards his Dream being doubled and trebled unto him, he resolved to try the Issue of it; and accordingly to London he came, and stood on the Bridge for two or three Days, but heard nothing which might give him Comfort that the Profits of his Journey would be equal to his Pains. At last it so happened, that a Shop-keeper there, having noted his fruitless standing, seeing that he neither sold any Wares, nor asked any Alms, went to him, and enquired his Business; to which the Pedlar made Answer, that being a Countryman, he had dreamt a Dream, that if he came up to London, he should hear good News: "And art thou (said the Shopkeeper) such a Fool, to take a Journey on such a foolish Errand? Why I tell thee this—last Night I dreamt, that I was at Swaffham, in Norfolk, a Place utterly unknown to me, where, methought, behind a Pedlar's House, in a certain Orchard, under a great Oak Tree, if I digged there, I should find a mighty Mass of Treasure.

"Now think you, that I am so unwise, as to take so long a Journey upon me, only by the Instigation of a foolish Dream! No, no, far be such Folly from me; therefore, honest Countryman, I advise thee to make haste Home again, and do not spend thy precious Time in the Expectation of the Event of an idle Dream."

The Pedlar, who noted well his Words, glad of such joyful News, went speedily Home, and digged under the Oak, where he found a very large Heap of Money; with Part of which, the Church being then lately fallen down, he very sumptuously rebuilt it; having his Statue cut therein, in Stone, with his Pack on his Back and his Dog at his Heels, which is to be seen at this Day. And his Memory is also preserved by the same Form, or Picture, on most of the Glass Windows of the Taverns and Alehouses in that Town.

I am not a Bigot in Dreams, yet I cannot help acknowledging the Relation of the above made a strong Impression on me.

Yours, Z.

In Glyde's *Norfolk Garland*, p. 69, is an account of this legend, but with an additional fact. The box containing the treasure had a Latin inscription on the lid, which, of course, John Chapman could not decipher. He craftily put the lid in his window, and very soon he heard some youths turn the Latin sentence into English:

Under me doth lie
Another much richer than I.

And he went to work digging deeper than before, and found a much richer treasure than the former. Another version of this rhyme is found in *Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii., p. 318:

Where this stood
Is another as good.

Now this gives us the history of the story as it is found recorded in English literature. Blomefield in his *History of Norfolk* points out that the same story is found in Johannes Fungerus' *Etymologicon Latino-Græcum*, pp. 1110-1111, though it is here narrated of a man at Dort in Holland. This opens the wide door of comparative storyology, as it has sometimes conveniently, though not elegantly, been called. Professor Cowell, in the third volume of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Transactions*, p. 320, has printed a remarkable parallel of the story which is to be found in the great Persian metaphysical and religious poem called the *Masnavi*, written by Jaláluddín, who died about 1260. No doubt these facts establish the story as one of the great group of stories which folklorists study and carry to such remote antiquity for their origin.

One or two other Pedlar legends exist in England, and if we could get these collected together, so that proper comparison could be made, we might discover, even at this late hour, the earlier form of the Lambeth legend, and we hope our readers will assist this effort. Legends of buried treasure are very numerous, and the pedlars of Old England were a class of men of considerable importance.



The Tower Guards (1648).

III.

(Continued from p. 58.)

By J. H. ROUND.



AFTER the fall of Colchester "Colonel Rainsborough's regiment" disappears from our view for some weeks. From a passage in a letter of the Yorkshire Committee, carefully reproduced by Mr. Peacock,* we gather that it must have reached Doncaster, in Yorkshire, as early as the 30th of September or 1st of

* *Archæologia*, xlv., pp. 42-3.

October.* They could scarcely have marched to Doncaster from St. Albans in less than ten days, and would not, therefore, have left St. Albans later than the 22nd of September. Now Fairfax reached St. Albans on the 21st of September, and a letter, written from his head-quarters two days later, happens to mention that

the Lord-General hath sent Colonel Rainsborough's Regiment towards the North to be assisting in the service there.†

The movements of Rainsborough himself are to me very puzzling. Mr. Peacock says that he

returned to London, and, as we gather from what followed after, resided there for some weeks;‡

and adduces, in support of this, the fact that on the 30th of September Colonel Rainborowe . . . was assaulted by three of the King's party . . . on the very same day a captain in the army and a major were attacked and both of them killed,§

quoting from Whitelocke and Rushworth. But it will be seen, from the more careful account in Rushworth, that no date is assigned for the attack on Rainsborough (except that it must have been anterior to the 30th), and that the other two deaths were reported on the 30th as having taken place "the last week."|| With the exception, I believe, of this passing glimpse, we have no mention whatever of Rainsborough from the 28th of August to the 16th (or 17th) of October, and it would certainly seem that his Regiment must have marched to Doncaster without him. Mr. Peacock says that, in the course of October,

Rainborowe received orders from Fairfax, the Lord-General, to take the chief command of the forces besieging Pontefract Castle; he had under his command a considerable body of foot and horse.

[NOTE] *Rushworth*, part iv., ii. 1310, says he had two regiments of foot and two of horse. The *Surtees*

* "Here that regiment [Colonel Rainsbroughe's] hath bene now these twenty daies to the great charge of the countay, about ten miles distance from Pomfrett" (20th October). As this letter was meant for the eye of the Speaker, the above statement must have been accurate, or the Committee would not have ventured upon it.

† St. Albans, September 23rd, 1648 (*Rushworth*, p. 1271).

‡ *Archæologia*, p. 39.

§ *Ib.*

|| *Rushworth*, p. 1279.

Miscellany, p. 96, quoting Paulden (?), says twelve hundred foot and a regiment of horse.*

I venture to think that he has here confused Rainsborough's men advancing from the south with Cromwell's force advancing from the north. The "two regiments of horse and two of foot," spoken of by Rushworth, belonged to Cromwell's force; Rainsborough's force, on the other hand, is spoken of as his "Regiment."†

Mr. Peacock also holds that the halt at Doncaster was the consequence of Cholmeley's refusal to hand over his command to Rainsborough.‡ But the regiment, as I have shown, halted at Doncaster not later than the 1st of October, and it was not till "some time during that month"§ that Rainsborough received his commission, nor was it till the 16th or 17th that he presented himself at the Leaguer before Pontefract and displayed it to the indignant Cholmeley. The latter, though evidently an incompetent, if not a half-hearted commander, flatly refused to hand over to Rainsborough, in his eyes a junior colonel, the large body of country forces, which were collected under him around the Castle.|| Rainsborough thereupon betook himself to York, to lay his case before the county committee, as the nearest authority capable of bringing Cholmeley to reason. Meanwhile the latter instantly penned two despatches, one southwards to the House of Commons, complaining of the indignity thus put upon him,¶ the other northwards to the Lieutenant-General, requesting him to solve the difficulty by taking over the command himself.**

* *Archæologia*, xlv. 41.

† "When Colonel Rainsborow's Regiment is come up to us, they shall keep them up closer." Letter from Pontefract (*Rushworth*, IV., ii. 1294, cf. p. 1271). Compare Cholmeley's letter: "His regiment being now at Doncaster." The Committee also speaks of his force as "that regiment," and Paulden writes: "About this time . . . came C. Rainsborough, with his regiment of foot out of y^e south" (*Archæologia*, xlv. 60).

‡ *Archæologia*, xlv. 41.

§ *Ib.*

|| It would seem from this quarrel that the officers of militia considered themselves on an equality in military precedence with those of the regular forces.

¶ This letter was read in the House on the 20th, when Rushworth gives an abstract of it (p. 1300), and ordered to be sent on to Fairfax. It has been carefully reproduced by Mr. Peacock (p. 42).

** Mr. Peacock appears to hold that this letter was

Cromwell was by this time at Newcastle, and the letter must have reached him there. On the 20th he advanced to Durham, and it is even stated that the "van" of his army was to reach "Pomfret" the same day.*

On the 17th Colonel Rainsborough had his first interview with the Committee, who succeeded in effecting a compromise by the evening of the 19th. But on the morning of the 20th he informed them that he must decline to make any concession, and withdrew, in dudgeon, to Doncaster. The despairing Committee, having failed in their efforts, wrote at once to the Commons to narrate the above facts, and implore their prompt intervention.† But, at the request of Sir Henry Cholmeley, and following his own example, they also wrote, at the same time, to the Lieutenant-General (Cromwell), begging him to assume the command in person. This letter met him the following day at "Duresme" (Durham), on his southward march (21st October),‡ and, in reply, he sent them word that there were already upon their March two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, which would be there in four or five days, and he would come himself with what speed he could.§

These "four or five days" would bring us to about the 26th, and on that day Sir Henry Cholmeley, to whom the Committee had forwarded Cromwell's reply, writes to the Speaker, on the strength of it, that

he [Cromwell] will be at Pontefract to-morrowe with

written before Cholmeley knew of Rainsborough's commission (p. 44), but I am compelled to believe that, like the other, it was the direct result of his learning it.

* Letter "from Newcastle, October 16th" (*sic*, but should be 19th) in *Rushworth* (p. 1306).

† *Archæologia*, xlv. 42-3.

‡ Compare a letter from Newcastle of 20th October in *Packet of Letters* (24th October):—"Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell is going for Duresme and so on for Pomfret." It is exceedingly difficult to disentangle the exact dates of Cromwell's movements at this crisis. I have, however, ascertained them to be as follows. He was at Newcastle from the 16th to the 20th (Oct.), and marched thence to Durham, where he remained from the 20th to the 24th, on which day he advanced to Barnard's Castle, on the Yorkshire border, to meet the assembled gentlemen of the Northern Counties. Cholmeley, as we shall see, expected him at Pontefract on the 27th, and the York correspondent, writing independently on the 28th, says, "This day Lieutenant-General Cromwell is expected to come [*i.e.* to Pontefract] with orces" (*Rushworth*, p. 1314).

§ *Rushworth*, p. 1310.

with (*sic*) twoe Regiments of Horse and some foote, etc., etc.*

The sequence of events being thus clear, I cannot see why Mr. Peacock should throw doubt on Cholmeley's words:—

Sir Henry Cholmeley had, or professed to have, heard from Cromwell before the following letter was written. There must have been, however, some mistake or falsification, for he declares that he hopes for his arrival on the morrow—that is Friday, the 27th of October, whereas it would appear that Cromwell did not reach Pontefract until about the 9th of November.†

I can only suppose that he must have overlooked Cromwell's letter from Durham, and yet he himself refers to the passage.‡ Moreover, as to the date of Cromwell's arrival before Pontefract, it is clear, I think, that he had taken up his quarters "at Biron House, near Pontefract," at least as early as the 1st of November, for the fact is mentioned in a despatch which reached London on the 4th.§

On the 28th an anonymous correspondent sent up from York a most alarming description of those "desperate men," the "Pontefract-blades," and of their doings, which he traces to the fact that

Col. Rainsborough is come no nearer than Doncaster, and the poor country suffereth.||

The very next morning Colonel Rainsborough himself was slain at Doncaster, in his own quarters, in a confused scuffle with some horsemen from Pontefract, who had attempted the daring feat of carrying him off prisoner.

Of this event the industry of Mr. Peacock has compiled so admirable and exhaustive an account that nothing can be added to it. I shall content myself with glancing at the *motives* of the Pontefract cavaliers. In the first place, it is only fair to compare this attempt with the precisely similar enterprise by which they had captured Pontefract Castle, of which the governor, when surprised in the same way in his chamber, had similarly refused their offers of quarter, and had made a desperate resistance.¶ Fortu-

* *Archæologia*, xlv. 45.

† *Ib.*, xlv. 45.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 41.

§ *Rushworth*, p. 1319.

|| *Ib.*, p. 1314.

¶ *Archæologia*, xlv. 56-7.

nately, he recovered from the wounds he received, and it is clear that his assailants, on that occasion, had no wish to kill him. So, too, they had surprised Sir Arthur Ingram, and carried him off from his own house into Pontefract Castle.* It may fairly be presumed that they had similarly intended merely to make Rainsborough their prisoner. And this presumption is greatly strengthened by the circumstances of the time. For they had had, as yet, "an easy enemy," but now that regular troops were closing in on them from the north and from the south, their position was becoming serious, and might soon be one of danger. It is, therefore, surely, highly credible that they should have intended, as we are told,

to carry off Rainborowe to the castle, and hold him to ransom in exchange for Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was then a prisoner in Nottingham Castle, and who, they feared, was about to share the fate of Lucas and Lisle.†

There can, indeed, be little doubt that Langdale, had he not luckily effected his escape, would have been put to death with Hamilton and Capel for his share in the common enterprise, and even if Rainsborough had not been required as a hostage for his safety, he would obviously have been, from his position and influence, an invaluable pledge for the safety of the besieged garrison itself, just as the besieged loyalists in Colchester had detained the Essex Committee, with the same object, up to the close of the siege. On the other hand, to plan the *murder* of Rainsborough would be a scheme, under these circumstances, so absolutely suicidal that I cannot accept it as credible. It would only exasperate beyond control the already embittered army, and end, as indeed his death did, in bringing the principals to the gallows. On these grounds I am compelled to believe that Paulden speaks the truth when he says that they were "not willing to kill him."‡ Mr. Peacock, indeed, argues that

On the other hand, the Puritan writers all agreed that the design included bloodshed from the beginning.§

* Rushworth, p. 1294; cf. *Archæologia*, xlv. 40.

† *Archæologia*, xlv. 46.

‡ *Archæologia*, xlv. 61.

§ *Ib.*, p. 47.

But I do not see what importance can be attached to the evidence of those who were not in the secret, and who were naturally writing with the strongest prejudice after Rainsborough's unfortunate death.

Opinions may fairly differ as to the merits of the enterprise, but, as to its event, we are bound to remember, while sympathizing with the sturdy Independent, who, whether a "fanatic" or not,* died fighting bravely for his life, that in refusing his captors' offer of quarter, he exposed himself to the inevitable consequence, and that his assailants, surrounded by his troops, carried their lives in their hands.

This dashing raid of the cavaliers bears, in its details, a striking resemblance to another famous tale of "the North Countree," the ballad of "Clym of the Cloughe and Willyam of Cloudele":—

Then spake him Clym of the Clough,
Wyth a wyle we wyl vs in bryng;
Let vs saye we be messengers,
Streight come nowe from our king.

*
Nowe are we in, sayde Adame Bell,
Thereof we are full faine,
But Christe knows, that harowed hell,
How we shall com out agayne.

The "wyle" by which Clym of the Clough made his way into Carlisle was the very one by which the cavaliers gained admission into Pontefract.

Meanwhile, the existence of the Tower Regiment was itself being gravely threatened. On the very eve of its colonel's death, Fairfax and his staff had formulated their demand that the establishment should be increased by 3,000 men, "whereof eight companies to be of Col. Rainsborough's regiment."† But the Commons had been playing their own game. Some three weeks before, on the 9th of October, they had finally presented to the king, for his acceptance, their "Proposition concerning the Militia," perpetuating for nearly twenty years the arrangement embodied in that "Ordinance for the Militia" which they had passed so reluctantly the previous May. By the last clause of this "Proposition"

* Mr. Markham is responsible for the epithet (*Life of Fairfax*, p. 287).

† 28th October (*Rushworth*, p. 1309).

(which the king had accepted the same day), it was provided

That the Tower of London may be in the government of the city of London, and the chief officer or governor thereof from time to time, to be nominated removable by the Common Council.*

This settlement had obviously destroyed the *raison d'être* of "the Tower Guards," and had supplied the House with an excellent plea for the old cry of "disbandment." It was impossible, however, to propose this just when they were the only Regulars available for Pontefract Leaguer (9th October). But the hastening close of the struggle soon removed this obstacle. On the 9th of November, the House

was informed that the Tower of London was in some danger of surprisal by reason of much resort thereunto by Malignants and other desperate Persons, and having an inconsiderable Guard besides, which, with the disaffection of many of them, did occasion much fear thereof.†

But the warning did not avail to divert the House from its purpose, and on Saturday, November the 25th, it

voted likewise that the Tower Regiment, late under the command of Col. Rainsborough, should be forthwith disbanded.‡

With this entry I close my story of "the Tower Guards," and of their doings in that eventful year of grace 1648.§

* Sir E. Walker's *Perfect Copies of all the Votes, Letters, Proposals, and Answers relating to, and that passed in, the Treaty held at Newport* (1705), p. 52; cf. pp. 22, 32.

† *Rushworth*, p. 1321.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1337.

§ It should be noticed that the instructive struggle between the civil and military authorities for the control of the Tower, which I have described in the course of this paper, was paralleled in miniature at York, where, a few weeks after Fairfax had occupied, with his regular troops, the Tower of London (9th Aug., 1647), we read (13th Sept.) that "Major General Lambert hath written several times to the Lord Mayor of York for the admitting Major Carter, Governour of Clifford's Tower, and his company, (or 60 thereof), to be there; but the Mayor of York seems unwilling, standing upon other authority. . . . This night [? 11th Sept.] the Lord Mayor of York sent three gentlemen, viz., Mr. Blackbeard, the town clerk, and two others, to the Colonel-General, desiring there may be a fair Correspondency and right Understanding between them concerning the Business of Clifford's Tower, and inviting him to a dinner tomorrow. His Answer was to the first, he desired the same, and did nothing therein but in Prosecution of

The Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art.

BY CLAPTON ROLFE.

PART II.

(Continued from page 153.)



THE first illustration (on p. 210) is a detail drawing, showing the north doorway of Shellingford church.

This is very different in design to the south doorway, but no less mystical and beautiful. In the design of the *single* jamb shaft and its *triple* moulded base, we may clearly see the influence of the numerical principle in question. The arch, as in the other example, has its *three* courses of voussoirs, as the jointing indicates. The outer one of these, the wide flat label, is especially worthy of notice. It is most simple, but withal cunningly designed, with *three* plain flat faces, A, B, C (see detail); while in one of them a shallow sinking is made to show *two* additional faces. The scholastic accuracy of the design, simple though it is, is not surpassed by any of the more ornate work of the middle ages. The *five* faces of the label (3 + 2) admirably symbolize the Divine Sacrifice.

The most noticeable feature of this arch is, however, the ornament of the *twelve* conventional beak heads around it. These are very well carved, and charmingly effective. They symbolize the Incarnation, though not with the scholastic accuracy of Riddell's work at Ely, or the work at Holyrood, of the same date. Still there can be no possible doubt that the play upon number twelve in

his Duty and Trust: to the second, that he would wait on his Lordship in the Morning, but the great Affairs he had in hand for the publick Service would not permit him to accept it" (*Rushworth*, pp. 808-9). It is amusing to observe that, in the same contingency, Fairfax had shown an equal dread of the seductive power of civic hospitality. On his sudden appearance with his troops at the Tower, he received an invitation from the Corporation, that he "would please to dine with them." He told them he would discuss it "at a Council of War," and, after this had been duly held, he "returned them a very loving and modest Answer, excusing his non-acceptance of that Invitation, by reason of the many great and weighty Affairs, in order to the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, the Army are at this time wholly taken up withal" (*Ib.* pp. 760-1-3).

this Shellingford doorway was intentional and not accidental. In proof of this, the neighbouring church at Charney, about four miles off, has another old doorway of about the same date. Its design is quite different to that of the Shellingford work, but it has

that the play upon the number was intentional. It is as though the one doorway was intended to respond to the other.

The second of our illustrations (Fig. 2, p. 211) shows the third of these Shellingford doorways, that to the chancel. Its base

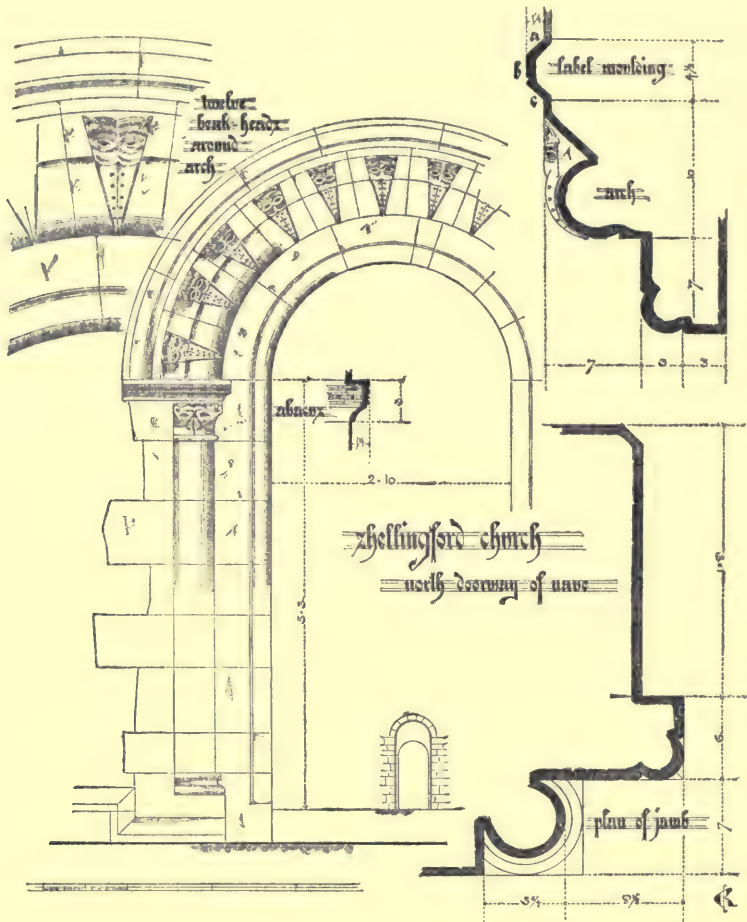


FIG. 1.

around its arch a somewhat similar carved ornament, consisting of *twelve* conventional heads, not beak-heads as in the Shellingford work, but the heads of some conventional animal. This repetition of the mystical number twelve in a totally different design, in a neighbouring doorway, is proof enough

moulding is hidden away under ground, so we cannot say what that is like. Its annulet of *five* moulded members corresponds to that of the south doorway before alluded to. The *three* courses of voussoirs forming the outer arch correspond also to those of the other two doorways; but the lower of them

in this example has a moulding of *three* members, E, F, G (see detail), instead of *one* member as in the other examples. The middle course of voussoirs has a chevron moulding differing in design to that of the south doorway, but still of *three* moulded members, A, B, C. The carving to this chevron is one of the chief features of the

plain. By this means the doctrine of grace is cunningly set forth. Gothic art abounds in irregularities of this sort. We are apt to admire them for their very quaintness, forgetful of the intense piety and devotion to the Catholic faith which originated and underlies them.

In conclusion, I will add a few words about our cathedral churches, to point out that the

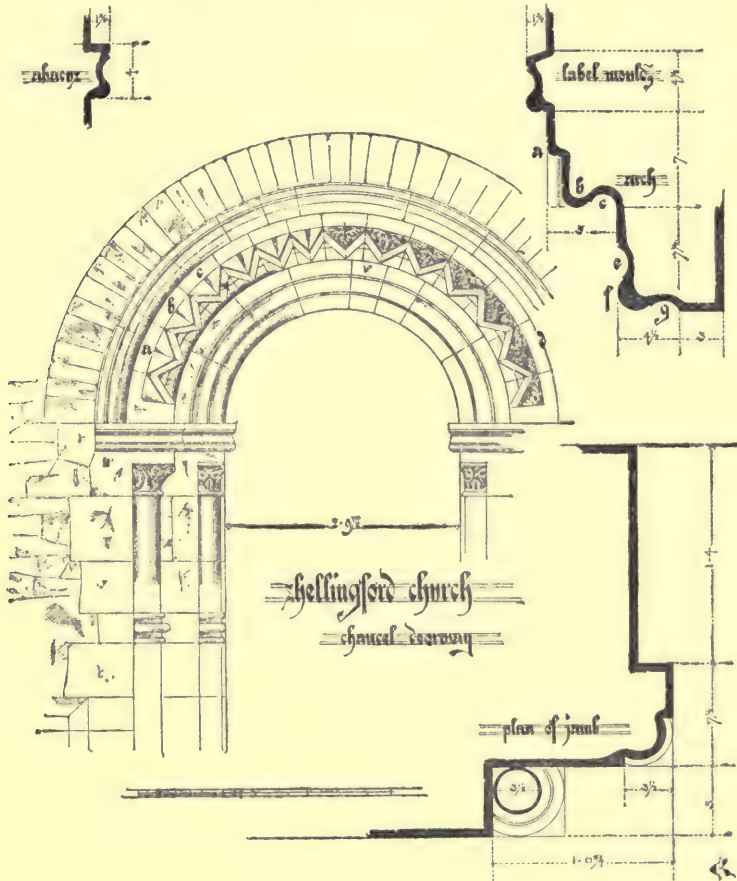


FIG. 2.

doorway. It will be seen from the drawing that half the arch is carved, and the other half left plain. There is a reason for this. Had all the spaces between the chevrons been carved there would have been fourteen carvings around the arch. To get over this and render the work symbolic, *seven* of these spaces are carved and *seven* (A, B, C) left

same numerical principle which influenced the design of small and out-of-the-way country churches influenced, in like degree, these larger and more important buildings.

Within a few years of the completion of the Shellingford doorway, a little later on in the twelfth century, William of Sens was at work rebuilding the choir of Canterbury Cathedral

after the fire. His work, like that just described, is transitional, though more advanced. In it the influence of the French school of art may be perceived, but over and above this, that of numerical principle.

In the design of the clerestory, which is some of William of Sens' work, the influence of numerical principle is very apparent, as also in the groined roof above. For example, the ribs and arches of the groining, which spring from each angle of the crossing, are conspicuously *five* in number, subdivided with scholastic accuracy into 3 (diagonal ribs) + 2 (transverse): then again, each of the three diagonal ribs is designed with *three* bold convex mouldings, and so on. The groin ribs and transverse arches of the choir are also designed to spring from the wall either *singly*, to typify the Unity, or in groups of *three*, to symbolize the Trinity of the Godhead, with excellent effect. This groined vault was one of the first, if not the first, constructed in England; and we may learn from it how great an influence numerical principle exercised in the working out of this distinctive feature of ancient Gothic art. The numbers played upon throughout are *one, three, and five*.

It was from this upper part of the choir that William of Sens fell and mortally injured himself. After his death, William the Englishman was chosen to carry on the work, and right well did he execute his commission. Good as is the later work of William of Sens, William the Englishman's far surpasses it. In the eastern transepts, and their apsidal chapels (the former of which is William of Sens' work, and the latter, I think, William the Englishman's), we may perceive the difference in point of merit in the work of the two masters. The design of these eastern transepts, which is undoubtedly William of Sens', as the Gallican base mouldings with their flattened lower member would of itself indicate, is hardly so good as that of the choir. The design of the apsidal chapels, on the other hand, is excellent; and just as the base mouldings of the transepts are indicative of the work being William of Sens', so those of the chapels (which agree with the base mouldings of Becket's crown) tend to prove that these adjuncts are the work of the mastermind of William the Englishman.*

* The round abacus also, a feature of William the

The general design of these apsidal chapels is truly excellent. The pier dividing those in the south transept should be noticed with its *five* shafts, whereof *three* are detached, and of Purbeck marble. The vaulting of the chapels is equally good. Each chapel is vaulted in *three* compartments, each detached rib designed of *three* bold convex mouldings, and each wall rib of *one*. So that from each abacus there springs a group of *five* convex mouldings, 3 + 2. When we bear in mind that each chapel was erected solely to enshrine an altar for the celebration of the mysteries, the beauty and fitness of the design, which symbolizes with such scholastic accuracy *the Divine Sacrifice*, becomes the more apparent.

But of all the twelfth century work at Canterbury, that to Becket's crown, which is, and is acknowledged by all good authorities to be, the work of William the Englishman, surpasses all else. It was carried out *circa* 1180—1184. The grouping and detail of the lower windows, *five* in number, is well-nigh incomparable. The escoinson arches to these windows are particularly beautiful. Then again, the vaulting shafts, the moulded bases, the moulded annulets, the abaci to the vaulting shafts (which run up from floor to roof, at times appearing as *one* shaft and again as *three*), the beautiful groin ribs, and the wall arcades over the western arch 4 × 3 (the Incarnation)—all indicate how William the Englishman, in the true spirit of an ancient Gothic architect, strove to make his work worthy of God's sanctuary, to His glory, and the honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In the thirteenth century these principles of ancient Gothic art reached their highest development. Some of the buildings carried out during this period, especially in the first half of the thirteenth century, are the purest specimens of Gothic art we possess. Those which as works of art are accounted of most merit, are the very buildings in which numerical principle is most apparent—proving that the highest aim of Gothic, and that moreover which has produced its noblest works of art, is to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology. The beautiful Cistercian work of

Englishman's work in the crypt, which occurs to some of the piers of the apsidal chapels, would tend to prove that the restoration of these chapels is his work.

the period, that of Prior William de Hoo at Rochester, or again, that of Bishop Norwold at Ely, may well be described as the Catholic faith cunningly wrought in stone.* Norwold's work (1235—1252) is beautiful in the extreme.

From each wall shaft springs a group of *seven* noble ribs; and of these *five* are designed to support the main central ridge. There are *five* bosses to each bay of the vaulting along the main ridge from east to west, and *three* to each transverse ridge from north to south. Then again, each of the seven ribs appears to have *three* bold convex mouldings which die away into one another, with admirable effect, at the springing. Ecclesiastically speaking, the art of Gothic vaulting might well have stopped at this stage of its development. It had advanced from one rib to three, from three to five, from five to seven. Here it might well have stopped; for further development beyond *seven* only led to decline.†

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries numerical principle began to decline. The science of building religiously gave way little by little during this period, and *beauty* rather than *truth* became the chief thing aimed at. As a natural consequence art declined. So much so, that by the sixteenth century, when numerical principle was well-nigh lost sight of altogether, Gothic art in this country became a parody and a ruin. It was devotion to the principle which matured and

perfected Gothic art, and the neglect of it which debased and ruined it. Art in the later mediæval period followed in the wake of other things; it became less pure, less *religious*, so to speak; the precept of St. Thomas Aquinas was forgotten, men sought to build with artistic skill rather than with devotional cunning.

Still, in this later Gothic work, especially in that of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century, there is much that is strictly upon the old lines; work as good, or almost so, as any that had gone before. Such, for example, is the Canterbury nave (*circa* 1378—1411), which is very beautiful, and full of symbolism, though so late. Or again, William of Wykeham's nave at Winchester, which is perhaps more replete with symbolism than any other work of the fourteenth century. But is it surprising that it is so; that *the Divine Sacrifice* is so indelibly impressed upon the design, when we bear in mind that Wykeham in his youth at 5 a.m. each morning knelt at mass on the very spot where his magnificent tomb and chantry now stand? He was a pious Churchman, with the true spirit of an ancient Gothic architect in him; hence his work at Winchester is such a pure specimen of the Gothic art of that age; his chantry chapel the most beautiful in all England.*

I turn once again to Rome. Allusion has already been made to ancient St. Peter's at Rome, the basilican church erected by Constantine in the fourth century, and to its symbolic design. The great and comparatively modern church of St. Peter, erected in the fifteenth century, now occupies its site. In the Bodleian Library there is a fine copy of Fontana's work, *Il Tempio Vaticano*, which elaborately illustrates this latter building. I have looked very carefully through the plates of the work to try and discover traces of the old numerical principle of Christian art in its design. It cannot be

* "This (chantry) chapel, to which Wykeham refers in his will, was built by him on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin, his especial patroness, the mass at which he had always been accustomed to attend when a boy at school, and which stood, it is said, 'in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour.' The design of Wykeham's chantry is very beautiful."—Murray's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England*.

‡ * "Scarcely a single parish throughout this land, but what holds an old church, built by Catholic hands, for Catholic worship; many of our towns can boast of a fine old minster, and each of our cities has its old cathedral: parish church, minster, cathedral, are so many Catholic creeds cut in stone."—*Church of our Fathers*, vol. i., p. 342.

† The lierne vaulting of De Lisle's three western bays of the choir (*circa* 1345—1362), where the seven ribs are exceeded, is not nearly so effective or good as Norwold's vaulting to the eastern bays. And as in art there should not be development beyond seven, so in ritual worship. A rubric of the Sarum missal says, "More than seven collects are never to be said." Mr. Chambers also, alluding to the cautions of the mass gathered from ancient English Missalia, says: "In repeating the collects let the uneven number always be observed: One, because of the Unity of the Deity; Three, because of the Trinity of Persons; Five, because of the fivefold Passion of Christ; Seven, because of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit. The number of seven must not be exceeded."—*Divine Worship in England*, p. 299.

found in any appreciable degree. The design is wholly pagan; though but a parody upon ancient classic pagan art, as many of its details indicate.* Setting aside the traditions of the ancient Church of Rome—of the Romanesque, the Byzantine, and the Gothic schools of art—ignoring those grand old principles of ancient Christian art by which the builders of Christendom had worked out the problem of rendering the science of building subservient to the faith—the Roman Catholics of that day in re-erecting St. Peter's deliberately returned to the pagan art of ancient pagan Rome. History is said to repeat itself; it has indeed repeated itself in the cycle of the arts at Rome.



The Nevills of Raby and their Alliances.

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

PART III.

T WAS stated above that Margaret, the daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, in the reign of Edward III., on the death of her husband, William de Ros, married Henry, Lord Percy. The arms of this baron, who was created Earl of Northumberland, are those referred to by Dodsworth as *a lion rampant azure*. By her second marriage Margaret† had three sons, Henry, Thomas, and Ralph. Her eldest son, Henry, the valiant Harry Hotspur, who lost his life at the battle of Shrewsbury in his father's lifetime, had married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, by whom he left issue a son, Henry, and a daughter, Elizabeth. This daughter married John, Lord Clifford, and afterwards Ralph Nevill, the second Earl of Westmorland, while her brother Henry, who was restored to the earldom of Northumberland, married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph

* See base mouldings and other details upon folio 299 of Fontana's work.

† On her death in 46 Edward III. the Earl of Northumberland took to wife Maud, the daughter and heir of Anthony, Lord Lucy, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus.

Nevill, the first Earl of Westmorland. Henry Percy lost his life at the battle of St. Albans in 33 Henry VI., having had by his wife nine sons and two daughters. His descendant Sir Henry Percy was in 18 Elizabeth summoned to parliament as Earl of Northumberland. He married Catherine, the eldest daughter and coheir of John Nevill, Lord Latimer, and being imprisoned in the Tower upon suspicion of conspiring to rescue Mary, Queen of Scots, was, in 28 Elizabeth, found dead in his bed, having been killed by a pistol shot in his side.

The Gilbert de Umfraville whose widow, Maud, married Henry, Lord Percy, was descended from Robert de Umfraville, Lord of Toures, otherwise called "Robert with the Beard," a kinsman of William the Conqueror, who made him a grant of the lordship, valley, and forest of Riddesdale, in Northumberland. Gilbert was constituted, in 20 Edward I., governor of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, and of the whole territory of Anagor, in Scotland, and in 25 Edward I. he was summoned to parliament by the title of Earl of Angus, his mother being the daughter and heir of Malcolm, Earl of Angus, at which time, says Dugdale,

our lawyers of England were somewhat startled, and refused in their breves and instruments to acknowledge him Earl, by reason that Angus was not within the kingdom of England, until he had openly produced the king's writ and warrant in face of the court.

The arms of Angus mentioned by Dodsworth, are those of Umfraville as given by Edmondson, *gu, a cinquefoil ar, within an orle of eight crosslets or*. There does not appear to have been any direct connection between the Nevills and that family, but Henry, Lord Percy, the first Earl of Northumberland, who married Maud, the widow of Gilbert de Umfraville, third Earl of Angus, had had for his first wife Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill. In 14 Edward III. Gilbert de Umfraville was joined in commission with Henry, Lord Percy, and Ralph, Lord Nevill, to treat and conclude a truce with the Scots, and in 26 Edward III., "upon some apprehension of an invasion by the French," he was again put in commission with the same lords "for the arming and arraying of all Knights, Esquires, and others in the County

of Northumberland, for the defence of those parts." That earl of Angus died in 4 Richard II. without leaving any issue, his son Robert, who had married Margaret, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland, having predeceased him and died childless.

Of the persons mentioned in Dodsworth's list there remains now to be referred to only the Seigneur de Segrave. It has already been shown that in Edward III.'s reign John, Lord Mowbray, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of John, Lord Segrave. The mother of this lady was Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, whose daughter Alice married Edward de Montacute. The grandfather of John, Lord Segrave, also called John, was a man of great note in the reigns of Edwards I. and II. After the siege of Caerlaverok, in 31 Edward I., he was left in Scotland as the King's Lieutenant, and in 2 Edward II. he was appointed Warden of all Scotland. Dying in Gascony in 18 Edward II., and his eldest son, Stephen, being then dead, he was succeeded by his grandson, the John, Lord Segrave, who married the daughter of Thomas of Brotherton. This baron died in 27 Edward III., leaving one child, Elizabeth, then the wife of John, Lord Mowbray, by whom she had issue John, the fourth Lord Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham, who died childless, and Thomas, Lord Mowbray, who was created Duke of Norfolk by Richard II. The barony of Segrave appears to have descended to the Mowbrays; as John, Lord Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1 Edward IV., as well as his son and successor John, Lord Mowbray, who died fourteen years afterwards, bore the title of Lord Segrave. The arms of Segrave as given by Edmondson are *Sa, a lion rampant arg. crowned or a bend gules*, and these are the arms mentioned by Dodsworth.

We have now to consider whether it can be ascertained by whom and at what period the armorial windows in the choir of Cottingham Church were introduced. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire*, refers to the existence of various armorial bearings in the windows of the principal choir of the church at Well, in the North Riding of the county of York, among which are those of the Nevills of Raby, Sir Henry de Percy,

and Lord de Ros. The manor of Well descended to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William, Lord Latimer, of Danby, who married John Nevill, younger son of Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby. John, Lord Latimer, the son and successor of that John Nevill, died without issue, and his brother and heir Ralph, Earl of Northumberland, settled the inherited estates on his son, George Nevill, who had thereupon the title of Lord Latimer. The last Lord Latimer of this family, John Nevill, who died in 20 Elizabeth, A.D. 1577, was buried at Well, and a monument to him was in the year 1596 erected in the church there. The monument consists of a cumbent figure in armour, surrounded by the different armorial bearings to which Lord Latimer was entitled. The shield over the inscription bears the arms of Nevill, with seventeen other quarterings. Several of these quarterings, as Beauchamp, Warwick, Vere, and Stafford, were also in the windows of Cottingham Church, but the arms of Nevill are different. The Nevill silver saltire in Well Church is charged with an annulet, which is the distinguishing mark of George Nevill, Lord Latimer, as the fifth son.

The monument to John Nevill, the last Lord Latimer, in the church at Well, was erected by Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, who married Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheirs of that nobleman. Is it possible that the armorial windows of Cottingham Church were also put up by him? The date would answer well enough, seeing that Dodsworth appears to have visited Cottingham in 1620, that is only twenty-four years after the erection of the monument to Lord Latimer by the Earl of Exeter, and he does not speak of them as ancient. To justify that assumption, however, it should be shown that this nobleman was connected in some way with Cottingham. It is not difficult to do this, although there is no evidence that he or his wife had any possessions there. On the death without issue in 1408 of Edmund Holland Earl of Kent, the original manor of Cottingham was divided among his four surviving sisters, the daughters of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. It has long been subdivided into four manors, known as *Cottingham Powis* with *Baynard Castle*, *Cottingham Richmond*, *Cottingham Sarum*, and *Cottingham Westmoreland*, which

were apparently named after the husbands of the coheireses or of their female descendants. We have already had occasion to mention that John de Nevill, the eldest son of the first Earl of Westmorland, married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Thomas Holland, and one of the coheirs of Edmund Holland, the last Earl of Kent of that family. Alianore, the fourth daughter of Thomas Holland, married Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, whose daughter Alice became the wife of Richard Nevill, the eldest son of that earl of Westmorland by his wife Joane. Two of the Nevills of Raby thus became interested in the manor of Cottingham in right of their wives. After the death of the Earl of Salisbury at the battle of Wakefield in 1460, his estates were forfeited, but the forfeiture would not apply to the estates belonging to his wife, which probably descended to her son Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, better known as Earl of Warwick. As before mentioned, this earl had two daughters, Isabel and Anne, both of whom married sons of Richard Mortimer, Duke of York. Isabel married George, Duke of Clarence, and Anne Richard, Duke of Gloucester. On the death of the Earl of Warwick at the battle of Barnet Field in 1471, Edward IV. bestowed the title of Earl of Warwick and Salisbury on his brother, the Duke of Clarence. The Duke of Gloucester, however, in 11 Edward IV. obtained a grant in special tail "of all the lordships, manors, and lands, which Richard Nevill, late Earl of Warwick, or the heirs male of his body, or any of his ancestors whose heir male he was, held." Richard thus became entitled to one share of the manor of Cottingham, and a few years later, in 1475, Edward IV., by authority of parliament, transferred to his brother, in exchange for certain lordships in Yorkshire, the share of that manor belonging to him as the heir-at-law of their father Richard, Duke of York, with the advowson of the church and other lands. The Duke of Gloucester thus became the owner of two divisions of the manor of Cottingham, and in 17 Edward IV. his son Edward was created Earl of Salisbury, with which title the manor of Cottingham Sarum would seem to have been somehow connected. Edward, Earl of Salis-

bury, died in the lifetime of his father, Richard III., on whose death this manor probably went to Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son of George, Duke of Clarence, and his wife Isabel; who was beheaded in 15 Henry VII., and attainted four years afterwards. His sister Margaret had married Sir Richard Pole, and on the death of her husband she petitioned to be permitted, as sister and heir in blood of Edward, Earl of Warwick, to assume the title of Countess of Salisbury. This permission was granted, and in 5 Henry VIII. she obtained letters patent "for all the Castles, Mannors, and Lands of Richard, late Earl of Salisbury, her Grandfather, which came to the Crown, by the attainder of the same Edward, Earl of Warwick, her brother."

Leland the antiquary, who visited Cottingham about 1538, wrote: "The lands of this Signorie and Lordship greatly privileged came of later times by division into four partes, whereof now a late the King had one parte, the Countess of Soresby another, the Earl of Westmoreland the three, and the Lord Poys the four; at this tyme the King hath all saving the Lord Poys part." The manor of Cottingham Powis was probably that portion of the original manor which Richard, Duke of Gloucester, obtained by exchange from Edward IV. Alianore, the eldest daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, from whom those princes were descended, married for her second husband Edward de Cherlton, Lord Powys, and possibly on the death of Richard III. the manor of Cottingham Powis reverted to the Crown, and afterwards came into the possession of Leland's Lord Poys. This was doubtless Edward Grey, Lord Powis, who married a daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and died without issue some time after 36 Henry VIII.* The manor of Cottingham Richmond came to Henry VIII. from his father, to whom it had descended from Margaret, the third daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. Whether the king had then the manor of Cottingham Westmoreland, as stated by

* Sir Richard Grey, Lord Powis, who died in 6 Edward IV., had lands in Cottingham and Hessele, particulars of which are given by Dugdale, but they could hardly have belonged to the manor of Cottingham Powis.

Leland it is not necessary to inquire.* As to the manor of Cottingham Sarum, it appears that in 31 Henry VIII. the Countess of Salisbury, then seventy years of age, was attainted for treason, "under colours of compliance with the Marquess of Exeter," and was beheaded two years afterwards, in 1541. Her eldest son, Henry, who in 13 Henry VIII. had received the title of Lord Montague, had been beheaded three years before also for conspiring with the Marquess of Exeter. He left by his wife Jane, the daughter of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, two daughters, Katherine, married to Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and Winifride, married first to Sir Thomas Hastings, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Barington.†

The Marquess of Exeter above referred to was cousin german of Henry VIII., being, as mentioned at a preceding page, the son and heir of William Courtney, Earl of Devon, by Katherine, daughter of Edward IV. He was beheaded in 1538, at the same time as Henry, Lord Montague, and with them Sir Edward Nevill. The title of Duke of Exeter was held previously by Henry Holland, who had married Anne, sister of Edward IV., and whose father, John Holland, was created Duke of Exeter by Henry VI. This duke married for his second wife Anne, daughter of John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and by her had issue a daughter, Anne. This daughter married first John, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, and secondly Sir Thomas de Nevill, by whom she had a son, Ralph de Nevill, the third Earl of Westmorland. The families who bore the titles of Exeter and Salisbury were thus closely united with each other, and no less so with the Nevills. It is not surprising, therefore, that Thomas Cecil, the eldest son of Lord Burghley, who married Dorothy, one of the daughters and heirs of John Nevill, Lord Latimer, should have chosen to be created Earl of Exeter. Probably Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley's son by his second wife, took the title of Earl of Salisbury for a similar reason. His wife was the daughter

of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who appears to have married a daughter of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, and he may well, therefore, have aspired to a title so intimately associated with the Nevills as that of Earl of Salisbury. This great statesman, who died in 1612, may have wished not only to celebrate his alliance with the ancient and noble family of Nevill, but also to compare his dignity and power with theirs by erecting a monument in their memory. If it was intended also to show their alliance with the Hollands, Earls of Kent, that could not have been done better than by the erection of the armorial windows in the church of Cottingham, with which the Hollands and the Nevills had been so closely connected. I am inclined to think that the windows in question were due to Robert Cecil rather than to Thomas Cecil, who, curiously enough, was created by James I. Earl of Exeter on the evening of the same day, in 1605, as that on which his brother was created Earl of Salisbury. If, however, it is preferred that they should be ascribed to Thomas Cecil, a motive for their erection by him might perhaps be found in the fact that in 27 Henry VI. John, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, who had married the daughter of John Holland, Earl of Exeter, directed his body to be buried in the choir of the abbey of Haut-Emprice, which was situate in the parish of Cottingham. On the dissolution of the monasteries the abbey went to decay, and the choir of Cottingham Church may possibly have been intended to take its place as a memorial of the Nevills, and of the great families with whom they were allied.



Reviews.

The History of Bicester, its Town and Priory. Part II., The History of Bicester. Compiled by REV. J. C. BLOMEFIELD, M.A. (Bicester, 1884: Smith & Parkhurst.) 4to, pp. 212.



WE have already expressed our approval of Mr. Blomefield's first instalment of his *History of Bicester* (see *ante*, vol. v., p. 262), and it is now our pleasing duty to say that this second part is equally interesting and valuable. Mr. Blomefield goes upon the prin-

* It may be mentioned that Charles Nevill, the last Earl of Westmorland, was attainted in 13 Elizabeth.

† The manor of Cottingham Sarum appears to have at one time belonged to the Barringtons.

ciple that facts are worth any quantity of theories, and his book accordingly abounds in facts gathered with the most assiduous care from the local sources of information. No one, not being a local historian, could have placed such a storehouse of information before the student, and we can assure our readers that in matters of early social and agricultural history, this book will be found to contain some curious points. Gilbert Basset, younger son of Ralph Basset, Baron of Weldon, married into the De Oily family, and obtained a grant of some of the lands held by Robert of Oily. Gilbert Basset built a house as a residence for himself, where he resided for more than half a century. Taking an active part in favour of Maud against King Stephen, he was rewarded by Henry II. with a charter granting vast privileges and immunities. Some of Gilbert Basset's work in the chancel and central tower of the church still remains as a testimony of his piety, his wealth, and his bounty. This family held the manor for a century, and it passed at the death of Gilbert Basset, in 1203, to his wife, Egeline de Courteney, of the Devonshire family. From this time many different owners possessed the manor. Mr. Blomefield devotes sections to the parish church, which dates from the twelfth century, to the parish charities, and to the Priory of St. Edburg. The parish registers and terriers of land are all laid under contribution in a most admirable manner, and many important glimpses are afforded of village life in olden days, with its curious land tenure. A terrier of 1399 gives an exact description of the names and divisions of the land surrounding the village, and we get notice of the curious ends or small pieces of arable land, called "Buttes," and other characteristic features of the village community. Of the Priory Mr. Blomefield gives an exhaustive and valuable description, accompanied by a plan. Connected with this are many documents of great interest and instruction, such, for instance, as that of the "Receipts at the Bursary," and payments corresponding. As a record of prices paid for labour, corn, travelling, wine, building, and other expenses, this portion of the book will be found of great value, and we trust that Mr. Blomefield, before he ends his labours, will give us a full and exhaustive index to these documents. Of course there are many points which we cannot now touch upon, and which may perhaps be of still more importance to some of our readers than those mentioned above, but we heartily congratulate the author upon his conscientious and admirable piece of work.

Jottings on the Royal Coinage and Token Currency of Guildford, with some Notes on the Etymology of the Name of the Town. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON. 8vo, pp. 36.

All antiquaries understand the importance of such local contributions as this, and we can add our testimony to the fact that the execution of the work does not discredit the subject. The coins range from Ethelred II. in 978 to William II. in 1100, and the author has given an exact description of each coin, from the inscriptions on which much information is obtained as to the spelling of the town's name. The

tokens range from 1648 to 1673. As to the issues of these tokens and their local importance, some interesting information is given, and the whole essay is one which many, who are not strictly local inquirers, will be glad to possess. We recommend it to those who are interested in place-names and their spellings, as Mr. Williamson has pointed out a very valuable source of information for this very much needed study.

A Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line made by L(eonard) M(ascall). Reprinted from the Edition of 1590. With Preface and Glossary by T. SATCHELL. W. Satchell & Co. (Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.)

It was a stern and troublous time in England when Dame Juliana Berners first committed her *Treatyse of Fysshynge* to the press,—stern and troublous in the sense of that perpetual unrest inevitable in a country the bases of whose civilization were still unsettled and insecure. The writers of the Paston letters, speaking of the close of the fifteenth century, style it a "quavering" and "queasy" time, as if they felt all things to be giddy and reeling around them; and MacFarlane dilates on the fact that in England, at that period, human life "was evidently rated at a very low value, the constant risks to which it was exposed reducing its real worth, and the mere habit of seeing it constantly perilled and so often suddenly lost helping still further to make its extinction by violence or otherwise regarded with a deficiency of concern of which in the present day we have no conception." And yet this was "Merry England," for, says Froude, "we read of merry England when England was not merry,"—when justice was arbitrary and ignorant, when the people groaned under the exercise of feudal tyranny, and when for a man to possess his soul in quietness was at once the greatest of blessings and the most arduous of attainments.

We should have liked to bring before our readers a full and faithful picture of the rustic life and sports of this epoch, but the colours fail us; even the outline is blurred and broken. The old contemporary chroniclers and historians are rich indeed in records of the grand and stirring events of the century,—the struggles of dynasties, the pomp and splendour of courts, records of battles and sieges, of the surrender of towns, of triumphal entries; but to the wide, silent country places beyond, to the illimitable fields and forests, and to the lives and occupations of their denizens, they gave no heed. That men hunted and hawked and fished in those days, we know; but under what peculiar circumstances we are left to guess. One thing, as regards angling, however, we consider certain, that it cannot have been, at the close of the fifteenth century, the "contemplative recreation" it afterwards became. Piscator of that ilk plied a craft associated as much with peril as with pleasure; he can have had little vocation to stretch his limbs under honeysuckle hedges and discourse of nightingales' ditties to vagabond viators and venators. From this point of view we confess our surprise at the pacific aspect and accoutrement of the typical

angler of his time, such as Dame Juliana (not heroically) brings before us. Surely the Dame must have been chosen for model some fisher of the towns,—some cockney gudgeon-fisher, in his homely jerkin, and with his wife's kitchen tub for creel. The grotesque and left-handed creature of the *Treatyse* can never have tested the "twelve flies," in Tyne or Coquet, much less in Tweed, with King James hovering hawk-like over the border, and all his "blue bonnets" ready for a raid on the Northumbrian beeves. We should ourselves have depicted the mediæval angler with more military adjuncts, with a weapon of offence in his girdle and an arquebuse peeping over his shoulder above his creel.

Of Leonard Mascall's *Booke of Fishing with Hooke and Line* it may be said that the dry bones of the ancient treatise are revived in it, with other "dissecta membra," but not the living spirit. Dame Juliana's picturesque and harmonious phrase is silent in its pages, and for her high code of sporting morality we seek in vain,—an observation which applies, in a like degree, to Gryndall's subsequent pamphlet and to the *Jewel for Gentrie*. These are essentially practical. They have little merit beyond. Mr. Thomas Satchell, however, has enriched his reprint of Leonard Mascall with an able and interesting Introduction and an excellent Glossary. The series to which this work belongs—the "Library of old Fishing Books"—is a boon to modern collectors that cannot be too highly appreciated. A quarter of a century ago all the piscatorial book-rarities were attainable, with reasonable patience and a moderate expenditure. Now we have America in the market,—America, with a full purse and a dominant purpose—and too many of our Mascalls, Gryndalls, and *Jewels for Gentrie*, have already taken wing across the Atlantic, to return, we fear, no more.

Mr. Satchell's "Library" is, no doubt, intended to fill this void, and to bring within reach of the collectors, in an engaging form and under conscientious supervision, the works they can no longer hope to acquire in their original form. From this point of view the undertaking has our best wishes for its success.

Surrey Bells and London Bell Founders. A Contribution to the Comparative Study of Bell Inscriptions. By J. C. L. Stahlschmidt. (London: Elliot Stock, 1884.) 4to, with woodcuts.

This interesting and conscientious volume, of which we could sometimes desire the style and arrangement a little more lucid, appears to have owed its existence to the suggestion of the author's friend, the late Mr. North, whose name will be favourably known to our readers as that of an indefatigable enthusiast in the field of campanology. We think we may fairly recommend the latest publication in this class of inquiry as worthy to take a place by the side of the monographs which have preceded it. In one respect, the account which it gives us of the Bell-founders of London of the 13th and 14th centuries, it breaks new ground, and the researches of the compiler have led to some very interesting discoveries. Surrey possesses its fair share of interesting bells, and

the illustrations which this book contains are both good and curious. Each town is dealt with separately, and the author is minute in his descriptions and particulars.

The whole subject of bells, both in their civil and in their ecclesiastical uses, deserves the attention of some future antiquary. Prior to the general introduction of clocks, the bell played a much more important part in our daily life than we can at first sight believe to have been possible. It was the universal timekeeper and summoner, and it is a point deserving of careful investigation whether its employment as a factor in the early social system did not precede its adoption by the Church, first for the mere purpose of announcing the hour of prayer or devotion, and subsequently as a moral and religious agency. As chancicler was the only clock of the primitive villager, the bell was long the only machinery for marking the divisions of the monastic day. The origin of the consecration and enshrinement of bells is of considerable interest, but we should also welcome any important and authentic light shed on its former political significances and domestic application. It is of those things which already half belong to the past, perhaps in all its purposes, certainly in its ecclesiastical; for while horology was in its nonage, and places of worship were filled by more scattered congregations, the bell became and remained a valuable auxiliary, whereas at present it seems to be somewhat of an anachronism.

The most ancient bell which we can recollect to have seen depicted is one which occurs at page 213 of *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, by Lacroix, 1869. It is a hand-bell or *tintinnabulum*, ascribed to the ninth century, and copied from a MS.

Phallicism, celestial and terrestrial, heathen and Christian, its connection with the Rosicrucians and the Gnostics, and its foundation in Buddhism, with an Essay on Mystic Anatomy. By HARGRAVE JENNINGS. (London, 1884: George Redway.) 8vo, pp. xxvii, 298.

Unpleasant as this subject is, we are quite prepared to agree that in its scientific aspect, as a form of human worship, it has considerable importance, and we endorse Mr. Jennings' idea that it is not among the lowest of mankind that one must look for an explanation or history of it. At the same time we are not quite sure that we follow Mr. Jennings in all his learned disquisitions upon the subject. We think he is too much inclined to look for allegory and poetry where nothing but sheer fact and prose were originally intended, and this tendency, especially upon such a subject, leads the author far afield. Unlike Messrs. Westropp and Wake, in their book on *Ancient Symbolism in Worship*, Mr. Jennings deals almost entirely with the subjective part of his inquiry, and he has evidently made a considerable amount of research into the literature of early religions. Into the details of Mr. Jennings' book we cannot be expected to enter; but we may say that he has produced something which is, at all events, worth the attention of the student of comparative psychology, and we may add that we should have enjoyed his writing better had there been fewer notes of admiration!

The Essex Notebook and Suffolk Gleaner. (Colchester, 1884: Benham & Co.) 4to, pp. 12.

We welcome with cordial sympathy this fresh gleaner of local facts. It consists of reprints of the local Notes and Queries of the *Essex Standard*, and the editor has evidently put into his labours a great amount of judicial enthusiasm. There are a great number of small notes about matters always of value to the curious inquirer, and the collection of Essex Tenures promises to be more than ordinarily interesting. Field names is another subject we are glad to see taken up, as in this direction local inquiry can achieve results that cannot be attempted otherwise.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Archaeological Institute (see *ante*, page 174).—In the evening Canon Creighton opened the Historical Section with a singularly able lecture. The Antiquarian Section was subsequently opened by Dr. Bruce, who chose for the subject of his address "The Roman Occupation of Britain." On Wednesday morning Warkworth Castle and Alnwick Abbey were visited. Extensive excavations on the site of the abbey are in progress, and the foundations of the chapter-house and the cloister have been laid bare. Alnwick was afterwards visited. In the evening Canon Raine opened the Historical Section. Thursday's excursion to Holy Island proved to be of great interest. After an inspection of the ruins, the Dean of Chester delivered an interesting address on St. Aidan and King Oswald, and their connection with the site. The Rev. J. L. Low followed with some observations on the life of St. Cuthbert, who was sixth bishop of Lindisfarne. After lunch Mr. Micklethwaite described the ruins. The church consists of a nave with aisles and western towers, much resembling Durham in miniature, aisleless transepts with eastern apses, central tower, and aisleless choir. In the floor of the choir are exposed the foundations of the original apse, which Mr. C. Clement Hodges pronounced, with much show of probability, to be pre-Norman, though the rest of the building is early twelfth century. The conventual buildings are now represented by huge mounds and fragments of walls; but as a result of the visit of the Institute it is satisfactory to know they are to be excavated shortly by Sir William Crossman. On Friday Bamborough Castle was visited. It is a fine and large example of the Norman square keep, but as it is inhabited, it is difficult to make out its internal arrangements. It is its magnificent position on the summit of a lofty rock overlooking the German Ocean that makes Bamborough so famous. After lunch the antiquaries visited the church, which is a very interesting building, having a large Early English chancel, with a wall arcade like that of Cherry Hinton, and a bone crypt under the east end. The meeting of the Architectural Section in the evening was distinguished by the first part of a lecture "On the Peles

of Northumberland," illustrated by limelight lantern views, and described by Mr. C. J. Bates. In the Antiquarian Section the Rev. C. F. Browne read a paper of great interest and research "On the Fragments of Sculptured Stones at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow." The annual meeting was held on Saturday morning, under the presidency of Earl Percy, M.P. The excursions were divided into two. The first, under the direction of Mr. Gosselin, proceeded to Ravensworth Castle, where the building was described by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. The other party, under the direction of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, journeyed to Monkwearmouth. Jarrow was the next meeting-place, and here again the church retains very considerable remains of the work of Benedict Biscop in the chancel and other parts. The tower is of Anglian work, though erected, like some of the Lincoln churches, in the Norman period. Some remains exist of the Norman conventual buildings. The day's excursion wound up with a trip down the Tyne in a steamer, kindly furnished by the River Tyne Commissioners, to Tynemouth Priory. At the sectional meetings in the evening papers were read by the Rev. J. R. Boyle "On the Saxon Churches of Northumberland and Durham," and by Mr. H. S. Skipton "On Streatham: its Horses and its Heroes." A lecture was also given by Dr. Bruce "On the Northumberland Small Pipes," with musical illustrations, which was listened to with great attention. On Monday the Association visited the Roman Wall, under the guidance of Dr. Bruce. In the Antiquarian Section in the evening the Rev. G. R. Hall read a paper "On the British Remains in Northumberland," and Mr. R. P. Pullan one "On the Discoveries at Lanuvium." In the Architectural Section Mr. C. J. Bates resumed his paper "On a General View of the Mediæval Castles, Towers, etc., in Northumberland," and Mr. St. John Hope read a paper "On Recent Excavations on the Site of Alnwick Abbey." On Tuesday an excursion was made to Prudhoe and Corbridge. Mr. Clark gave a slight sketch of the Umfreville family, to whom Prudhoe Castle belonged, and described the ruin. Ovingham parish church, chiefly interesting to the archaeologist on account of its tower, was also visited. At Bywell the party were received by Canon Dwaris, who delivered a brief address on the history of the churches of Bywell St. Andrew's and Bywell St. Peter's, which are separated only by the roadway. A visit was next paid to the remains of the unfinished castle of Bywell, ascribed to Robert Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, in 1480, and built on the site of the older tower of Balliol. At Corbridge the parish church of St. Andrew was visited. Mr. Longstaffe gave a brief sketch of the history of Corbridge, and Mr. Hodges explained the architecture of the church. The last place visited was Aydon Castle. It is a fair specimen of the fortified residences to be found in Northumberland. In the evening the general meeting was held. On Wednesday the archaeologists visited Brancepeth Castle and Durham.

Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.

—The members paid an interesting and pleasant visit to Melton Constable and Hindolveston. A short ride brought the party to Melton Constable church, or rather to the "shell" of the sacred building, which, with dismantled roof, fittings removed, and floors up,

was in the earliest stage of rebuilding and restoration. Some interesting particulars respecting the church and the parish were contained in a paper kindly contributed by the Rev. C. R. Manning. There was a church at Melton at the time of the Conqueror's Survey, but whether any part of it remains in the construction of the existing walls it is impossible to say. There is no appearance of any work earlier than the twelfth century. The lordship of the parish was granted, with others, at the Conquest, to William de Beaufort, Bishop of Thetford, and was held under him by Roger de Lyons and Anschetel the provost. The descendants of this Anschetel called themselves "De Melton," and held the hereditary office of *Constable* to the Bishops after the removal of the see to Norwich. Hence the parish was called Melton Constable. In 1165 Peter le Constable de Meaulton held it; and in 1202 to 1204 Peter Constable de Meaulton was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. The names of his son Geoffrey and his son Peter de Meaulton, Constabularius, occur in deeds mentioned by Blomefield, with the seal of a man in armour on horseback. This Peter had a son, another Geoffrey (or Ralph according to some authorities), who left three sisters, coheirresses, of whom Edith married Sir Thomas Astley, Lord Astley, of the Warwickshire family, and brought part of the inheritance of the De Meltons in the family of Astley. This Thomas Lord Astley was killed at the battle of Evesham, in 1265. He bore arms, azure, a cinquefoil Ermine, in allusion to those of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, of whom the family held lordships; those of Beaumont being *gules*, a cinquefoil Ermine; and the same arms are now borne, differenced by a border engrailed, by the family of Astley, Lord of Hastings, who are descended from him through female heirs. On the south side is a curious example of a "low side" or "lepers" window, with not only a recess at the west side for a seat, but a stone book-desk fronting it. This Mr. Manning believes to be unique. Another most remarkable feature in the church is that above the plain circular chancel arch, or rather arch of the tower towards the nave, is another double arch of Norman work, supported in the centre by a stout circular pillar. Mr. Manning cannot recall any other instance of such an arrangement, and Mr. Blomefield says that he knows nothing quite like it anywhere else. A curious feature in the church is a panelled apartment on the south side of the nave—the Astley family pew, which was erected in 1681, a year after the building of the Hall, and which, beyond the lowering of the floor and some necessary repairs, is not to be touched by the present restoration. This pew contains many monuments and much heraldry, which no archaeologist would desire to have disturbed. On leaving Melton the party proceeded to the adjoining parish church of Hindolveston, which, like so many of the churches in this part of the county, lies right away from the homes of the villagers. If we except the tiled roof and some red brick patchwork, the building, which consists of nave, chancel, north aisle, and square tower, has a fine exterior. On all sides of the tower, at the base, there is some remarkably fine flint work,—a dedication plate, G and Crown, with terminal crosses. The church is dedicated to St. George. On the south wall of the nave is a curious old brass to "Edmon Hunt, the

gentilman, and Margaret hight his wife," who are represented as surrounded by a numerous family, with dates 1558 and 1568, and on the south side of the chancel are uninteresting piscina and sedilia. The Communion "plate" was set out for inspection in the vestry. The cup is a very good specimen of sixteenth century work, and bears the Norwich mark. It is inscribed "The Towne of Hyldarston, 1568," one of the more reasonable of the extraordinary forms which the name of this village assumed phonetically in the olden times, and which, unless they have very recently become obliterated, still survive among the "natives." The Communion cup and paten belonging to Thornage church having been kindly brought to Hindolveston for the inspection of the party, Mr. Manning gave the following description of them:—"The cup is a very charming specimen of the bell-shaped vessels introduced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and constantly found in this county and diocese with the dates of 1564 and 1570. Bishop Parkhurst, who was consecrated to the See of Norwich in 1560, was active in the forcing compliance with the injunctions of Archbishop Parker that the old 'massing chalices' should be melted down or remade into 'decent communion cups,' suitable for the administration of the cup to the laity, and holding much more wine than the pre-Reformation chalices, which were only used by the priest. But this cup has upon it an inscription stating that 'This . is . ye . gyfte . of . John . Butts . and Margaret . hys . wyfe . 1456 . whych—died, 1477.' Probably the original chalice and paten given by John and Margaret Butts were melted down in 1563, when I. Stalom was parson of Thornage, and transformed into those before us, while the record and date of their gift, and of the donor's death, were recorded upon the cup, that their generosity might not be forgotten. We may regret the loss of a probably more beautiful shape and earlier design, but it is evident that the best workmanship of the time was enlisted, and a very choice example of Elizabethan plate is presented to us. The inscription itself might have been proof sufficient of the sixteenth century work, and the language and spelling is quite Elizabethan, and *Arabic* numerals are employed for the dates, which were not in general use for such purposes in 1456 or 1477. The bell-shaped bowl is beautifully chased with a circular band of ornament, in which are the initials I. B. and M. B. and the arms of Butts—viz., Or, a chevron between three estoiles, as many lozenges. I have not been able to discover who John Butts was, as he is not in any printed pedigree of the family. The manor of Thornage does not appear to have belonged to the Butts family until the 1st of July in the year 1536, when King Henry VIII., after an exchange of land with the Bishop of Norwich, granted it, and the advowson of the benefice, to Sir Wm. Butts, M.D., his chief physician. But probably earlier generations of his family lived in the parish or neighbourhood before, of whom no doubt John Butts was one. The paten is a very plain one, without ornament, but it has upon it an inscription which supports the view I have taken of the alteration of the cup: 'The fashen altd by I. Stalom cl : ao 1563.' There are no *marks* either on the cup or paten; but this date, 1563, raises a rather interesting question. The cycles of twenty years, with the date letters of Norwich-made plate,

began with the letter A in 1564. If this cup, which appears to me to be the work of Peter Peterson, the celebrated Norwich goldsmith, so many of whose cups are dated from 1564 to 1569, is of the year inscribed on the paten, 1563, may not some other undated and unmarked specimens be also previous to the commencement of the Norwich hall-marking—*i.e.*, between 1560, the first year of Bishop Parkhurst, and 1564?" At Melton Park Mr. H. T. Cass conducted them through the house, and readily imparted some amount of interesting and useful information of which he is possessed. Melton Hall, the Norfolk seat of the Astley family, was built in 1680 by Sir Jacob Astley, and it is said "ranks fourth in splendour and importance among the great houses of Norfolk." Externally it is a somewhat plain, square building, in brick and stone, but its internal arrangements and decorations are complete and finished. It contains many fine specimens of portraiture painting, but as the pictures were being cleaned, the visitors had only an opportunity of seeing a few of them. On the grand staircase are pictures representing the combat between Sir John Astley, K.G., and Pierre de Masse, fought in Paris in 1438, and also between the same Sir John Astley and Sir Philip Boyle, Knight of Arragon, fought at Smithfield in 1442. It is said that the last-named painting is the finest representation of Old Smithfield extant. In the library, over the fireplace, is a fine portrait of Sir Jacob Astley, created Baron Astley in 1646, who is taken in his white jerkin. In the entrance-hall are some fine bronzes, including a pair of snakes, formerly in the Tuileries, and which are stated to be stained with the blood of the great Revolution; a remarkable tazza, which was purchased at the Alton Towers sale; some very fine busts, especially one of Alexander the Great, etc. In the armoury are some noble specimens of the military habiliments of mediæval times.

Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society.—September 18th.—A paper on "Howbury," situate at Slade's Green, near Erith, was read by Mr. H. W. Smith:—"In the reign of Edward the Confessor, it appears that Howbury was of some importance, and it was then held by one Ansehil. That the Saxon name of Howbury is correctly given is beyond question, standing as it does on a spur of land (a spur of gravel almost similar to that on which Erith Church stands), on the edge of what was the ancient river Thames, ere it was confined between its present banks, or walls, as they are generally called. That the place is still moated we may see for ourselves; and these two circumstances give us the name 'Howbury.' The existing stone walls of the moat would seem to be of Norman construction, and anterior to the period—about the time of Henry III.—of the building of dwelling-houses fortified, and embattled in some instances, and generally surrounded with a moat, but which were not castles in the understood sense of the term. Hasted, in his history of Kent, says that Howbury—or Little Hoo, as it is described in ancient deeds—was part of the possessions of Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux, the brother of William the Conqueror. Hasted then goes on to give the names of some of the owners and possessors of Howbury. Thus, in the time of Henry III., it was owned by William de Auberville. In the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., to Richard II., it belonged

to the ancient family of the Northwoods, Sir John Northwood holding it in the reign of Edward III. In the reign of Henry IV., Nicholas Carew, of Surrey, and John Cornwallis, of London, were the joint possessors. In the fifth year of Henry V., one Richard Bryan held it; and in the first year of Henry VI. it passed to Roger Apylton, and afterwards to Thomas Covele, or Cowley, as he was afterwards called. In the nineteenth year of Henry VIII. it was conveyed by the grandson of Thomas Cowley to John Judde, whose widow, Elizabeth, was possessed of it in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It then passed by marriage into the family of Fane, or Vane, in whose hands, some time afterwards, the patronage of the living of Crayford became vested. In the second year of James I., Howbury was sold to Robert Draper, Esq.; and in 1694 it was sold by his heirs, together with the Manor of Newbury and May Place, to Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The youngest daughter of Sir Cloudesley afterwards conveyed Howbury, by marriage, to John Blackwood, Esq., her second husband. Many members of the Apylton and Draper families were buried in Crayford Church, as also were buried the widow of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and members of the Blackwood family. Sumptuous memorials to the memory of some of the Drapers and Dame Elizabeth Shovel are erected in the church in the Draper and Howberry Chapels, as they are called. In 1777 Shovel Blackwood, Esq., alienated Howbury, by Act of Parliament, to Harman Berens, Esq., of Kevington, in this county, as also the Iron Mills Farm, in the parish of Crayford. In 1797, when Hasted wrote, it was still in the possession of the Berens family. During the early part of the present century families of the name of 'Butler' and 'Allen' resided at Howbury."

Clifton Antiquarian Club.—September 29th.—The members, with the President, the Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop Clifford, made their second excursion for the year, when Gloucester, Deerhurst, and Tewkesbury were visited. The party first reached Gloucester, and paid a brief visit to the Cathedral, where the chief points of interest were pointed out by Mr. Pope and others. A drive of about eight miles up the Severn valley brought the members to the remains of the Saxon Priory of Deerhurst, and what the late Mr. Parker called "the oldest dated church in England," where they were met by the vicar, the Rev. G. Butterworth, who read a short paper on the early history of the Monastery, which was followed by one on the architectural remains, by Mr. T. S. Pope. Opinions differed as to the date of the existing buildings, Mr. Pope and other members considering the Saxon portions to be of two dates, while the vicar believed the whole had been rebuilt in the time of the Confessor, including the well-known double triangular-headed window in the east wall of the tower, which, whatever its date, was doubtless copied from Roman work. The few remains of the Benedictine Priory were examined, and then the carriages being remounted, a drive of a few miles, past the field of the battle of Tewkesbury (fought A.D. 1471), brought the party to the splendid church of the Benedictine Abbey, which fortunately escaped the fate of Hayles, Evesham, and other grand buildings in the neighbourhood. Under the guidance of the Rev. Hemming

Robeson, vicar of Tewkesbury, the exterior and interior of the church were examined. A curious square chamber at the south-west angle of the south aisle was thought to be the basement of one of the western towers, which, though probably forming part of the original Norman design, were never completed.

Caradoc Field Club.—September 24th.—The members of this club made their last excursion of the season to Berrington and Betton Pools and to Bomere. Berrington Church was the first object of interest, restored a few years ago. It is dedicated to All Saints, and consists of a tower at the west end, containing six bells, nave, south porch, south aisle and chancel. In the chancel is a cumbent effigy in wood of a man in plate armour, over which is a surcoat gathered at the waist by a belt, and flowing open about the knees, legs crossed, spurs, and feet resting on a lion couchant, on his left side a sword suspended from a plain belt, the hands joined and raised in prayer. There is neither inscription nor arms on this tomb to inform us of the deceased. In the west end of the nave is a very curious font, said to be probably the only remnant of the original Saxon edifice, increasing in diameter from the base, the upper part sculptured with rude marks which much puzzled the company to decipher. One bore some resemblance to an elephant, but no one could say which was its head and which was its tail; this important question remaining undetermined up to the present moment. The last incident in the day's work was a visit to the very remarkable exposure of rock at Sharpstones and Bayston Hill, where Mr. La Touche called attention to the great bed of conglomerate which occurs between the hard schists of the Cambrian, furnishing clear evidence of the existence of a beach on which the pebbles, derived from the pre-existing rocks, were rolled, just as may be observed at the present day on any shore; and he stated that a similar formation may be traced in many places along the western slopes of the Longmynd, and that at the southern end of the range it becomes a stratum of very considerable thickness. The strike of the strata at this point appears to be nearly the same as that of the Longmynd Hills, but the dip to be in a contrary direction, giving the impression that this may be an instance of inversion, the strata being not only upheaved into a vertical position, but, passing that point, the lower have become the upper. A more instructive section than this is not to be found near Shrewsbury. Mr. T. P. Blunt read a paper on "Fairy Rings." On some high, sloping field, where the pasture is poor and pale in colour, irregular rings of a much darker green and more luxuriant growth are observed. If these are watched from time to time it will be seen that they increase in size, the dark green band of rich grass appearing to march outwards, so to speak, from the centre, radially, so that while the actual green belt is not much, if any, broader, the diameter of the entire ring is much enlarged. A closer inspection of the dark green band will disclose here and there, in greater or smaller numbers, fungi belonging to the order *Agaricus*, and generally of one species, the *Champignon Marasmius, Oreades*. The name is very significant. The Oreades were mountain nymphs, or elves, just as the Dryads were oak or tree elves, and it is suggested, not without plausibility, that the name "fairy ring" is due to the appearance

of these fungi, which, under a glancing moon, and with the aid of an excited imagination, might easily be taken for fairies lightly pirouetting on one foot as they trip round in the mystic circle which, from immemorial ages, has been connected with the rites of religion or of superstition.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—September 23rd.—This club paid a visit to the interesting church of Fairford. The exterior of the church was first inspected by the members of the club under the guidance of their vice-president, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, who read a paper upon the church and monuments, treating also of the descent of the manor and the history of Tame family, whose monuments are preserved in the church, and also gave a brief history of the windows, and stated what could be ascertained respecting their date and origin. The party then entered the church, and after examining the architectural features, had the windows fully explained to them by the sexton, or curator, of the church. They returned to Cirencester, where some time was spent in the examination of the noble church, with its side chapels and extensive porch or parvise. The party then visited the Museum of Roman Antiquities, which contains the fine pavements found on the site of the ancient Roman Corinium.

Glasgow Architectural Association.—September 23rd.—Mr. William H. McNab read a paper on "The Architectural Treatment of Ironwork." A large number of illustrative photographs and drawings were exhibited. After briefly considering the different methods of manipulation, and the varied purposes in which ironwork has been employed, from the earliest Indian specimens down through mediæval times to the present day, particular attention was called to characteristic treatment during the Renaissance period, Quentin Matsys being adduced as the representative German and Netherlands artist in iron, and Huntingdon Shaw as the typical Englishman. The wrought-iron screens of the latter's work at Hampton Court and South Kensington were described as unsurpassed in design or workmanship.

British Archæological Association.—Tenby Meeting.—Tuesday, August 2nd, was devoted to the president's address, etc., and a visit to the chief places of interest in Tenby.—On Wednesday, the 3rd inst., a large party drove to Brownslade. Shortly before their arrival the "long barrow" in the "churchways" field had been opened. This long barrow is a hemispherical dune or hillock of sand, blown together in past ages by the wind, which has lifted it from the now distant seashore to the top of the old redstone rocks upon which it lies. A grave, built with vertical slabs roughly trimmed, and covered with three or four slabs overlapping like modern roofing slates, was uncovered. This was found to contain the skeleton of an adult man, with a jaw of great strength, and a perfect set of teeth. The vertebrae were twisted in a way which showed either that the body had been violently thrust into too small a grave, or that it lay in the attitude which it assumed when a violent or a painful death supervened. No relics were found that would warrant the fixing of any period to this interment. The hill is covered with these rude graves, lying thickly together in three or more layers. A few teeth of cows, some shells

of the limpet and mussel, some white water-worn stones of more or less spherical form, are all the data that the excavation yielded. Castle Martin was the next halting-place, where the church presents many curious features, principally the indications of gable roof and chancel arch of modest dimensions on the east face of the tower wall, perhaps pointing out the size and the situation of the original nave; and the battering tower, with a corbelled battlemented course and no buttresses, a pattern of tower said (like that of Angle, Rhoscrowther, and others within the congress programme) to have derived its form from the square corner tower of Manorbere Castle which overlooks the little bay. Here is an early font carved with twelfth century foliage at the top corners, with an engrailed border running along the sides; here, too, a churchyard cross, disfigured by the cross of modern proportions, which has been, with ingenious economy, constructed out of the original shaft; and some quaintly carved capitals in an adjoining house. Mr. E. Scott led the way to Angle—noted for the fact, dear to Welshmen, that Giraldus Cambrensis was at one time its rector, the fortified rectory house now fallen into evil plight as a coal-shed—and so onward to Newton Burrows, where the fallen cromlech on the hill of sand over the rocky beach was visited and explained. At Rhoscrowther Church the Rev. G. Scott, rector, showed a wall tomb ornamented with a fourteenth century canopy, over which a strangely grotesque carved corbel has been set, representing a leering, grinning face with the corners of the mouth turned down, from one of which hangs an oak leaf; at the side another grotesque face appears in profile. This has hitherto been called a figure of the Holy Trinity. Parts of the old carved altar of the fourteenth century, some twelfth century tombstones with simple incised cross or foliated ornament, and an early Norman font, make up most of the interesting points of the massive and sombre church. In the wall of the churchyard a rectangular stone with remnants of a Roman inscription is slowly crumbling away and almost illegible; in the churchyard an old stone with two chamfered edges does duty for a monolith or cross. The evening paper was by Mr. A. Cope, "On the Origin of the Phrase 'Little England beyond Wales,'" On the 4th inst., the members of the Association, after a brief visit to Lydstep for viewing the ancient houses there, went to Manorbere. After examining the cromlech overlooking the bay and castle from the opposite side and two old edifices near the church, the party proceeded to Hodgeston Church and viewed the decorated chancel, with sedilia of elegant details and a double piscina. A long drive brought the party to Lamphey, where the ruined palace, long the residence of the ancient bishops of St. David's, was examined with great attention. This is a very good example of domestic architecture, built by Bishop Gower, "the rich bishop," in the thirteenth century. Some small arches of elaborate detail, running along the south wall, were pointed out, and a detached chapel, raised on a small cloister, said to be the work of Bishop Vaughan, attracted notice. Those who alighted at Penally were well repaid their examination of the "small cross," 6ft. 6in. high, ornamented on both sides with interlaced ribbon patterns. The eastern side has its ornamentation

more elaborate than that on the western side, indicating thereby, we are told, that the cross should face, as it does, towards the western end of the church. The church of Penally is disappointing to the archaeologist, who finds here an example of a misguided restoration. The evening was devoted to two papers. The first, by Sir James Picton, dealt with the place-names of Pembrokeshire, in which the writer had grouped together a large number of names having similar syllables in their composition. Mr. Laws's paper on "Local Ethnology" was full of interest. Mr. Laws said that his hearers would probably, in the course of their wanderings, come across small-boned, long-headed, dark-haired men and women, who were supposed to be descendants of the old non-Aryan race. Some years ago it was a custom in this county, after a couple were married, at church or chapel, for the whole wedding party to mount on horseback, and then, having given the bride and bridegroom a fair start, race after them. In case the lady was caught, the captor claimed a kiss from her, and her husband was bound to provide beer for the party by way of ransom. There could be no doubt that this ceremony was a reminiscence of "marriage by capture," as old as Silurian days. The character of the Gaedhils, or Goidels, who made short work of the little, dark-skinned Silures, strongly predominated in the Pembrokeshire blood. They were the dominant race for a very long period. Their bronze weapons and implements were not uncommonly found in cliff castles and other places, and the finds showed that the two so-called periods of bronze and stone overlapped and the races commingled. On Friday the party, led by Mr. G. R. Wright, drove to view the "Stack Rocks," the "Huntsman's Leap," the "Caldron," and the so-called "Danish Camp," on the edge of the precipitous cliff. They then proceeded to St. Govan's rock-hid chapel and wishing-well. Bosherton Church was the next point. Here the churchyard cross, with part of the chamfered shaft gone, and having a rudely-sculptured head of the Saviour at the crossing of the limbs; the low-set lepers' window in the south wall of the chancel; the effigies of a lady in the north transept and of a civilian in the south transept; and the font, sadly injured by the same restoring mania which has also meddled with the old windows and the entrance doorway, were the principal details to be looked at. At length Stackpole Court was reached, and some of the party made their way to Stackpole Warren, where abundant traces of an extensive prehistoric village, with the well-known, but scarcely well-understood, circular and partly circular outlines of walling, testify to an occupation by a people who have left behind them bones of the primigenie ox, arrow-heads and other flint implements, a few of which were picked up on this occasion, limpet shells, hand-made pottery, and other traces of their manners and customs. Cheriton Church gave an opportunity of halting for a few minutes to glance at the many effigies of the Stackpole family in the south chapel, and the sepulchral stone inscribed, in early capital letters, CAM...LORIS—FILI . FANNVC—. The form of the letters may perhaps be referred to the seventh or eighth century. The papers in the evening were "The Planting of the Plantagenets," by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., and "The Flemings and

their Chimneys in Pembrokeshire," by the Rev. Osborn Allen. On Saturday, after passing the ruined mansion of Scotsborough without stopping, the party halted first at Gumfreyston Church. The church possesses, on the north side, one of the usual battering towers. There is a low pointed chancel arch. Here Mr. C. Lynam read a paper dealing with the dates and details of the architecture. On the hillside, below the church, there is one of the holy wells which are not infrequent in Wales. St. Florence Church has another tower of the usual type on the south side, some singular rough arches of masonry on the south side of the chancel, and many peculiarities of plan and construction. The date of the church is Early English, but the font is Norman. Some curious old customs connected with the parish were given in a paper prepared by Miss Bevan, from which it appears that within the last fifty years on Easter Day the villagers used to repair to a well called the "Pin-well," and throw a crooked pin into the water. This was called "throwing Lent away." The field in which this well is situate is called "Verwel," perhaps from *verwelen*, Flem., to vault; and it therefore seems probable that it was once covered by one of the barrel-vaulted roofs so common in Pembrokeshire. On Lammas Sunday little houses, called "Lammas houses," were set up on "corse." They were made of sods, reeds, and sticks, and a fire was lighted inside them, and apples roasted, people paying a penny to go in and have a roasted apple. At the bottom of the street, near the brook, is a large upstanding stone, with a small round hole in the top, and there is a saying that until you have put your finger in this hole you cannot say you have been in St. Florence. It is supposed that the place called "Carn" in this parish is identical with the "Trefin Carn" of Liber Landavensis. The next object of examination was Carew Cross, with ancient interlaced patterns of ornamentation, just outside the castle wall, commented on by Mr. Brock and Mr. Laws. The evening meeting was devoted to Mr. Brock's paper dealing with "Historical Evidences of the Extent of the Ancient British Church." On Monday, the 8th inst., Pembroke town was visited. In the evening Mr. Birch read a paper "On the Tenby Charters." In this attention was directed to the antiquity of the system under which the supreme power of a country granted privileges and special rights to a local community. Tuesday, the first extra day, was mapped out for an excursion to Narberth Castle, Llanhadden, and Picton Castle, which Mr. C. E. Philipps, whose seat is there, had kindly undertaken to describe. The party passed the night at Haverfordwest, the starting-point of Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis, in the old days, towards the city of St. David's, and the starting-point on Wednesday, the 10th inst., of the congress party. The programme for the day included Roch Castle, the ruins of Bishop Gower's Palace, and the Cathedral of St. David's. The last day, Thursday, included a visit, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Laws, to St. David's Head, to inspect the cromlechs, stone circles, avenues, and early fortifications existing there, returning to St. David's by the ruins of St. Justinian's Chapel on the seashore, and the quadrangular camp nearer to the city.

Leeds Geological Association.—Sept. 13.—

The fourth excursion of the season took place under the leadership of Mr. B. Holgate, F.G.S. The object was to visit the Silurian erratic blocks at Norber. Just behind Norber towers Ingleborough, and to the west Moughton, separated only by Ribblesdale from Penygvent and Fountains Fell; the beautiful valley of Crummackdale, with its white farm-houses dotted here and there at our feet, and on the left the immense white mountain limestone scars of Norber, with, in front, its notable examples of erratic blocks. These blocks are the relics of the Great Ice Age, when North-West Yorkshire was enveloped in the huge ice-sheet coming from the Highlands and from Scandinavia. The party saw the parent ridge from which these rocks had been torn, some great masses broken away and ready for transportation, just like the others before them, but arrested in their progress by the retreat of the glacier. Many of these blocks, some 40 or 50 tons in weight, are strangely perched on pedestals of limestone, some two feet in height, a few pedestals appearing so frail that one could imagine a push would dislodge the rock from its rest; this shows clearly the amount of denudation since the blocks were thus deposited, as at that time they would be stranded on the surface. Since then, by the agencies of rain, wind, and frost, the limestone has been denuded, and the portion only sheltered by the superincumbent block remains. The fact that these blocks are found sometimes at a higher elevation than the parent rock has been accounted for by the molecular theory of Croll, by which it is proved that the ice at the bottom of a valley cannot expand laterally without passing up the sloping sides, and the ice must expand thus laterally to make room for the additions to it caused by the melting and resolidifying of the molecules, from the upper surface of the ice sheet being in contact with the sun and air. Mr. J. E. Bedford, from his experience of terminal moraines in Norway, was able to point out one which crossed the valley from where they stood. This had been cut in two in the centre, either by the waters of the Crummack beck or, more probably, by man to drain a lake which formerly existed here, of which evidence has recently been shown by the discovery of a lacustrine deposit, proved to be of the postglacial period. That this was a terminal moraine, or, in other words, *débris* shot over the edge of the glacier, thus marking its limit, is further borne out by the fact that the stream of Silurian blocks referred to was arrested nearly at this spot, no blocks being found (except very isolated ones) to the south. The party also had an opportunity of seeing *in situ* the conglomerate at the base of the mountain limestone, separating it from the Silurian rock below. Time was too limited to inspect closely this most interesting section, but it was observed that the conglomerate was in some places brecciated, having sub-angular blocks and pebbles embedded; a large oblong one, about two feet long, also sub-angular, was particularly noticed, sticking out from the vertical surface; they appear to be embedded in a calcareous matrix, and the pebbles derived from the subjacent Silurian rock. This calcareous matrix arises from infiltration from the limestone above, thus converting the mass of pebbles into a compact rock. The appearance of these blocks, so similar in form to the *débris* of the

Great Ice Age, certainly bears out the theory of Ramsay of a glacial period in the Devonian epoch, prior to the carboniferous era; thus the party now assembled were probably looking upon the relics of a moraine shed from a glacier of the old Red Sandstone Age.

[We are compelled to postpone our reports of Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Russian Archæological Congress, Bradford Historical Society, Hull Literary Club.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lammas-riding at Coventry.—"So long as the Lammas lands continued subject to the pasture right, it was the invariable custom of the chamberlain, pinners, and a number of freemen, all mounted on horseback, to traverse the lands on the 13th August every year, all gates and obstructions to free access to them having been removed on the preceding day, otherwise they were removed without ceremony by the Lammas-riding party. The pinners wore white jockey jackets and pink cockades, and the whole cavalcade, sometimes including a rather sorry quality of horseflesh, presented a gay and animated assemblage, accompanied as they were by a band of music, with the ringing of the church bells . . . The last Lammas-riding took place on 13th August, 1858."—Poole's *History of Coventry* (1870), p. 357. [Communicated by J. H. Round.]*

Henry V. as a Borrower of Books.—In 1424 a petition was addressed by the Countess of Westmoreland to the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, and the Lords of the Council, praying them to issue a mandate to Robert Rolleston, Clerk of the King's Wardrobe, ordering him to deliver up to the Countess a Book, containing the "*Chronicles of Jerusalem*," and the "*Voyage of Godfrey of Bologna*," which was then in his custody, and which she had previously lent to the late King Henry V. From a memorandum on the back of the petition, it appears, that at a Council held at Westminster on the 1st of February in the same year, a warrant under the privy seal was addressed to the keeper of the wardrobe, for the formal delivery of the book in question. A similar application was also made by the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, for a large book, containing the "*Works of St. Gregory the Pope*," which had been bequeathed to the convent by Archbishop Thomas Arundel, and which, having been intrusted to the late king for his inspection, had got into the hands of the prior of the Carthusians at Shene. In consequence of this petition, the Lords of the Council granted a warrant commanding the prior of Shene to deliver up the book as prayed.—Brayley and Britton's *Houses of Parliament*, p. 311.

Charles II.'s Amusements.—In some contemporary letters in the possession of the Duke of

Sutherland (see *Hist. Ms. Com.*, vol. v.) we read: "1660-1, Jan. 26, London. The King is in very good health and goes to Hampton Court often and back again the same day, but very private; most of his exercise is the tennis court in the morning when he doth not ride abroad; and when he doth ride abroad he is on horseback by break of day and most commonly back again before noon." Again: "1660-1, March 9. His Majesty's chiefest recreation is to go twice or thrice a week to Hampton Court to overlook his workmen there; and most part of the rest of his time is to overlook his workmen in St. James's Park, where they are making stately walks and placing of trees for shade." But in summer time a change is made. "1660, June 16. The King and the Duke of York come every evening as far as Battersea, Putney, and Barn Elms, to swim and bathe themselves, and take a great delight in it and swim excellent well."

Macaulay's New Zealander Forestalled.—When the project for removing the seat of the Venetian Government to Constantinople was made in 1222, immediately in consequence of the severe shock of earthquake which had visited the island the year before, Angelo Faliero, the principal opponent of the scheme, is reported to have concluded his address to the Great Council with the following rhetorical peroration: "Some Venetian traveller, perhaps, touching a few years hence at these parts, will find the canals choked with sand, the dykes levelled, the lagoons infected with malaria. He will find that our dwellings have been demolished, that their precious remains have been transported elsewhere, and that the monuments of our triumphs have been dispersed among strangers. He will observe a few pilgrims wandering over the ruins of monasteries known to have been in former days wealthy and magnificent. He will behold a scanty population—without labour, without food; and the magistrate of some remote town will be in the very palace where we are now deliberating, dictating laws to what would still be called Venice. And history will tell how the Venetians, hearkening to the promptings of a restless ambition, renounced the signal blessings of Providence, and, emigrating from their native soil to a distant land, destroyed one of the noblest and greatest fabrics of human industry." Here we get the New Zealander and the Australian domination foreshadowed side by side. The contemporary character of these addresses for or against the scheme has been challenged, but they are in several of the most trustworthy histories, where Macaulay may well have seen this passage.—[Communicated by W. CAREW HAZLITT.]

Early Book Advertisement, 1699.—An advertisement at the back of the title page of *A Walk to Islington*, by the author of *The Poet's Ramble after Riches*, London, 1699, fol., gives the following titles of books, which are worth preserving. The transcript is made word for word:—"Books sold by J. How, in the Ram-Head-Inn-Yard in Fanchurch-street; J. Wald, at the Crown between the Temple Gates in Fleet Street; and M. Fabian at Mercers-Chappel in Cheapside. 1. *Sot's Paradise*; or the *Humours of a Derby-Ale-House*: with a satyr upon the Ale. Price six-pence. 2. *A trip to Jamaica*: with a true character of the people and Island. Price six pence. 3. *Ecclesia et Factio*: A Dialogue between

* Compare *ANTIQUARY*, vi. 44, vii. 34.

Bow-Steeple-Dragon and the *Exchange Grasshopper*. Price six pence. 4. The Poets ramble after Riches : with reflections upon a country corporation. Also the author's Lamentation in the time of Adversity. Price six pence. 5. The London Spy, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth parts. To be continued *monthly*. Price six pence each. 6. A trip to *New-England*, with a character of the country and People, both English and Indians. Price six pence. 7. Modern Religion and Ancient Loyalty : A dialogue. Price six pence. 8. The world bewitch'd : a dialogue between two astrologers and the author : with infallible predictions of what will happen in this present year 1699. From the *Vices* and *Villanies* practis'd in *Court*, *City*, and *Country*. Price six pence. 9. O Raree-Show, O Pretty-Show ; or the city feast. Price one penny. All written by the same author."



Antiquarian News.

• A very fine coin of Trajan has recently been unearthed in close vicinity to the noted St. Helen's Chapel, Colchester, said to have been built by Helena, daughter of Coel, who usurped authority about A.D. 238. On the obverse it reads :—

IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG DAC P.M. TR. P. COS. III. P.R. with a laureated head of Trajan to right. In the exergue, on the reverse :—

ARAB ADQ (Arabia Adquisita)

standing for the victory the Romans then gained over the people of that now unhappy country. As the coin is but little worn, and the Emperor Trajan reigned A.D. 98, it may be regarded as some proof that Colchester at that early date was a place of some importance. The coin probably was brought over about that period. It is in the possession of Mr. C. Golding, of Colchester.

The *Progrès de l'Aisne* gives the following particulars with regard to some discoveries which have just been made by M. Moreau, a well-known antiquary, at Chouy, a village of 600 inhabitants, which is situated upon an eminence overlooking the valley of the Ourcq, not far from St. Quentin. The etymology of this village, the only one of the name in France, is not known ; but in a decree of Charles the Bald, dated 872, it is spoken of as Choa, while in the twelfth century it was known as Choi or Choy. The village, though situated upon a height, is well provided with water, and M. Moreau has discovered traces of ancient Roman baths, though the small number of arms found induces the belief that it was never a military post during the Roman occupation. The cemetery was used as a place of interment from a period preceding the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar until the eighth century without interruption, and M. Moreau discovered sixty Gallic graves upon the heights above the village, the bodies having been buried at a depth of fifteen inches from the surface and in the direction of west to east. He also discovered 200 Gallo-Roman graves lower down, at a depth of five feet, and with the head of the coffins to the south. Forty Merovingian graves

were also discovered, facing the east, at a depth of forty inches. Among other interesting discoveries was a natural tombstone in one of the Gallo-Roman graves. This stone, which weighs 150 lbs., has a cavity in the centre large enough to admit a man's head, and it was surrounded by several fragments of black, red, and white pottery. Among other articles were a Gallic boot sole, studded with nails, twenty-seven buckles, clasps and plates in bronze and iron, thirty-eight bracelets, rings, and other articles of adornment, mostly in bronze, though a few are silver-gilt, six bronze pieces of money of the time of Licinius, Constantine II., Valens, and Valentinian I., two bronze dishes, eighty-nine earthen dishes, and fourteen in glass, nine iron swords, fifteen hatchets, daggers, and javelins, 108 flints of all shapes, thousands of coffin nails, and a signet ring with nine facets, upon which are engraved the greeting *vivas*, the dove and the olive branch, the palm, the lamb, the stag, and the hare, which were the symbols in use among the early Christians.

The commission appointed to inquire into the claims of Mr. J. Fraser, of Mount Pleasant, Carnarvon, for the recovery of the Lovat title and estates, is sitting daily at Amlwch on behalf of the Scotch Court of Session. The case which Mr. Fraser seeks to substantiate is of the most romantic character. Mr. Fraser claims to be the lawful heir male of Alexander Fraser, the eldest son of Thomas R. Beaufort, who died 1698, being survived by two sons, the younger being the notorious Lord Simon, who figured so prominently in the rebellion of 1745, and who was executed for treason on April 9th, 1747. Alexander, in early life, brought himself within the pale of the law, escaped into Wales, where he remained in concealment until his death, and Simon, taking advantage of his brother's enforced absence, obtained possession of his father's estates by fraudulently representing to the Crown that he was the eldest son. After Lord Simon's execution the estates were seized by the Crown, with whom they remained till 1774, when, on account of his distinguished military services, they were restored to his son, General Simon, by Act of Parliament. General Simon's heirs continued to possess the estates down to 1815, when, the then possessor dying without male heirs, the estates were claimed by and given to the father of the present possessor. It is alleged that the branch of the family from which the present possessor claims descent is several degrees more remote to the family of the original possessors than the branch from which the claimant is descended. The adventures of Alexander in Wales were very extraordinary. It appeared that he fled from Scotland for stabbing a fiddler, and took refuge with Lord Powys at Powys Castle. In order to conceal himself he worked underground at the lead mines of Lord Powys at Llangynnos. Lord Powys had been a fellow-student with the refugee, and a particular friend of the Lovat family. After keeping in concealment for some time, and travelling from one mine to another in Wales, he married at the age of sixty-three, and had issue, of which the claimant is stated to be a lineal descendant. The present possessor of the estate, however, maintains that Alexander died without issue during his father's lifetime. On this the claimant contends that Alexander was actually married at Llanddulas,

on March 2nd, 1738, to Elizabeth Edwards, of that parish, and had issue John, Simon, William, and Alexander, and that he (the claimant) is directly descended from John.

The old custom of swan-upping was observed at Stratford-on-Avon in September last, and was attended by the Mayor (Mr. A. Hodgson) and a distinguished party of visitors from Clopton House. A fleet of about forty boats, including a few canoes, well manned and provided with ropes and crooks, put off from the Clopton Bridge about half-past three o'clock in quest of the young birds. After an amusing chase up the river of from two to three miles, the cygnets were captured one by one, and subjected to the marking process, which consists of punching a hole in the web of the foot, whilst to prevent the birds flying any considerable distance it was thought advisable to cut the pinions.

The trustees of the British Museum have acquired an interesting volume containing a number of sketches by Sir James Thornhill. Some of the designs will be used for the decoration of the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral, where, by order of Queen Anne, the artist painted in eight panels the history of the patron saint of the cathedral.

A Drogheda correspondent sends an account of an interesting discovery made at the foot of the far-famed hills of Tara, county Meath. Some workmen were excavating for gravel, when one of them struck a stone which, to his astonishment, fell inwards, followed by some others, and thus was disclosed a perfectly well-formed habitation of the prehistoric period. The "house" was found to be a fairly round compartment of some 10 feet in diameter.

The little parish church of Lee Brockhurst, near Wem, has been reopened after restoration and improvement. The structure is a very ancient one, and bears interesting traces of Norman work. A chancel has been added by the family of the late vicar, the Rev. William Boulton, in memory of him and of Margaret his wife. A new roof to the nave and a bell turret have been erected.

The ancient parish church of St. Ishmael, near Monkham, Pembrokeshire, has been reopened after internal restoration by the Bishop of St. David's. Four windows hitherto walled up have been reopened, the western gallery has been renewed, and the space under the tower screened off for use as a vestry.

At the last meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, Col. Evans Lloyd produced a stone which is said to open at the death of any member of the family to which he belongs.

Bishopstowe, the residence of the late Bishop Colenso in Natal, has been completely destroyed by an overwhelming grass fire, fanned by a high wind. Of the Bishop's library only a few manuscripts were saved.

The parish church of Chipping Campden has been reopened after being closed for about four months for the restoration of the interior. The church, which is in the Perpendicular style, contains some good brasses, and the Hickes memorials, occupying a chapel on the south side of the chancel, are fine examples of monumental sculpture.

Recently some miners who were excavating a new mining shaft in the Greetwell Fields came upon the remains of a Roman villa. From the nature of the diggings, so much unavoidable damage has been done to the remains that all that is at present to be seen are some walls, a well seven feet in diameter, and portions of tessellated pavements, broken tiles, and pottery.

An important step has recently been taken by the Corporation of Hull. The number of historic documents in the possession of that body, which is very large and of great antiquarian interest, is to be set in order and calendared by Mr. T. Tindall Wildridge.

The restoration of the noble west front of Lichfield Cathedral is fast progressing, and several of the still vacant niches will shortly be filled with the statues intended to replace the old series. The arcade of kings, which forms such a striking feature in the front, will be soon completed, those of Penda, Wulfere, Ethelred, Offa, Egbert, Ethelwolf, Alfred the Great, Edgar, Canute, Edward the Confessor, Richard II., etc., being *in situ*, while those of King David, William I. and II., Henry I., II., and III., and Edward I. will shortly leave the studio of Mr. Bridgman in Lichfield. A brief *resumé* of the other great groups of the west front will not be uninteresting. In the upper stage of the south-west tower are Methuselah, Noah, Shem, Daniel, and Job, with a small figure of St. Anthony over the belfry window on the south side. On the west front of this tower are Isaiah, Zephaniah, Jonah, Hosea, Ezekiel, Haggai, Micah, and Joel. The upper stage of the north-west tower is devoted to Scriptural women—viz., Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Deborah, and Hannah; the first stage of the west front to St. Clement and St. Werburgh; and the central gate to the archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel. The figures on the moulding of the central doorway are Joseph, Judah, Shem, Noah, Enoch, Seth, and Adam on one side, the Virgin and Child, David, Jesse, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham on the other. Occupying a similar position in the doorway of the south-west tower are Wilfred, Cuthbert, St. Augustine, Gregory, Paulinus, Theodosius, Aidan, etc. The figures of the bishops of the diocese include those of Bishops Hacket, Clinton, Lonsdale, Patteshull, Langton, and Selwyn. St. Chad, the patron saint, occupies his old place in the centre of the whole.

A sale of books relating principally to the county of Gloucester, the property of the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, F.S.A., of Haresfield Court, Gloucestershire, was held at Gloucester on the 18th ult. by Messrs. Bruton, Knowles, and Co., of that city. Among the principal lots sold were: Sir Robert Atkyns's *History of Gloucestershire*, first edition, 1712, £30; second edition, 1768, £15; R. Bigland's *Collections relative to the County of Gloucester*, with the additions privately printed by the late Sir T. Philipps and his executors, 1791-1883, £26; and Lyson's *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, first edition, 1791-1803, £10 10s.

The collection of lacustrine antiquities at Zurich has been largely increased during recent dredgings for the new quay. The objects found include arms, bronze ornaments, pottery, and the prow of a primitive boat, formed of a hollow trunk.

At the Vicarage, Mexborough, which is the site of the old mansion formerly known as the "Old Hall," some workmen while excavating in the garden found an ancient ivory fruit knife, about four and a half inches long, the handle having at the end a very richly carved monk's head enveloped in a hood. There are two initials upon the handle, "W.S.," and this seems to point to the ownership of the knife, inasmuch as in the year 1690 there resided at Mexborough Hall a William Saville. Upon a more careful search being made close to the knife, the men discovered an old seal, chased with gold, but this is slightly cracked. Still the impressions taken off show very distinctly the head of a cavalier with locks of hair. The reverse shows the figure of a woman leaning her arm upon an anchor. It being inscribed in the parish church at Mexborough, that two Samuel Savilles were of the body guard of King Charles I., and the seal bearing a likeness of a Stuart, leaves little doubt that this seal is a relic of the ancient house of the Lords of Mexborough.

The fine old tower of the Church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow, has for some time past shown many signs of a very gradual decay, and a thorough examination proves that it is getting unsafe. It has been proposed to cease ringing the bells, but as that will only leave the decay in its present state for some length of time, the Vestry discussed the matter, and concluded that it would be wiser to restore the tower by refacing, or some other more expedient mode. A proper scheme for thorough restoration is therefore decided upon.

The Curfew bells commenced at Castle Cary on Michaelmas-day. The old custom is regularly honoured there.

Mr. Laurence Hutton, the American writer, is in London putting the finishing touches to his book on the homes and haunts of famous men in "the City-on-Thames."

Among the houses about to be demolished in Paris to make room for the enlargement of the Sorbonne is one which fills a considerable place in the history of French literature—the Hôtel Jean Jacques Rousseau. It was so called from the fact that Rousseau stayed at it (then the Hôtel de St. Quentin) when he came to Paris in 1741. Georges Sand wrote her first novel in the same house, and Jules Sandeau met her there. Gustave Planché, too, wrote his first critical essay in the hotel.

St. Peter's Church, the oldest ecclesiastical fabric in Derby, is in a very dangerous and dilapidated condition. The roof of the north aisle is falling in, and planks have had to be arranged to support the principals, and so prevent it from total collapse.

There will soon be a Rossetti colony at Chelsea. The house in which the poet-painter lived is now occupied by the Rev. R. H. Haweis. A street of Queen Anne houses has been built on a part of the garden at the back, and these, it appears, are to be let only to persons associated with literature and art. One of these new houses has been let to the widow of Anthony Trollope, and another to Mr. John Clayton.

An interesting circumstance arose out of the Church Congress in Carlisle. Lord Nelson's presence in Carlisle prompted the Chancellor to present to his lordship the walking cane which belonged to and was used by his illustrious predecessor, the victor of Tra-

lalgat, up to the time of his death. The cane, which is of black bamboo, with ivory handle, had been in the Chancellor's possession nearly forty years. Lord Nelson was very much gratified by the gift.

Through the munificence of the Emperor, the Berlin Royal Library has just been enriched by an extensive collection of ancient Arabic literature, comprising 1,600 works in 1,052 volumes. The oldest of these manuscripts date from 1058 A.D., perhaps earlier, and is called the *Kitab Elfelah*, or book of agriculture, by the celebrated Iben Wahshijje.

The old *Sedan Chair*, Bridewell Lane, Bath, after remaining void for a long period, was some time since purchased by the Governors of the Mineral Water Hospital for the purpose of building recreation-rooms on the site for the use of the patients. The old inn has been gradually demolished by the workmen, and now the foundations are being dug out for the new building. Last week those employed came upon a portion of a fine tessellated Roman pavement. The pavement proceeds in a line to the west, and goes under the thoroughfare of Bridewell Lane.

Mr. William Kelly is just finishing off his *Royal Progresses and Visits to Leicester*, which promises to be a very entertaining book. It will contain many illustrations.

The old church of St. Michael's, Thursley, was reopened after a thorough restoration. The additions to the church itself are a small transept and an extension of about ten feet at the west end of the nave, forming a new entrance with a handsome oak porch. There the font—a large Early Norman one—has been placed. The roof, formerly ceiled over, was found to be so decayed, that it was necessary to replace it with a new one, open to the ridge, and thus showing all the very fine old timbers upon which the spire rests. The old east window has been replaced by a three-light Early English one, corresponding with the others. During the work of restoration several interesting details of the original church were discovered. It was evidently a Norman building of about the middle of the eleventh century. The roof of the chancel has been raised at some distant period, the two Norman windows on the north side stopped, and the two on the south side transformed into Early English. The chancel arch has also been raised and similarly altered. There were two Norman windows on the south side of the nave, where is now the transept arch, and below the old entrance—now a single lancet window—the remains of an old staircase in the thickness of the walls were discovered, probably leading to a gallery at the west end. The walls themselves, at the east and west ends, were decorated with rude frescoes, too much defaced to enable the precise subjects to be made out, though that at the west end appeared to be a representation of the contest of St. Michael with the dragon. The other parts of the wall were lined out to represent stonework, in dark red lines, each division being ornamented with a trefoil in the same colour.

The workmen engaged in making the sewer connections to Mr. Clavey's house at St. Michael's, St. Albans, came upon a pit containing a very large quantity of human remains. Strange to say, they consist almost entirely of skull and limb bones, only one rib being found, the skulls being certainly more

than a hundred in number, and the whole find amounting to quite a cartload. The fact that skulls, leg and arm bones alone were found would lead to the supposition that some wholesale process of decapitation and dismemberment had been carried on in some bygone days. The remains were interred but four feet from the surface and about two from the roadside, and in very close proximity to the foundation of the wall which, in the Roman period, surrounded Verulam. The pit containing the remains, which are clearly those of both old and very young persons, is about four feet in diameter. Some twenty years ago, when St. Michael's new schools were built, a similar quantity of human bones were found. It is recorded that in the year 1745, at the time of Charles Edward's rebellion,—to which period the bones apparently date,—a number of executions took place in immediate proximity to the spot where the remains are now found, but this would in no way account for the large number found, as only about ten executions took place here.

A discovery of interest has just been made at Wooler, in taking down some dykes for the purposes of the new railway now forming there. It is a large fragment of a small Saxon cross. Mr. R. Wilson sent a drawing of it to Canon Greenwell, at Durham, who wrote as follows:—"I know of no piece of Saxon sculpture having been found at Wooler, or in any neighbouring place nearer than Norham. The cross is certainly pre-Norman, and, considering the nearness of the residence of the Northumbrian kings at Millfield, and earlier at Jevering, one might expect to have had many sepulchral stones of that time left to us. Doubtless many are still in existence, built up in walls or covered by the soil." The relic in question is in the care of Mrs. Short, at Wooler Mill.

The office of herald, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Wilson, the Islay herald, has been conferred by the Lyon King of Arms upon Mr. John Grant, Carrick Pursuivant, who is to bear the title of Marchmont Herald.



Correspondence.

WICK.

Is the meaning of this word definitely ascertained? It is stated in the *Times* (27th August, 1884), in an article on "local names," that it "seems to have signified the earliest Saxon habitations, when they had less the sentiment of residence than of camping-places; when the colonists eschewed the city, and pitched where fancy led them." As a contribution to its history it may be worth noting that there are several "wicks" near Colchester, of which Norden says in his *Survey of Essex* (1594):—"In Tendring hundred ther are manie wickes or dayries." But in that hundred are also manie barren grounds." Now, there are three "wicks" on the south of Colchester, lying in a line, Monkwick, Middlewick, and Battelwick, of which the first is said by Morant to have been "a farm which the abbot and monks of St. John's

kept in their own hands, to supply the occasions of their house. (Wic signifies, among other things, a farm-house. It is sometimes corruptly written Monk-weeds)." Again, in the 24th Ed. I. (1295-6), Battelwick occurs almost as a common name—"ad Wykam Dni. Ricard Bataille." But it should be noted that at Tillingham, in Essex, further south, the St. Paul's Inquisition of 1222 records a similar group of three "wicks" thus:—"In marisco sunt iiii bercarie, quarum una vocatur howich . . . altera vocatur middlewich . . . tertia vocatur doddeswich . . . quarta vocatur pirimers."* They are here distinctly entered as *sheep-walks* (*The Domesday of St. Paul's*, pp. lxxix, 59). There is another group of them on the low land to the north of the mouth of the Colne.

J. H. ROUND.

LATIN INSCRIPTION.

Can any reader of THE ANTIQUARY assist me with a translation of the following "dog-Latin" lines, which form part of an inscription on a tablet in Caverswall church, co. Stafford, to the memory of a father and son, who bequeathed legacies to the poor of that parish for ever? The remainder of the inscription is given in English, and does not throw any light upon the Latin lines.

RES PATER ET NATO NATUS PATRI. ET EGENIS
ATQ. DEO GENITOR NATUS. BENIGNE DEDERVNT
DIGNA LEGI SCRIBI DIGNA HÆC DIGNISSIMA DIC
HÆC POSUI LIB. VICAR. DE. CARS [Caverswall]
G. BLACKER MORGAN.

Vincent Villa, Addiscombe, Croydon.

[The following translation is suggested by the printer's reader:—Father (? God) and Son (? Christ) [gave] wealth to the son and father. And father and son gave liberally to the poor and to God. This is worthy to be read, worthy to be written, and most worthy to be related. I placed it [here] by the permission of the vicar of Cars.—Ed.]

CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.

[*Ante*, pp. 33, 86.]

Absence from home has prevented my replying earlier to Mr. Adlam's letter, printed at p. 86, referring to the account, in your July number, of the recent visit of the members of the club to Chew Magna Church. As to the first subject mentioned in the letter, I may say that the great majority of those present in the church thought the modern colouring of the Hautville monument a mistake, and did not express approval of the "restoration" as implied by your previous correspondent (p. 34), whose statement, that "there were no indications of mediæval colouring to follow," hardly agrees with Collinson's account of this curious wooden effigy, written about a century since, in which "a red loose coat without sleeves," a "leather girdle fastened by a gilt buckle, and gilt spurs," are mentioned.

As to the *authority* for the statement that the effigy of Sir J. St. Loe in the same church was originally cross-legged, both Collinson (vol. ii, p. 89) and

* In 1426 the manor "icalled Piriesmaner" (*Earliest English Wills*, p. 70).

Rutter (p. 204) state the fact most clearly. The first-named author gives a minute description of the monument as it appeared in his time (c. 1791), and states: "He lies cross-legged, to denote his having been at Jerusalem." Several cross-legged effigies of a much later date than that of Sir John (middle fifteenth century) are known. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 241, Mr. M. H. Bloxham, who is, I suppose, our best living authority on such subjects, writes: "In the latter part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have a few cross-legged effigies;" and he describes some in Exeter Cathedral, and the churches of Brading, Isle of Wight, Great Mitton, and elsewhere. When we were at Chew Magna I mentioned Collinson's statement, that in his time the legs of Sir John's effigy were crossed, and, on carefully examining the monument, I came to the conclusion, as did Bishop Clifford and others, that the alteration had been made by the modern "restorers." The whole monument has been badly scraped over, so that none of the old surface of the sculpture remains.

It would certainly have been "gratifying to know that the supposed handsome hammered iron screen," which formerly surrounded the Baber tomb, was, as Mr. Adlam describes it, "a simple iron railing, without beauty or interest;" but on writing to my friend Mr. Thos. S. Pope, whose inquiry elicited the fact that it had been sold for old iron, he replies: "I enclose a tracing of a sketch I made in April, 1854, of the iron railing, which, though perhaps not quite Gothic in date, is evidently so in feeling, and should in my humble opinion have been preserved." After seeing Mr. Pope's sketch (which has been published), I can hardly agree with Mr. Adlam that the screen had "neither beauty nor interest."

ALFRED E. HUDD,

Clifton, Sept. 6th, 1884. Hon. Sec. C.A.C.

NATHANIEL HONE.

[*Ante*, ix. 244, x. 183.]

I observed with some interest the article in the June number of *THE ANTIQUARY* on the Diary of Nathaniel Hone, and I observe a letter in the October number from Mr. Nathaniel J. Hone, in reference to a genealogy in his possession of the same Nathaniel Hone; the writer also asks if any of your readers could throw light on Hone's family history.

There are now no male descendants of this Nathaniel Hone. I and the several persons bearing that surname in Ireland are descendants of his brothers. His son, John Camillus Hone, the original of the Spartan and Piping Boy, died in 1836. He is remembered well by several of the family. His widow, who was his first cousin, and daughter of Nathaniel Hone's brother, survived him several years, and died aged upwards of 100 years. Horace Nathaniel Hone's other son died long previous to J. Camillus. He left a daughter, Mary Sophia Matilda Hone, who died unmarried. John Camillus Hone left no children. The other sons of Nathaniel Hone died young.

I do not know if there are descendants existing of Nathaniel Hone's daughters, Mrs. Lydia Medcalf and Mrs. Amelia Rigg. I remember meeting two Misses Rigg, very old ladies, at my grand-aunt's Mrs. J.

Camillus Hone's house; they are, however, long since dead.

I shall be happy to afford Mr. Nathaniel J. Hone any further information in my power, and I would much like to see, or have, a copy of the genealogy to which he refers.

RICHARD HONE.

CURIOUS MARRIAGE BILL.

[*Ante*, pp. 27, 87.]

The Mr. Mallett who sought to legalize marriage with fifteen wives in 1675 perhaps had in view the same idea of reform as advocated by M. Madan in 1780, in his book entitled *Thelyphthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin*, which sought to prove that polygamy was better than our present marriage system.

G. B. LEATHOM.

OLD PLAYING CARDS.

[*Ante*, p. 37.]

As agent of the United States National Museum at Washington, I have been making a collection of playing cards for that museum. I read in the *ANTIQUARY* of July, 1884, that Mr. Clulow has delivered a lecture on this most interesting subject, and that hopes are entertained of your publishing this lecture. Very strange is it that there are to be found, in the United States, playing cards of the seventeenth century, which, brought over from the old country, have been preserved. I should be glad to hear from Mr. Clulow.

BARNET PHILLIPS.

Brooklyn, New York, 41, Troy Avenue,
July 23rd, 1884.

DURHAM HOUSE.

(ix. 262, x. 11.)

As I have stated in the article on "The Adelphi and its Site," that on September 19th, 1651, Colonel Berkstead was ordered "to find some fit place for the quartering of his soldiers besides Durham House, the Council not being desirous to hold the house longer than the Earl of Pembroke has given his consent to," and have also given a view of the house dated 1660, it is only right that I should quote a passage which has just come under my notice. Mr. Furnivall has printed a MS. from the late Sir Thomas Phillipps's Library entitled "Notes on London Churches and Buildings, and on Public Events in England, A.D. 1631-58," which will be published in the second volume of Harrison's *England* (New Shakspeare Society). The passage is as follows:—"The stately pallas called the Bishop of Durrums House in the Strand began to be demolished and pulled downe to the ground in the year 1650, to build tenements in the place of it." I cannot understand this discrepancy, and I hope some further particulars respecting the pulling down of the house may be brought to light. The process of demolition was probably stopped for some cause or other, as it is evident the house was in existence, at all events, in 1651. I am indebted to Mr. Furnivall's kindness for a sight of the proof of these interesting "Notes."

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Rogers' Italy and Poems, 2 vols., 4to, full morocco, by Hayday, belonged to the family of Rogers, has an autograph letter of Turner pasted in, plates on India paper, £12; a Horn Book, price £5; Turner's Views in England and Wales 1838, 2 vols., 4to, full tree calf, was bought in original parts at Turner's sale (price £20, in London catalogue), price £12 12s.; Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols., first edition, original emblematic cloth, £2 10s.; Walton and Cotton's Angler, 2 vols., imperial 8vo, Pickering, 1836, half morocco, by Hayday, £10; Hamerton's Etching and Etchers, 1868, rough uncut edges, very rare, £12, 1876 edition, uncut, £2 10s., 1880 edition, uncut, £5 5s.; Arabian Nights, 1839-41, 3 vols., Knight's edition, half bound, £3 3s.; Dickens' Five Christmas Books, first editions, red original cloth, rare and fine set, £6; Ruskin's Seven Lamps, fine copy, 1849, £6; Ruskin's Modern Painters, five vols., 1857-60, full calf, £20; Modern Painters, 1873, five vols., fine copy, original cloth, £20; Ingoldsby Legends, 3 vols., early edition, with author's visiting card and autograph letter inserted, £5, very interesting copy; Marryatt's Pottery and Porcelain, full morocco, fine copy, 1850, £1 12s.—266, care of Manager.

Gray's Elegy, illustrated by Harry Fenn. Large paper edition. Only 50 copies printed. Offers requested.—119, care of Manager.

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A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

An old Oak Bedstead, carved. Also carved Oak Chest. Sketches.—O. B., Carlgate, Retford.

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and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites, London, 1634; The Countermines, London, 1777; Les Liaisons Dangereuses, ou Lettres, London, 1797; The Chief Concerns of Man: Sermons by Rev. E. Bickersteth, London, 1831; Greenwood's Sailing and Fighting Instructions, or Signals of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, very rare, 1710; The Whole Duty of Man Laid Down, London, 1661; The Gentleman's Calling, London, 1662; Malthus on Population, 2 vols., 1826; Dictionarium Rusticum, Urbanicum, and Botanicum, London, 1726; A Review of the History of England: King James to Queen Anne, 1724.—R. Williams, Brynawlaw, Carnarvon.

Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine, large paper edition, price 21s. Paul and Virginia, with eight etchings in duplicate (50 copies only printed), bound in parchment, 25s. Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo calf, covers of one vol. damaged; London, printed by John Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5; very fine engraved title-page to each volume, and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as Douglas; book-plate of Francis Hartwell in each volume, 20s. Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474; a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L., forming part of the first issue of "The Antiquary's Library," 7s. 6d. Shakspeare as an Angler, by Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., vicar of Bitton, 1883, parchment, 10s. 6d.; very rare. Advice from a Mother to her Son and Daughter, written originally in French by the Marchioness de Lambert; done into English by a gentleman, MDCCXXIX, 18mo, calf, 1s. 6d. The Juvenile Forget-me-Not, edited by Mrs. Clara Hall; illustrated by fine engravings in steel, 2s. 6d. Œuvres de Monsieur de Boissy, contenant, Soir, Théâtre François et Italien, Nouvelle édition, eight volumes old calf, with book plate of Princess Sophia. A. Amsterdam, etc., a Berlin Chez Jean Neaulme, Libraire, MDCLXXVIII, 10s. The Bab Ballads, original edition, in paper boards, 2s. 6d.—191, care of Manager.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Book Plates purchased either in large or small quantities from collectors. No dealers need apply.—200, care of Manager.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, The Manor House, Symondsburys, Bridport.

Wanted, for cash, Works of Pardoe, Freer, Shelley, Keats, Swinburne, Browning, Lecky, Froude, Ruskin, Doran, Lamb, George Eliot, Thackeray, Titmarsh, Swift, Tyndall, Lewes, Lewis, Jowett, Dollinger, Jameson, Trench.—Kindly report, Rev., 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Gentleman's Magazine, between 1846 and 1868, either in volumes or in parts, any portion taken.—J. Briggs, 122, High Street, Sevenoaks (letters only).



The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1884.

Celebrated Birthplaces :

SAMUEL JOHNSON AT LICHFIELD.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, on the 7th of September, 1709 (old style), or the 18th of our present reckoning, and died in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, on the 13th of Dec., 1784. Although he was one of the most thorough Londoners that ever lived, he kept up through life a lively interest in the place of his birth. On one occasion he affirmed that the inhabitants of Lichfield were "the most sober, decent people in England, and genteel in proportion to their locality, and spoke the purest English;" and at another time he jocularly said that he must send Boswell to Lichfield, to learn manners and morals. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the proposal made by the present mayor of that city for the celebration of Johnson's centenary, should not have received a suitable response. No great English writer is more widely known than Johnson, and no English worthy more thoroughly deserves such honour as the commemoration of a centenary may confer, and one cannot but regret that this December 1884 will pass without some public recognition of our indebtedness to so great a man. Still, although the year may pass, the public honour that should have been done in 1884 may still be done in 1885, and, as a suggestion, I would propose that a statue be placed in Northumberland Avenue, near the Grand Hotel, for our hero said "the full tide of human existence is at Charing Cross," and he thus gave the palm to that place over his beloved Fleet Street.

Michael Johnson, the father of Samuel, was himself a man of some mark, and apparently a fairly prosperous one, until misfortunes came upon him late in life. He was a bookseller, who knew something more than the outsides of his books, and besides his home at Lichfield he had shops at Birmingham, Uttoxeter, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. In a letter written by the Rev. George Plaxton, in 1716, "the Lichfield librarian" is said to propagate learning all over the diocese, and to have all the clergy as his pupils.* He did not marry until 1706, when he was past fifty years of age. His wife was Sarah Ford, whose nephew was the notorious Parson Ford, one of the figures in Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation." Michael Johnson was at one time made sheriff, and on this occasion his son says that "he feasted the citizens with uncommon magnificence." He subsequently embarked in some unfortunate speculations, and was cheated by an assistant, so that when he died in 1731 he left nothing but the house where his son was born. This still stands, and is of special interest as one of the few existing houses that are associated with Johnson. The house which was built by Michael Johnson is situated in the Market Place, and has two fronts, as shown in the accompanying figure. In the year 1767, when the original lease was out, the Corporation of Lichfield ordered "that a lease should be granted to Samuel Johnson, Doctor of Laws, of the encroachments at his house, for the term of ninety-nine years, at the old rent of five shillings;" and they further desired him to accept it without paying any fine.

The city of Lichfield has many claims upon our interest, but in spite of its beautiful cathedral, its greatest claim to the world's regard will be found in the fact that it gave birth to one of the noblest of Englishmen. We know but little of Johnson's early life, save that he was well received in the society which a cathedral city such as Lichfield could afford. Boswell appears to have been wrong in supposing that Johnson stayed three years at Pembroke College, Oxford, and there can now be little doubt that after fourteen months' residence he was forced by poverty to return

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1791, quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald in his edition of Boswell, i. 9.

to Lichfield.* In 1733 he wrote for a bookseller at Birmingham; in 1734 he issued proposals for the publication of an edition of the Latin poems of Politian, which was never issued; and in 1735 appeared his translation of Lobo's *Abyssinia*; but he produced no literary work of any importance until after his removal to London in 1737. Before this latter date he had suffered many disappointments. He had been unsuccessful in several attempts to become an usher, and in one case he was refused the post on the ground that the boys would ridicule his peculiarities. At the school of Market Bosworth, where he was employed, he stayed but a short time, and throughout his life he looked back upon this experience with the greatest horror. In 1735 he married the widow Porter, and with the eight hundred pounds she brought him he started a school at Edial, near Lichfield, in a two-storied, high-roofed house, with windows in the roof, which was pulled down in 1809. The number of pupils was small, not exceeding eight;

two of these were the brothers Garrick, and another is said to have been a boy who, when a man, became famous as Dr. Hawkesworth. This venture, therefore, was a failure, and in 1737, at the age of twenty-eight, Johnson resolved to try his fortunes in London. He brought with him a letter from his friend Gilbert Walmsley, to Colson the mathema-

tician, and a part of the tragedy of *Irene*, and was accompanied by David Garrick, who was to be placed at Colson's school. Mrs. Johnson was left at Lichfield while her husband sought a new home. He shortly afterwards returned to fetch his wife, in order to settle in London and begin that arduous career of authorship which supported him so ill and caused him so much uneasiness, but was powerless to break the noble spirit that

dwelt in that strong but uncouth frame.

Although Johnson expressed the opinion that any man who wrote without pay was a fool, he was contented with very little, and one cannot but marvel at the small sums he received for his work, even after he had obtained a pre-eminent position in the literary world. At no time could he have lived with any comfort on the proceeds of his writings, and without his pension he would have been, throughout his life, miserably poor. For his masterpiece, which he himself described as "little lives and little prefaces to a little edition of the Eng-

lish poets," he only asked the publishers two hundred guineas.

It will not be necessary to mention again his association with Lichfield; suffice it to say that when broken down in health and within a measurable distance of the grave, he visited his birthplace, in hopes of obtaining from his native air that benefit which no other brought him.

The associations of Johnson with streets, both in the City of London and in the West



DR. JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE.

* Mr. Croker first pointed this out, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in his interesting work *Dr. Johnson, his Friends and his Critics*, 1878, has practically settled it.

End, are numerous, but they are all recorded in Boswell's immortal pages, so that it would be out of place to repeat the record here. I shall venture to set down a few notes on his works, which certain popular writers tell us are not much read now, instead of repeating the incidents of his life, which ought to be familiar to every one who can read them as related by England's greatest biographer. If Johnson's works are not now read, so much the worse for those who seek instruction and amusement in literature; but if they are read as they ought to be, I may still hope to use the occasion of the centenary as an excuse for drawing my readers' attention to a few of the chief points in his literary character.*

There are two characteristics of Johnson's writing that go to make him less popular than he deserves to be. One is that he was nothing if not a moralist, and the present age hates to be preached at; and the other, that his style is too artificial,—ponderous some call it. This last objection is certainly made too much of, for it will be found that whenever Johnson had anything to explain he always used the clearest and most idiomatic language. It is in the earlier works, and in such essays about generalities as those of the *Rambler*, that he compares so unfavourably with Addison. He himself acknowledged that he used too many long words, and in his later works he used them less and less. One good test of the beauty of his diction is that, whenever he wrote upon a subject, however difficult, which required to be clearly set before the reader, it will be found impossible to improve upon his style.

Many collections of Johnson's works have been published, the last being issued in 1825, at Oxford, and most of them are in as many as twelve volumes, and yet, with the exception of the little tale *Rasselas*, and the record of his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*,

there is in them no complete work, planned and written as a whole. All his works were either written for ephemeral publications, or issued as parts of other books. Even his masterpiece, the *Lives of the Poets*, only grew in the end into a distinct book, which will live when the works of a large number of the poets it records are only remembered by his criticisms. One cannot but regret when one reads that remarkable list of Johnson's proposed works, which Boswell printed, that some at least of the proposals were not carried out. For instance, what a charming and instructive book would this have been, and how the author could have poured out his stores of learning in it:

History of the reviva of learning in Europe, containing an account of whatever contributed to the restoration of literature, such as controversies, printing, the destruction of the Greek empire, the encouragement of great men, with the lives of the most eminent patrons and most eminent early professors of all kinds of learning in different countries.

I now propose to consider Johnson as a poet, an essayist, a critic and biographer, a bibliographer, and a pamphleteer.*

1. *As a Poet.*—Here again Johnson is unfortunate, for the present age, although to a large extent eclectic in its tastes, is reluctant to give the high title of poet except to those whose verse displays evidence of the higher imagination. Johnson was of the school of Pope, and it is curious to find how often his best lines are attributed to the greater poet, even by those who should know better. *London* (1738), although a very fine poem, contains some false notes, as when we find the lover of our great city setting the rocks of Scotland before the charms of the Strand. In this poem we find the oft-quoted lines:—

Of all the griefs that harass the distress'd,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest.

And again:—

This mournful truth is everywhere confessed,
Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd.

The Vanity of Human Wishes is the far finer work of the two, and we surely cannot deny the title of poetry, and poetry of a

* There can be no doubt that Johnson is more popularly known as seen in Boswell's *Life*, than as he showed himself in his own writings; that, in fact, he was a greater conversationalist than he was an author; still it strikes one as strange that Mr. Leslie Stephen should devote so small a space to the written words of his hero in his pleasant *Life of Johnson*. A leader writer in *The Times* infers that the readers of Boswell are decreasing, but this, we trust, is not a true inference.

* I do not here consider him as a lexicographer, because I shall attempt to tell the story of the Dictionary in the next number of THE ANTIQUARY.

high order too, to that which deeply moved Sir Walter Scott, and has been a delight to many other great men. When in comfort and independence Johnson took up his own satire and opened it at the lines which paint the scholar's fate and the almost insurmountable obstructions in his way to fortune—he burst into a paroxysm of tears. What a hold the poem has taken upon the popular mind is seen by the numerous familiar quotations that are taken from it. Of the play *Irene* little can be said; even such lenient critics as Mrs. Thrale and Miss Burney found it impossible to be enthusiastic over the tragic fate of the fair Greek. We have seen what Johnson thought of his own satire; he shall be the critic of his own play. On one occasion when it was being read by his friends he left the room, and afterwards said that he thought it had been better. That the hand had not lost its cunning late in life is seen in the beautiful lines *On the Death of Mr. Robert Levett, a Practiser in Physic*, who only died two years before his benefactor.

It was a subject of regret to many of his friends that he wrote so little poetry, but once when Topham Beauclerk was expressing this feeling to Thrale, the latter is reported to have said, "The real reason why Johnson did not apply his faculties to poetry was that he dared not trust himself in such a pursuit, his mind not being equal to the species of imagination which verse demands, though in the walk of prose composition, whether moral, philological, or biographical, he could continue his labours without any injurious consequences."*

2. *As an Essayist*.—One of Johnson's earliest pieces of work after he had settled in London was the compilation of the Parliamentary debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. From 1738 to 1740 he edited such materials as were supplied to him, and from the latter date until 1743 he entirely wrote the supposed debates. They were little more than essays upon subjects which he learned had been discussed in Parliament, and were particularly free from any references to facts. One thing, however, he always bore in mind, and that was not to let "the Whig dogs" have the best of the argument. In spite, however, of this vagueness, perhaps in con-

sequence of it, the speeches became very popular, and several familiar quotations may be traced to them. Johnson himself was proud to see two of the speeches which he had written printed in Chesterfield's works, one described as worthy of Demosthenes, and the other of Cicero. He said that he did not intend the reports to be considered as genuine, and when he found that the public were imposed upon he ceased to produce them. A few days before he died he said these were the only part of his writings which gave him any compunction. *Rasselas* again, which first appeared in 1759, was more a succession of beautiful moral essays, than an artistic story. Did ever fiction have a more repellent opening than this?—

Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow, attend to the history of *Rasselas*, prince of Abyssinia.

In spite of the unexciting character of the tale, the beauty of the writing has made it highly popular, and publishers still continue to reprint it.

The first number of the *Rambler* was published on Tuesday, March 20th, 1750, and it was continued regularly every Tuesday and Saturday for the space of two years, until Saturday, March 14th, 1752. The sale was not large in its periodical form, and the production of "copy" at stated intervals was a great trial to the author, as he himself wrote:—

He that condemns himself to compose on a stated day will often bring to his task an attention dissipated, a memory embarrassed, an imagination overwhelmed, a mind distracted with anxieties, a body languishing with disease: he will labour on a barren topic, till it is too late to change it; or, in the ardour of invention, diffuse his thoughts into wild exuberance which the pressing hour of publication cannot suffer judgment to examine or reduce.

A reprint was published in Edinburgh as the numbers appeared, and when completed the work had a large sale, and exerted a very wide influence.

Although not much read now, the *Rambler* helped largely to build up Johnson's great reputation.

The numerous prefaces and dedications

* *Wraxall's Historical Memoirs*, ed. 1884, p. 107.

which Johnson produced may be considered as illustrations of his skill as an essayist, and in no form of composition did he feel more at home. When reading the preface to Capel's edition of Shakespeare he said, "If the man would have come to me I would have endeavoured to 'endow his purposes with words,' for as it is 'he doth gabble monstrosously.'" He usually paid very little attention to the mode in which the author treated his subject, and as he said of his preface to Rolt's *Dictionary of Trade*, "I knew very well what such a book should be, and I wrote a preface accordingly." Occasionally, however, he would dress up the knowledge of an author, so that even when the subject was abstruse the manner in which it was presented became delightful. In the pamphlet which he wrote for Zachariah Williams on an attempt to ascertain the longitude, are some specially fine passages. In the name of Williams he paints the evils of obscurity, and ends a beautiful description with these touching words :—

Thus I proceeded with incessant diligence ; and perhaps in the zeal of inquiry did not sufficiently reflect on the silent encroachment of time, or remember that no man is in more danger of doing little than he who flatters himself with abilities to do all. When I was forced out of my retirement I came loaded with the infirmities of age, to struggle with the difficulties of a narrow fortune, cut off by the blindness of my daughter from the only assistance which I ever had ; deprived by time of my patron and friends, a kind of stranger in a new world where curiosity is now diverted to other objects, and where, having no means of ingratiating my labours, I stand the single votary of an obsolete science, the scoff of puny pupils, of puny philosophers.

The least satisfactory of the work Johnson did for others is the assistance he gave to the scoundrel Lauder in his attack on the memory of Milton ; but immediately he discovered that forgeries had been committed, he insisted upon Lauder making an ample public apology.

3. *As a Critic and Biographer.*—We now come to that side of Johnson's literary character upon which his fame must chiefly rest. Byron said that he stript many a leaf from every laurel, but that his *Lives of the Poets* is the finest critical work extant, and can never be read without instruction and delight. The Prefaces to *Shakespeare* and the *Dictionary*, and the *Lives*, must always be read

by the literary student for the importance of their contents, and by others for the beauty of their style. Who can read the noble conclusion of the Preface to the *Dictionary* without emotion? Although Johnson was little able to enter into the higher imagination of Shakespeare, and his magisterial notes on the several plays are somewhat displeasing to the Shakesperian, who does not appreciate such remarks as, "Of this tragedy many particular passages deserve regard"—his preface is full of the most admirable criticism. How excellent is the comparison of *Cato* and *Othello*! and we must remember that although *Cato* is not read now, it was literary treason not to admire it when Johnson wrote. Voltaire had expressed surprise that a nation which had seen *Cato* could endure the extravagances of *Othello*, upon which Johnson observes :—

Othello is the vigorous and vivacious offspring of observation impregnated by genius. *Cato* affords a splendid exhibition of artificial and fictitious manners, and delivers just and noble sentiments in diction easy, elevated, and harmonious, but its hopes and fears communicate no vibration to the heart ; the composition refers us only to the writer ; we pronounce the name of *Cato*, but we think of Addison.

4. *As a Bibliographer.*—The tastes of the father devolved upon the son, and early in his career we find Johnson cataloguing the Latin books in the celebrated Harleian library for Osborne, the bookseller, who had purchased it. Out of this job grew the famous encounter between the two men. While cataloguing, Johnson read the books, and Osborne reproached him with neglect, upon which an altercation followed. In the end the author knocked his employer down with a folio, and the identical book is said to have been the Frankfort Septuagint of 1594. When Mrs. Thrale in later days asked for particulars, Johnson said :—

He was insolent and I beat him, and he was a blockhead and told of it, which I should never have done, so the blows have been multiplying and the wonder thickening for all these years, as Thomas was never a favourite with the public. I have beat many a fellow, but the rest had the wit to hold their tongues.

Boswell says that Johnson told him that the blow was not given in the bookseller's shop, but in the author's own room. The *Prefaces*

to the *Harleian Catalogue* are full of interest for the lovers of old books, and contain many sound observations on our obligations to the collectors of libraries, and on the variations in the value of books. Some persons had complained of the high prices which Osborne asked, and Johnson makes him say :—

If they measure the price at which the books are now offered by that at which they were bought by the late possessor, they will find it diminished at least three parts in four; if they would compare it with the demands of other booksellers, they must find the same books in their hands, and they will be perhaps at last reduced to confess, that they mean by a high price only a price higher than they are inclined to give.

Johnson could number among his accomplishments the capacity for binding a book, and he was not above placing among the works to be done in the future

A Table of Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians, distinguished by figures into six degrees of value, with notes giving the reasons of preference or degradation.

5. *As a Political Pamphleteer.*—This side of Johnson's literary character is the least pleasing to an admirer of his genius. The politics of the *False Alarm* (1770), *Thoughts on the late transactions respecting Falkland's Islands* (1771), *The Patriot* (1774), and *Taxation no Tyranny* (1775), were those of the Ministry, and they do not now appeal to our sense of what is right. He justifies the action of the House of Commons against Wilkes, and saw no wrong in taxing the American Colonies. He wrote what he considered was right, and he does not appear to have gained much by publishing his tracts. There was some talk of bringing him into Parliament, but this proposal fell through. In truth he knew little or nothing of politics, for it was outside his studies. He was first a Jacobite, and then a Tory, from feeling. He hated Whiggism, but he loved Whigs whenever he knew them, and it would be a most incorrect view to suppose that with all his high-flying notions he did not love freedom as much as any other honest man. He expressed a generous resentment against the tyranny exercised by English rulers over the Irish people, and when someone defended the restrictions of the Irish trade, for the good of English merchants, he

said, "Sir! you talk the language of a savage." He hated slavery with a zealous feeling, and on one occasion at Oxford he gave as a toast, "Here's to the next insurrection of negroes in the West Indies."

I have but little space left in which to say a few words on the personal character of the subject of this article, and little is required, for it is in this that he is best known. To the reader of Boswell he still lives a true man and a real friend, and even if the pages of his biographer were blotted out we might again rudely construct his likeness from those of his other friends, who have enriched our literature with reminiscences of him. If Macaulay has done him injustice, Carlyle has nobly vindicated his character. Of his conversational powers we may obtain a very vivid idea if we think of the remarkable men who surrounded him and bowed to him as chief; how great must that man have been of whom Burke could say, "It is enough for me to have rung the bell for him." The friendship of Johnson and Burke is an honour to literature, and Mr. Leslie Stephen truly says,

The names of many greater writers are inscribed upon the walls of Westminster Abbey, but scarcely anyone lies there whose heart was more acutely responsive during life to the deepest and tenderest human emotions.

He was often rough in manner, and reckless in assertion, but much that he said was meant in joke, and not intended to be taken as serious, and he could, on occasions, be a model of politeness. The comic and humorous side of his character has scarcely been brought so prominently forward as it deserves; for in spite of all his troubles and the constitutional melancholy of his disposition, we find him keeping up his youthful spirits and fun to the very last. His was a truly noble life, and in spite of disappointment upon disappointment he never complained of his lot, and displayed his generous nature with but a small income. A reply which he once made to Thrale showed his lofty nature. When Bickerstaff took to flight it was said there was no cause for astonishment, as he had long been a suspected man. Johnson replied, "By those who look close to the ground, dirt will be seen, sir. I hope I see things from a greater distance."

The eccentricities of character and infirmities of body which gave annoyance to those in Johnson's company cannot injure us, and the more we know of his works, his sayings, and his doings, the more we shall admire the author and love the man. If more of us read these works than otherwise would have done, the attention that has been called to the centenary will not have been in vain, and we need not regret that no public demonstration has been made. Let the demonstration be in our hearts.



The House of Lords.

PART IV.

THE TRANSITION FROM TENURE TO WRIT. (Continued.)

IN the former part of this paper, it may be remembered, I undertook "to connect our House of Lords, as a baronage and as a peerage with the *barones* and the *pares* of Norman days."*

By so doing I proposed to establish that this assembly is of essentially *feudal* origin, and that the fundamental principle from which it springs is no other than *Vassalage*.

It is wonderful, when we glance at the literature of this subject, to perceive the wasted ingenuity and labour, the hesitating results, and the singular errors that are one and all owing to the want of proper definitions. If the great scholars who have handled this subject had only, before writing about "barons" and "peers," endeavoured to form a clear conception of the meaning, or meanings, of *barones* and *pares*, they would have been saved from many a pitfall, and might even have discovered that in the meaning of these terms is to be found the key to the entire problem.

When, for instance, in a remarkable passage, unnoticed, so far as I know, by historians, William de Braose is represented as appealing to the judgment of "the barons my peers"†

* *Ante*, p. 147.

† "Paratus sum et ero domino meo etiam sine obsequiis satisfacere secundum iudicium curiæ suæ et baronum parium meorum, certo mihi assignato die et loco."—M. PARIS, *Chronica Majora* (Ed. 1874), ii. 524.

—and this so early as 1208—it may well be wondered what idea it conveys to those whose eyes it meets, either of the class to whom he appealed, or of the grounds on which he appealed to them. I propose, then, here to adopt as my text four words which occur in this passage: *dominus, curia, barones, pares*. But let us first endeavour to form a clear conception of the meanings of the term *barones*.

Mr. Gomme, if I understand him aright, claims, in our opening paper, that by "baron" was merely meant a land-owning freeman. "The simple man," he says, "*homo, baron*, would become the man who owned land, the baron in a special sense" (*ante*, ix. 55). But the development of the word must be sought, I would suggest, not in the relation of the "man" to his *land*, but in the relation of the "man" to his *lord*. For myself, I claim for *baro* six distinct meanings, most of which were in use at one and the same time.

1. A *man*. Dr. Stubbs speaks of it as "in its origin equivalent to *homo*," and as "used in the *Leges Alemannorum* . . . for *man* generally."* Scholars differ as to its etymology, but are agreed that such was its meaning when it emerged in the eighth century. This meaning survived in the "baron and feme" of the law-books, and, indeed, still survives in the "baron and feme" of heraldry. For *baro*, like the allied *vir*, meant not only "man generally," but man in the special sense of our "man and wife."

2. A *vassal*. "The word," says Dr. Stubbs, "receives, under feudal institutions, like *homo* itself, the meaning of vassal."† This meaning survived not only in the "court baron" (of which more below), but in the occasional use of *barones* by certain great tenants-in-chief, to indicate their under-tenants. It may be added that not only *homo*, but our own "man," was undergoing a like development, as in the "*wæron his menn*," quoted by me above.‡

3. A *tenant-in-chief*. In this, the most important of all its meanings, *baro* is a contraction of "*baro regis*,"§ the vassal of the king

* *Const. Hist.*, i. 365. So, "tam baronem quam feminam" (*Lex Rip. Tit.* 58, No. 12) and "barum aut feminam" (*Lex Alam. Tit.* 76).

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ante*, p. 146.

§ "Magnus homo et baro regis."—*Royal Letters*, i. 102, 104.

being so distinguished from "vassal" generally. "*Baro*," says Dr. Stubbs, "appears in Domesday, and in the charter of Henry I., in its recognised meaning of a *tenant-in-chief of the king*."* How it came to assume that meaning, no one, I believe, has attempted to explain. I cannot but think that advantage was taken of the existence, side by side, of the forms *homo* and *baro* to specialise the latter as a *tenant-in-chief*, while the former represented that tenant's men, *i.e.*, the "under tenants."† That such a distinction did, in practice, grow up, is clear, and its obvious convenience is surely the explanation.

4. A *palatine tenant*. Its use in this highly specialised meaning is most familiar in the case of the Palatine Earldom of Chester. Here, again, I am not aware that any explanation has been suggested. But if I am right in the view that I have expressed in the preceding paragraph, it would follow, most naturally, that, as possessing "the regalia," an Earl Palatine would desire that those who held of him in chief should be distinguished by the same name as those who held in chief of the king.‡

The same suggestion would also explain why the more powerful even of the non-palatine lords would occasionally take upon themselves to address their tenants as "barones."

5. A *tenant-in-chief not otherwise distinguished*. I have already (*ante*, p. 147) alluded to the importance of this distinction. "Every earl," says Hallam, "was also a baron."§ "All the members," we are reminded by Dr. Stubbs, "were barons by tenure, greater or less."|| That is to say, all the members were *barones (regis)*—tenants-in-chief—but those who, in addition, possessed special titles, earls, bishops, abbots, and so forth, were also, and more usually, spoken of by these names. Thus it first came to pass that "barones" were identified, like modern "barons," with the lowest rank in the peerage.

But it must always be remembered that

* *Const. Hist.*, i. 365.

† "Homines baronum meorum."—*Charter of Henry I.* (1101).

‡ "The Earl . . . was said to hold his earldom as freely by his sword as the king held England by his crown," etc., etc.—*Const. Hist.*, i. 363.

§ *Middle Ages*, iii. 5.

|| *Const. Hist.*, i. 358.

this which I have classed as the *fifth* meaning of the word was in use concurrently with the *third* (and others), and that it is only from the context we can tell in which sense it is employed.

I shall recur below to the vital point to which this distinction leads us, namely, whether all the members of the Assembly sat in it as "barones" (*i.e.*, in virtue of being tenants-in-chief), or whether the earls, etc., sat in it by some different right.

6. A member of the *upper section of the preceding class*. Just as the tendency to distinguish earls, bishops, etc., from the other *barones* narrowed the limits of the baronage *from above*, so the tendency to exclude from its ranks the "lesser" barons (*barones minores*) similarly narrowed it *from below*. The goal therefore to which the "baro" was tending was that of a member of the *more important class* ("barones majores") of *tenants-in-chief not distinguished by any higher title*.

I trust the above classification may serve to clear the ground, and to save us from those pitfalls which are chiefly owing to the want of these very definitions.

It is needless to include such forms as the "Barons of the Exchequer" (from whom may be traced our use of the word in the courts of justice to this day)—for they merely represented those members of the *curia* (*i.e.*, the *barones* in the "third" sense) who acted as its Exchequer Committee—or such as the "Barons" of London and of the Cinque Ports, which I look upon as an attempt to feudalise (in form) the tenure of our more important towns.

Pass we now to the *Pares*. Just as the *barones* were, in their origin, *vassals*, so the *pares*, as Madox has shown, were in their origin *fellow-vassals*.* Their parity consisted in the fact of their holding of a common lord by a common tenure. And just as "barones" was qualified, as we have seen, by various words not expressed, so "pares" represented the expression "*pares curiæ*." But, it will be remembered, this parity and its corollary, the *judicium parium* ("trial by

* *Baronia Anglica*, p. 14. So Spelman:—"Pares dicuntur qui, acceptis ab eodem domino . . . feudis, pari legi vivunt, et dicuntur omnes pares curiæ," etc., etc.

peers"), was confined to no one class in the vast feudal hierarchy. It was applied to all freemen (*liberi homines*) by the Great Charter (Art. 39), and I have even noted a case in which all the tenants of an abbey were entitled to certain privileges, *except* one unfortunate class and their "*pares*." It was, therefore, obviously desirable that the highest class of "*pares*"—those who were such in virtue of their holding directly from the Crown—should be distinguished from all those who were *pares* of any lower *curia*. In the need of such distinction, I venture to think, arose the style of "*pieres de la terre*," or (as we now say) "*peers of the realm*,"—for those who in virtue of their tenure *in capite* were the "*pares*" of the "*curia regis*."

We have now analysed *barones* and *pares*, and have seen that they were essentially terms of relation. Vassals were *barones* relatively to their lord; they were *pares* relatively to one another. That by "*peers*" is meant simply "*equals*," it is not so difficult to realise; but that "*baron*," which has now so long represented superiority and distinction, should have originally implied inferiority and subjection, is a fact too often forgotten, or perhaps unconsciously overlooked. Hence it is that the ludicrous error as to the meaning of "*court-baron*" has obtained so wide a prevalence. Lynch, the Irish institutional writer, though reputed a specialist on the subject, actually looked on a court-baron as so called from being the court of a parliamentary "*baron*"; while, in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "*C. J. R.*" thus writes of Baron:—

The origin and comparative antiquity of barons have been the subject of much research amongst antiquaries. The most probable opinion is that they were the same as our present lords of manors (!); and to this the appellation of court-baron given to the lord's court, and incident to every manor, seems to lend countenance . . . but the latter only [*i.e.*, those holding by grand serjeantry] . . . possessed both a civil and criminal jurisdiction, each in his *curia baronis* !*—Vol. iii., p. 388.

It was reserved, however, for one who

* For the true meaning of court-baron, see *Const. Hist.*, i. 399:—"Every manor had a court baron, the ancient gemot of the township, in which by-laws were made and other local business transacted. . . . Those manors whose lords had . . . sac and soc . . . had also a court *leet*, or criminal jurisdiction."

describes himself as "an official of the College of Arms" (*vulgo* the Heralds' College)* to signalise the advent of a Scottish element into that venerable and, at least on this subject, presumably learned corporation, by committing himself to the infinitely more grotesque error of publicly and ultroneously proclaiming his belief not only that "an elaborate system of feudal peerages or dignities existed at an early period in England," but even that it comprised barons (*barones*) in the year of grace "664 or thereabouts"†. The readers of THE ANTIQUARY need scarcely be reminded that "the title of baron . . . is a creation of the Conquest," and that it does not, before that event, "occur in the writings of Englishmen."‡

We are now in a better position to understand the appeal of William de Braose to the judgment of the "*barons*" his "*peers*" (*judicium curiæ suæ et baronum parium meorum*). Dr. Stubbs observes of the Great Charter (Art. 39):—

The *judicium parium* was indeed no novelty; it lay at the foundation of all German law; and the very formula here used is probably adopted from the laws of the Franconian and Saxon Cæsars.§

But the record to which I would invite attention is one far earlier than the Great Charter; it is the writ of John's great grandfather, issued, according to Dr. Stubbs, in 1108-1112, and printed in his *Select Charters* at p. 99. By the side of the passage here extracted I print an extract from the *Libri Feudorum* as almost startling evidence of the sources of Henry's enactments.

CONRAD THE SALIC.
(1024—1036.)

Si contentio fuerit de beneficio inter capitaneos, coram imperatore definiri debet; si vero fuerit contentio inter minores valvassores et majores de beneficio, in iudicio parium suorum definiatur per iudicem curtis.—*Lib. Feud.* i. xviii.

HENRY THE FIRST.
(1108—1112.)

Et si amodo exsurgat placitum de divisione terrarum, si est inter barones meos dominicos tractetur placitum in curiâ mea: et si est inter vavassores duorum dominorum tractetur in comitatu.—*Fœdera*, i. 12; *Select Charters*, p. 99.

The very use of the rare term *vavassores* is significant as to the inspiration of Henry's

* Mr. W. Lindsay, Rougecroix poursuivant.

† *Genealogist* (New Series), i. 188-9 (July 1884).

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 365.

§ *Ibid.*, i. 539.

writ, which enforces the point on which I have insisted, namely, the essentially *feudal* origin of the *curia*, and of its descendant, the House of Lords.

But we must bear in mind that William de Braose, when he claimed to be judged by the "barones," his "pares" (i. 208), claimed to be so judged in the "*curia*" of his "*dominus*." Just so, in 1341, the Lords asserted their right to be judged by their peers in *full parliament*.* Here we have at once a striking illustration of that descent of Parliament from the *curia* on which I am about to enlarge. For what was this *curia*—*mea curia*, as Henry I. in the above writ terms it? In its origin it was nothing but that court of the feudal lord (*dominus*), to which his vassals owed suit and service, in which they were judged by their fellow vassals, and which when summoned they were bound to attend. When the *dominus* happened to be the king, his *curia* was distinguished as the *curia regis*. But it was obviously as *dominus*, not as *rex*, that he held and presided in that court. Now the problem we have to solve is this: Can we connect this *curia* with the *concilium*? Can we deduce the latter from the former? Or must we seek for it a different origin?

On this point Dr. Stubbs observes:—

It would be rash to affirm that the Supreme Courts of Judicature and Finance were committees of the national council, *though the title of Curia belongs to both*.† And it would be scarcely less rash to regard the two great tribunals, the Curia Regis and the Exchequer, as mere sessions of the king's household ministers, undertaking the administration of national business, without reference to the action of the great council of the kingdom. The historical development of the system is obscure in the extreme . . . The great gatherings of the national council may be regarded as full sessions of the Curia Regis, or the Curia Regis as a perpetual committee of the national council, but there is no evidence to prove that the supreme judicature so originated.‡

The gist of the matter, however, is given in the following passage:—

It may be enough here to note that whereas under William the Conqueror and William Rufus, the term *curia* generally, if not invariably, refers to the solemn courts held thrice a year or on particular summons, at which all tenants-in-chief were supposed to attend,

* "Les piers de la terre . . . ne doivent respondre, n'estre jugez fers que en pleyn parlement et devant les piers."—*Rot. Parl.*, ii. 127.

† The italics are my own.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i. 376, 387.

from the reign of Henry I. we have distinct traces of a judicial system, a supreme court of justice called the Curia Regis, presided over by the king or justiciar.*

The use of *curia*, under the Conqueror, is illustrated by the passage from William of Malmesbury (*Vit. S. Wulf.*, ii. 12):—

Rex Willelmus consuetudinem . . . ut ter in anno cuncti optimates ad *curiam* convenirent de necessariis regni tractaturi, etc., etc.†

And Dr. Stubbs himself (i. 369-70) speaks alternately of these assemblies as "courts" and "councils." Why, then, are we to seek for the *concilium* a different origin than the *curia*? Why should we fly in the face of history when the *concilium*, as I shall show, can be deduced from the *curia*?

It is notorious that among the duties which vassals owed to their lord was that of "counsel"—when he asked for it. But it also is obvious that such "counsel" would, in early days, be rarely asked for, and would, for practical purposes, be little more than a formality. Dr. Stubbs accordingly observes of the early "courts" or "councils":—

The exercise of their powers depended on the will of the king, and under the Conqueror and his sons there are scarcely any traces of independent action in them.‡

As yet, therefore, the *curia* would be chiefly viewed as a court (in the sense in which we speak of "a court of justice") in which the king, as lord, administered justice to his vassals. But as "counsel" (*consilium*) became, in form at least, a more prominent feature in those gatherings, so they would tend to assume the name of "council" (*concilium*). Here we have one of those instances in which, as I contend, a careful study of the *word* throws light on the history of the *thing*. But while this process was taking place on the one hand, on the other there was simultaneously growing up "a judicial system," as Dr. Stubbs terms it (*vide supra*), which involved the existence of a department with specially trained officials. Here, then, as it seems to me, is a rational and consistent explanation of the development of the *concilium* from the *curia*. As the assembly of vassals became gradually known as the *concilium* (from the growing prominence of the "counsel" fea-

* *Ibid.*, i. 376-7.

† *Ibid.*, i. 370.

‡ *Ibid.*

ture), so the title of *curia regis* would be gradually monopolised, in the most natural course, by the *curia* in its judicial (the older) aspect. Thus would the terms "court" and "council," which remained synonymous, as Dr. Stubbs admits, for some time after the Conquest, be gradually differentiated in meaning, the *concilium* denoting the "*curia*" in its consultative aspect, and becoming thus the parent of the House of Lords, and eventually of all "Parliament," while the *curia regis* represented the "*curia*" in its (older and) judicial aspect, and became the parent, not only of our judicature, but also, through the Exchequer, of our financial administration; for it need hardly be observed, that in the Norman period the judicial and financial systems were so united as to be practically one.

Whether the above view may meet with acceptance or not, I would claim for it that it is at least scientific. Why does Dr. Stubbs leave us, after all, to wander in the regions of conjecture? Why is he driven, as we have seen, to confess that the "development of the system is obscure in the extreme"? Because the determination to divorce the *concilium* from the *curia* in origin, and to derive the former, at all hazards, from the Witan, precludes a consistent explanation, and leaves the *curia regis* "in the air," its origin undetermined, its development haphazard. Once admit that in the feudal *curia*, an institution of which the existence is undisputed, we have the common origin, by a natural development, at once of the *concilium* and of the *curia regis*, and all these difficulties vanish.

I am, of course, aware that such a view as this exposes me to the characteristic rejoinder from Mr. Freeman that I cannot possibly be a "real scholar" or have read my "history with common care,"* but, convincing as that argument should doubtless be, I am compelled to believe that the House of Lords descends, on the contrary, "by unbroken succession,"

* "I hold that the House of Lords is by personal identity, by unbroken succession, the ancient Witenagemot, and further that the ancient Witenagemot was a body in which every freeman of the realm had, in theory at least, the right to attend and take part in person. The former of these two positions I do not expect that any real scholar will dispute; the latter has been made—and I do not at all wonder at it—the subject

not from the "primary assembly" of freemen, not even from the aristocratic *Witan*, but from the feudal *curia*, in which the *dominus* was surrounded by his *barones*.

J. H. ROUND.

(To be continued.)



The Formation of the English Palate.

PART II.

BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.



HAVING dealt with the Roman sauces, I next come to the various dishes to which the Roman cooks served these sauces. We shall find that they had almost every dish that we have, and a great many that we now reject. We make great use of beef and mutton, which they did not; beef is little used in hot countries. The Romans, however, used veal; mutton they cared little for except wild; but lamb was a staple dish, and so was pork—for which they had a complete passion; their pork, fed on figs or chesnuts, was probably as much superior to our pork, as our beef and mutton would be to theirs.

To take their dishes in a regular order, I will begin with fish. This they cooked in every way that we do: they boiled, stewed, baked, and broiled; they stuffed with various ingredients, and they made rissoles of it. It is an historical fact, recorded in the life of the Emperor Heliogabalus, that that magnificent sensualist was the first inventor of lobster rissoles, which, by the way, the Roman cooks made in a shape and baked; our cooks fry them. Here is a recipe for lobster rissoles from Apicius:—"Isicia de loligine. Sublatis crinibus in pulmentum tundes, sicut assolet pulpa: et in mortario et in liquamine diligenter fricatur; et exinde isicia plassantur." Take off the spawn first, boil the lobster, then chop it into a fine pulp; pound in a mortar with

of much dispute. The unbroken continuity of our national assemblies before and after the Norman conquest is manifest to every one who reads his history with common care. . . . There is no change which implies any break in what we may term their corporate succession."—*Fortnightly Review*, xxxiii., 240 (Feb. 1883).

eggs, pepper, and *garum*, and then set in a shape, and bake.

The Roman cooks made *isicia* of several sorts: of lobster, and also of the sepia or cuttle-fish, and of various meats; their *isicia* answer to our rissoles, croquettes, quenelles, kromeskys, and forcemeats. The usual Roman materials for quenelles were pheasant, peacock, rabbit, chicken, or sucking-pig, pounded in a mortar, and then simmered in sauces, to which pepper, *garum*, and wine, with other flavouring ingredients, were generally added.

To return to fish: fish stews were much in vogue. Here is a recipe. *Pisces qualeslibet rades et curatos mittes, cepas siccas Ascalonias, vel alterius generis concides in patinam, et pisces super compones; adjicies liquamen, oleum; cum coctum fuerit, salsum coctum in medio pones, addendum acetum.* Scrape any sort of fish; cut up dry shallots, or any other kind of onion, and put them into a stew-pan; lay the fish upon them, add thereto *garum* and oil, and cook. When they are done, put some cooked *salsum* (some salt relish, like caviare) in the midst of them; add vinegar, and serve.

Here is a recipe for sauce for fried fish:—*Pisces, quemlibet cures, salias, frigis*; prepare any sort of fish, sprinkle salt, and fry. Then for the sauce: *Teres piper, cuminum, coriandri semen, laceris radicem, origanum, rutam fricabis; suffundes acetum; adjicies caryotam, mel, defrutum, oleum; liquamine temperabis, refundes in cacabum; facias ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit pisces frictum perfundes, piper asperges et inferes.* Pound pepper, cummin, coriander seed, laser root, marjoram, and rue; pour in vinegar, add a date, honey, *defrutum* (i.e., preparation of wine), oil; temper with *garum*; pour it into a saucepan, make hot, when hot, pour over the fried fish, pepper it, and serve.

Coming to their meats—beef and mutton they neglected, for reasons I have mentioned already. But *copadia*, stews of lamb, were very popular. Stew in *garum* and pepper, with French beans, and add a sauce of *garum*, pepper, laser root, and ground cummin seed; and sippets of bread, and oil. There were several other recipes for lamb stew. Kid was treated in the same way as lamb. The wild sheep, or mouflon of

Sardinia, was a favourite dish. For venison they had many sauces, and honey forms an ingredient of the venison and wild sheep sauces, an ingredient for which we nowadays substitute currant jelly. Hare was another popular dish: they stuffed it with pine nuts, almonds, walnuts, peppercorns, its own liver and lights chopped up, and eggs. They baked it, boiled it, roasted it, stewed it, and jugged it in many ways and with many sauces. The shoulder-blade was the tit-bit.

But far above all other dishes did the Roman value pork. And no wonder; his pigs were fattened upon figs, and died of apoplexy brought on by the sudden administration of a dose of honey and wine. Mr. Coote observes that this "is the nearest approach ever made in sober fact to dying of a rose in aromatic pain." It reminds of the story of the Duke of Clarence and the butt of Malmsey.

Pliny tells us that pork was the most lucrative dish they had at the cook shops, and that they could give it nearly fifty flavours; by the time of the Emperor Helio-gabalus additional ones had been invented, and Apicius gives over eighty recipes for cooking pork. They roasted it, broiled it, fried it, baked it, boiled it, and stewed it; they cut it up into all sorts of dishes; they cooked sucking pig in sixteen different ways; they did the kidneys in methods that would charm the Cambridge undergraduate; they made haggis of pork, and here we trace the national dish of Scotland, as we do its national music, to the Romans; but the Romans made the haggis of pork, the Scots make it of mutton. The recipe is too long to quote.

With regard to birds and fowls, the Romans were omnivorous: they ate *omni-modà voltailia*, everything that flies; so did our mediæval ancestors. The swan and peacock, which we now see alone at city and college feasts, are survivals. But Lord William Howard, as his household books show, ate cormorants, and cranes, and herons. The Romans roasted, boiled, and stewed their fowls, but stewing was the method most in vogue; perhaps because they could so best disguise the strong flavour of a cormorant or a stork. They generally gave their birds a preparatory boil before they plucked and

cleansed them ; or sometimes they steamed them first.

I have already spoken of one main branch of the Roman dishes, the *isicia*, our rissoles, quenelles, croquettes, kromeskys, etc. I will now call your attention to the *patina*, the *minutal*, and the *salacacabia*. I have already given an instance of a *patina* or stew of fish. *Patinae*, or stews of vegetables, were made of pounded vegetables, such as asparagus, mixed with eggs, and sometimes with milk, but always with eggs. Honey, pepper, *garum*, oil, and other ingredients were added. The *patinae* of fruit answer to our *compote* of fruit, but we do not nowadays flavour quinces with leeks, or pears with anchovy sauces. The *patinae* were elaborate stews, which survived in mediæval cookery, and are now gone out.

The *minutal* was a mess of chopped or minced fish or meat, without either milk or eggs, but bread or biscuit was always an ingredient. The *salacacabia* was a similar dish, in which bread-and-cheese was an essential ; it was always set by the application of cold. These two dishes, like the *patina*, died out in mediæval times ; they were too much of a mixture, not to say mess, for modern stomachs. The *Patina Apiciana* was a mixture of pounded pork, fish, chicken, becaficoes, field-fares, and *quæcunque optima fuerunt*, pounded and chopped with pepper, lovage, *garum*, wine, *passum*, pine nuts—a regular Salmigondis. A fair idea of a *salacacabia* may be got from *Peregrine Pickle*, where one is described as consisting of parsley, pennyroyal, cheese, pine tops, honey, vinegar, brine, eggs, cucumbers, onions, and hen livers, all macerated and pounded up in a mortar, and afterwards set by the application of snow.

Of pastry the Romans made little use, except for pies. They made meat pies, and ham pies, and chicken pies—pies of all sorts of fowl, even of storks and herons. Their paste was made *ex farina oleo subacta*—that is, of flour and oil.

The Romans had almost all the vegetables we have, except the potato and tomato, and they both boiled and stewed them. Raw salads were in vogue ; but, like the modern Italian, they also affected them boiled.

Of sweets the Romans had numerous dishes ; and among the recipes given by

Apicius may be found ones for custard, and for omelettes, and cheese cakes.

Snails they fried and sauced in various ways ; eggs they fried and boiled, and served with sauces.

From what I have already said, I think we shall have perceived that the differences between the Roman and the English styles of cookery are differences only of detail, not of principle. Mr. Coote sums up :—They cooked their fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetables in manners more or less identical with ours ; their sweets present less similarity, but there are resemblances even in them. Their pot herbs are all in use at the present day, except *laser*, which has not been rejected by us, but is lost, or unrecognised at the present time. But a perusal of Apicius shows that Roman cookery was intended for stomachs weakened by luxury ; the rationale of the Roman sauces was to promote digestion by raising the tone of the stomach ; thus strong and warming condiments were unsurprisingly used, such as caraway, anise, cummin, celery seeds ; also pine nuts, juniper, laurel, and lentise berries. Mustard, strange to say, they used very timidly ; only in boils and stews, never with roasts and broils. Pepper they used to everything—fish, flesh, and fruit. It was first introduced into Rome in the time of Pliny, and its *brusque* and fiery taste startled the senses of the *bon vivants* of the city. Pliny was of that number : *Usum ejus adeo placuisse mirum est : in aliis quippe suavitas cepit, in aliis species invitavit. Huic nec pomi nec bacce commendatio est aliqua. Sola placere amaritudine, et hanc in Indos peti. Quis ille qui primus cibus experiri voluit.* In fact, pepper was a new sensation, when first introduced into Europe, and the Romans fell in love with it. It did not supersede, however, the rue and lovage they previously used to produce similar effects. They used all three.

But we cannot really solve the question of what Roman cookery was like æsthetically, until we can find out exactly what was the *garum* with which they seasoned everything. Dumas calls it "*cet horrible melange*," and certainly a composition of fish offal, salt, wine, and pot herbs, exposed to putrify in the sun, does not sound nice to our ideas ; nor can we understand how *garum* came to be mingled in all sauces, simple or compound, and to be

applied alike to the seasonings of fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetable.

I have already pointed out that the Roman cookery was destined for stomachs weakened by luxury. It further violated one great gastronomical law. The savours of their rich sauces preponderated over the savour of the viands. The Roman cooks were proud of this. Apicius, after giving a recipe for cooking and saucing a fish, proudly says, *Nemo agnoscet quid manducet*.

The Apician cookery sinned further against the canons of good taste, and that was in the excessive pounding and mincing to which it subjected its viands. Seneca in one of his epistles says: "*Expecto jam ut manducata ponantur.*"

To sum up the differences between the Roman cookery and that of the present day; they used wine in sauces, where we use meat gravy. This is a startling discrepancy, but it was done in English cookery in mediæval times. They used oil where we use butter; they used honey—clarified honey—where we use sugar. We go in for joints—beef and mutton—more than they did; we use salt almost universally, though not so universally as they used *garum*; we use mustard more than they did; we use lemon juice, which they rejected; we still use the Roman pot herbs, but we content ourselves with two or three in a sauce instead of ten or a dozen. Our palate, chaster than that of jaded and luxurious Rome, has rejected the more complicated stews and ragouts of ancient Rome, the *patina*, the *minutal*, the *salacacabia*; but we have invented nothing new. The cold waters of our northern seas give finer fish than the Romans ever knew; we have drawn the turtle from the West Indies, and mulligatawny and curry from the East, but we have invented no new conceptions since the rissoles of Heliogabalus.

Before leaving this branch of my subject, I will try to give some idea of a Roman dinner, by setting down a *menu** for sixteen persons, of a dinner given about the middle of the period of the Republic, and therefore before luxury had attained the height it reached in the times of the Empire.

For a preliminary whet, or *ante cœnam*,

there were all sorts of shell-fish, such as sea urchins, raw oysters unlimited, fieldfares, and asparagus (*echinos, ostreas crudas, quantum vellent, peloridas, sphondilos, turdum, asparagos*). Shell-fish were considered a great luxury by the Romans, and the Mediterranean furnishes a large variety. The grape-fed fieldfare was also a great luxury, and a *corona* of roast fieldfares was placed round another dish, in this case probably round the asparagus, as a garnish.

Next comes the first course proper: *gallinam altilem, patinam ostreorum, peloridum, balanos nigras, balanos albos*; that is, fat fowls, stewed oysters, stewed mussels, and *balani*, both black and white. *Balani* may be acorns, chesnuts, or dates, or sea-fish—I don't know which.

For the second course: *sphondilos, glycomaridas, urticas, fideculas, lumbos caprugineos, aprugnos, altilia ex farina involuta, fideculas, murices et purpuras*; that is, more shell-fish, including the purple murex, becaficoes (the fig-picker), cutlets of wild goat and of wild boar, chicken pies, snipes.

For the last course: *sumina, sinciput aprugnum, patinum piscium, patinam suminis, anates, quercedulas elixas, lepores altilia assa, amyllum, panes Picientes*; that is, sows' hearts, wild boar's head, stewed fish, stewed sows' hearts, ducks, some small birds boiled (I don't know what *quercedule* are; some bird that feeds on acorns), hares, roast fowls, bread sauce, sponge cakes.

A dessert would follow. This is the *menu* of a very simple dinner indeed; it is at a later period we come to the dormice fed on chesnuts, served with sweet sauce on golden plates, and the elaborate *patinas* and *salacacabias* of the Apician cookery.

Such was the Roman cookery. It had a very long term of existence; it did not expire with the empire, but survived even through the Middle Ages. The Romans brought it to this country; we have every right to believe that it continued after they left. The Anglo-Saxon in his cookery used the mortar extensively, and he used the word *briv*, for an elaborate stew. But however that may be, the Anglo-Norman cookery is a legitimate descendant of the Apician. The Normans liked high-seasoned dishes; William of Malmesbury tells us incidentally that a great

* The *Cana Metelli*, Macrobius, ii. 9.

prince ate garlic with a goose, from which we are led to suppose that the Normans had the Roman taste for highly-seasoned dishes. Necham tells us that fish should be cooked in a sauce composed of wine and water, and should be served with a sauce of sage, parsley, cost, thyme, ditany, and garlic. That is a thoroughly Apician recipe.

For the Anglo-Norman cookery of the fourteenth century we have a cookery book to go to, *The Forme of Cury, a Roll of Ancient English Cookery, compiled about A.D. 1390, by the Master Cooks of King Richard II.* This is a vellum roll, containing one hundred and ninety-six formulæ, or recipes. A memorandum upon it in Latin states that it was presented to Queen Elizabeth, as "*Antiquum hoc monumentum*," by E. Stafford. *Hæres domus subversæ Buckinghamiæ.* He was grandson of the Duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in 1521. This roll was published in 1780, by the well-known antiquary, Dr. Samuel Pegge, a scholar to whom no branch of archæology was unfamiliar. The *Archæologia* contains papers by him on every possible subject—coins, glass windows, cock-fighting, bull-running, horse-shoeing, charter horns, prehistoric implements, etc. Whatever subject was broached at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Samuel Pegge was ready with appropriate and learned observations.

The preamble of the roll states that this forme of cury was compiled of the chief Maister Cokes of Kyng Richard the Secunde, Kyng of England after the Conquest, ye which was accounted ye best and ryallest viander of all christian kings, and it was compiled by assent and asyement of Maisters of Phisik and of Philosophie that dwelled in his court. First it techith a man for to make comune pottages and comune meetis for household as they should be made craftly and holsumly. Afterward it techith for to make curious pottages and meetis and sotillees for alle mane of States bothe hye and lowe. And the techyng of the forme of making of pottages and of meetis bothe of flesh and of fissh, both sette here by nymbre and by order. Sso this little table here serving wole teche a man withoute taryng to fynde what meet that hymn lust for to have.

With the *Forme of Cury* is also published another contemporaneous manuscript. The technical terms of the Apician cookery are puzzling enough to understand; but the terms used in the *Forme of Cury*, though it is written in English, are worse: even the

learned and ingenious Dr. Pegge confesses that they have occasioned him great perplexity. He says: "The name of the dishes and sauces . . . are not only many in number, but are often so horrid and barbarous, to our ears at least, as to be enveloped in several instances in almost impenetrable obscurity." *Brewet*, and *mortrew*, *payne fondewe*, *farced grewel*, sound almost meaningless to us; even the simplest ingredients, such as eggs, are disguised under the term "*eyren*" and "*ayren*."

The dishes in the *Forme of Cury* and the contemporaneous manuscript are chiefly soups, pottages, ragouts, hashes, and the like hotch-potches; entire joints of meat being never served, and animals, whether fish or fowl, seldom brought to table whole, but hacked and hewed, and cut in pieces or gobbets. The mortar also was in great request, some dishes being actually denominated from it, as *mortrews* or *morterelys*. From this you will see that the cookery of the *Forme of Cury* is Roman in character. Close investigation shows that the "*brewet*" is the "*patina*," the "*mortrew*" the "*minutal*," the "*payne fondewe*" the "*salacacabia*," and the "*farced grewels*" the "*puls*" of the Romans. I will give one very simple recipe, that for a "*mortrew*" of a simple character; "boiled hens, crumbed bread, yolk of eggs, and saffron, all pounded together in a mortar"; an Apician "*minutal*."

We find also in the *Forme of Cury* other distinct Roman traits; olive oil and lard (or white grease) are generally used in the sauces, butter rarely. Sugar is just beginning to supersede "clere honey"—that is, honey refined with the white of eggs. Wines, both red and white, are used as the bases of sauces, instead of meat gravy. There is, too, the use of large numbers of pot herbs in one dish; ten are used to season the gravy for a sheep's head, and fourteen to make a salad dressing.

I have already given a Roman menu; I will now give an old English one, and then I will proceed to comment on some of the dishes. Like the *cæna* of Rome, so the old English dinner was divided into three courses. This is a fourteenth century menu.*

* From Wright's *Homes of other Days*, p. 362.

First Course.

Browet farsed, and charlet, for pottage.
Baked mallard. Small birds. Almond milk served with them.

Capon roasted with the syrup.
Roasted Veal. Pig roasted "endored" and served with the yolk on his neck over gilt. Herons.

A "leche." A tart of flesh.

To take the pottages or stews first. The "Browet farsed" was made thus. I will give you one recipe in full.

Take almonds and pound them, and mix with beef broth, so as to make it thick, and put it in a pot with cloves, maces, and figs, currants, and minced ginger, and let all this seethe; take bread, and steep it in sweet wine, and add it to the almonds with sugar; then conies, or young rabbits or squirrels, and first parboil them and partridges parboiled; fry them whole for a lord, but otherwise chop into gobbets, and when they are almost fried, cast them in a pot, and let them all boil together, and colour with sandal-wood and saffron; then add vinegar and powdered cinnamon strained with wine, and give it a boil; then take it from the fire, and see that the pottage is thin, and throw in a good quantity of ginger.

Omit the cinnamon, and add *garum*, and that is a regular Apician recipe for a complicated *patina*.

The other pottage in this course was less complex, and was a mixture of pounded pork, milk, eggs, sage, and saffron, all boiled together. The syrup, or sauce for the capon, was made of pounded almonds and wine, coloured with saffron, figs, currants, ground ginger, cloves, galingale, and cinnamon; all boiled together and then sugared, and poured over the capon. The "Pig roasted endored," was glazed with yolk of egg, and gilt. The "Leche" was made by pounding together raw pork and eggs; sugar, salt, raisins, currants, minced dates, powdered pepper, and cloves were added, and the whole seethed in a bladder. A sauce of raisins and wine, cinnamon and ginger, sandal-wood and saffron, was added.

Second Course.

Brewet of Almayne and Viande vial for pottage.
Mallard. Roasted Rabbit. Pheasant. Venison.

Jelly. A "leche." Hedgehogs.

Pome de oryng.

The "Brewet of Almayne" was another of the Apician *patina* or stews. I need not give the recipe. "Viande royale" consisted of Greek or Rhine wine, honey, rice, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, saffron, sugar, mulberries, and sandal-wood, all boiled to-

gether and salted. The "Pome de oryng" were balls of pounded pork liver, seasoned and flavoured with several ingredients; then boiled and afterwards roasted, and coloured with saffron, sandal-wood, or indigo.

Third Course.

Boar in egurdouce and Mawmene for pottage.
Cranes. Kid. Curlew. Partridge; all roasted.

A "leche." A Crustade.

A peacock endored, and roasted and served with the skin on.

Cockagris. Flampoyntes. Daryoles.

Pears in syrup.

The two pottages were like the former ones, only more so; more complicated—I had nearly said nastier.

The "Crustade" was a raised pie of chicken and pigeons with elaborate seasoning and adorning. The "Cockagris" was an old cock stuffed with the mixture of which the "Pome de oryng" was made, sewed to a pig, and the two seethed and roasted together; adorned with egg and saffron, and then covered with gold and silver foil. "Flampoyntes" were pork pies made with cheese, and were mild editions of the Roman *salacacabia*. "Daryoles" are custards baked in crust.

The main features of this *menu*, a late fourteenth century one, are distinctly Roman, Apician; the elaborate over-sauced, over-flavoured pottages or stews are the Apician *patina*.

Some of my readers have probably been wondering where is the roast beef of old England in this *menu*? These magnificent and bulky joints had no place in the mediæval cookery of England. The iron-clad Norman barons, who wrung the Great Charter from King John, and who fought in the Wars of the Roses, did not eat huge joints of meat, any more than did the patricians and senators of the Roman empire. The Norman barons in England lived and fought on stews, minces, and side dishes, the bulk of which were eaten with a spoon.* The præ-Reformation bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries were also great patrons of this Apician cookery; and the kitchen establishments of the larger

* A friend suggests that this, and the excessive use of birds at table, was due to the Norman barons not knowing that a joint improves by keeping, and so finding it tough when used fresh.

religious houses were on a very large scale, as indeed were their feasts. That when George Neville was made, in 1466, Archbishop of York, was on an enormous scale, one thousand sheep and two thousand pigs being but a small item in the accounts.

The mediæval cooks were great in "solteltes," or devices in pastry, gorgeously decorated with gold and silver foil, but these belong rather to the service of the table, than of the palate, so I merely mention them *en passant*.

To this luxurious school of living political changes dealt heavy blows. The barons exhausted themselves and their resources in the Wars of the Roses; the Reformation knocked on the head the monasteries and their great kitchen establishments; thus it came about that the habit of profuse and luxurious living gradually declined during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, until it was extinguished in the great convulsions which preceded the interregnum. After the Restoration, we find that the table among all classes was furnished more soberly and with plainer and more substantial dishes, and a new and plainer and bulkier school of cookery came to the front. It is hard to say where it came from. Many assert it was an upheaval from below; from the Anglo-Saxon element in the nation, which had retained its original weakness for lumps of meat, though it had grafted thereon the *brüw*, a distinctly Apician dish. The poorer classes, however, in mediæval times, seem to have lived mainly on bread, cheese, butter, and vegetables, as proved (among other ways) by the fact of the names thereof being English, while mutton, veal, pork, and bacon are Norman. The plainer living seems to have been a middle-class upheaval in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It had commenced before the days of Queen Elizabeth, but it was Charles II. who knighted the Sirloin of Beef. The change was great: a few great lords adhered to the Apician style of cookery, or Old English; French, it now began to be called. A traveller from the continent, in 1698, says of England:—

There are some great lords who have French and English cooks, and where you are served much in the French fashion; but among persons of the middle condition, they have ten or twelve sorts of common

meat, which infallibly come round again in their turns at different times, and of two dishes of which their dinner is composed, as, for instance, a pudding and a piece of roast beef. Sometimes they will have a piece boiled, and then it has always lain in salt some days, and is flanked all round with five or six mounds of cabbage, carrots, turnips, or some other herbs or roots, seasoned with salt and pepper, with melted butter poured over them. At other times they will have a leg of mutton, roasted or boiled, and accompanied by the same delicacies; poultry, sucking pigs, tripe, and beef tongue, rabbits, pigeons—all well soaked with butter without bacon. Two of these dishes—always served one after the other—make the ordinary dinner of a good gentleman or of a good burgher.*

The traveller describes their broth as consisting of the water in which the meat had been boiled, mixed with oatmeal and with some leaves of thyme, or sage, or such small herbs. Flour, milk, eggs, butter, fat, sugar, marrow, raisins, etc., he describes as the ingredients of an English pudding, and cheese as their only dessert.

Roman institutions have a marvellous vitality and energy in them, and the Roman cookery has reasserted itself in England; partly, no doubt, by survival (even Hartmann's *Excellent Directions for Cookery*, published in 1682, are tinged with Apicianisms), and partly by re-importation from France, where it has ever lived, it being indeed the cookery of all the Latin races. Kirwan, in his *Host and Guest*, says that Lord Chesterfield made most strenuous efforts to introduce French cookery into England. He engaged as his *chef* La Chapelle, a descendant of the cook of Louis XIV. La Chapelle in 1733 published in England a book on cookery in three volumes. Space forbids me to go into the details of that revival; but I have already proved the connection between our present cookery and the Apician.

I venture now to think that I have detailed "The History of the English Palate," and traced it up to the Roman palate of the Apician school, and through that to the Greek and Lydian.

Dr. Pegge, in concluding his prefatory essay to the *Forme of Cury*, apologises for having been occupied with such trifles, and pleads the example of such scholars as Humelbergius, Tomius, Barthius, Dr. Lister.

* From Wright's *Homes of other Days*, p. 470.

Almeloveen, and others. I don't set up any excuse; I don't consider my subject matter a trifle; I take a serious view of it.

NOTE.—Any one who reads the above paper, and Mr. Coote's paper in the *Archæologia*, will see how much I am indebted to that gentleman. I have to thank him for giving me, in the kindest manner, leave to make use of his paper, and I wish to make public how much I am indebted to that eminent scholar.



On Some Examples of Roman Portraiture in the British Museum.

By J. J. FOSTER.

"I say you will be exceedingly pleased to contemplate the effigies of those who have made such a noise and bustle in the world."—*From a Letter of Evelyn to Pepys, 1689.*

"Magnorum virorum imagines, incitamenta animi."
SENECA, *Epis.* 64.

IN that somewhat gloomy gallery of the British Museum known as the "Roman Gallery" is a collection of busts, a crowd of "feverish men turned to marble," to use an expression of Hawthorne's, which seems seldom to meet with much attention from pilgrims to the shrine, so full of precious relics, in Bloomsbury.

To those familiar with the works of Michaelis, Winckelmann, and Visconti, this paper will contain but little worthy of notice, and it would be quite superfluous to remind them of the interest of Iconography. True it is that in these days the study of art of every period receives an attention hitherto unknown, and many popular works on ancient sculpture have recently appeared; but, so far as I have observed, it is mythological sculpture that has been dwelt upon; the human, personal, I had almost said domestic sculpture, has been, I think, somewhat overlooked. Yet these stone spectres of the past represent men of like passions with ourselves; for many of them children ran

... to kiss their sire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Doubtless many of those who have visited the "lone Mother of dead Empires," to quote

Byron's expressive epithet, have found her lap full of treasures which surpass in interest and strike the eye far more than

The virtuous Curii half by time defaced,
Corvinus, with a mouldering nose which bears
Injurious scars, the sad effects of years;
And Galba grinning without nose and ears.*

Whilst, in spite of "personally conducted parties," it is easy enough to miss even the ninety odd busts of philosophers, poets, and historians in the "Hall of Illustrious Men," and the crowd of Roman emperors and empresses in the "Hall of the Emperors" at the Capitol; and probably few study the collection in the "Hall of the Busts" at the Vatican as it deserves. But one needs not to go so far afield, for there are many examples of portrait busts in the British Museum, as well as a large number in English country houses. From them we may learn something of the physiognomy of the great race—

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatum,
as Virgil proudly calls them.

There is perhaps an absence of any very marked or predominant type in the faces of most examples we possess, unless it be a certain stern, not to say gloomy, cast of feature. The boys seem grave beyond their years, and, amongst the maidens, one will certainly not find Horace's "dulce ridentem Lalagen." The author of *Roba di Roma*, speaking from a long acquaintance with Rome, declares that the "modern Romans are only the children of their ancient fathers, with the same characteristics—softened, indeed, and worn down by time, just as the sharp traits of the old marbles have worn away—but still the same people, proud, passionate, lazy, jealous, vindictive, easy, patient, and able."

Mr. Coote, in his learned and interesting work on *The Romans of Britain*, observes that there is a close resemblance between the countenances of English and Italians of the upper classes at the present day, and I have heard the same remark made by others. But to return to our busts.

When we consider that all these, both at home and abroad, are

but waifs saved from the wreck of Rome, fragments only, snatched from the relentless powers of time and

* Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii.

war, the consuming grasp of fire, and every form of pillage and rapacity, what an impression does it give us of the treasures of sculpture which were accumulated in Rome in the days of the Empire! . . . Talent of all kinds was attracted to this central home, and every aspiring artist felt that his reputation was provincial till it had received the imperial stamp of Rome.

Here, too, flowed the wealth of the world. The gold which had been wrung from the African, the Gaul, or the Briton stimulated the chisel of the artist whose early taste had been formed by the frieze of the Parthenon.*

Here, then, we have a clue to the means whereby these men of old Rome became "solidified into imperishable stone"; nor will the student of Roman history have far to seek for a probable source of the importance attached to Portraiture when he thinks of Varro's collection of seven hundred busts, and when he recalls that ancestral pride which attained such a pitch as to fall under the lash of Juvenal, who asks †—

What is the advantage

To have our ancestors in paint or stone
Preserved as relics or like monsters shown?

and describes one who—

Makes his unhappy kindred marble sweat
When his degenerate head by theirs is set.

These galleries of ancestors had a real importance in those days, as will be evident when we call to mind the *jus imaginum*, and remember how

those whose ancestors, or who themselves, had borne any curule magistracy were called *nobiles*, and had the right of making images of themselves, which were kept with great care by their posterity and carried before them at funerals.‡

These images were the busts or effigies of persons down to the shoulders, made of wax and painted, which they used to place in the courts of their houses, enclosed in wooden cases, and seem not to have brought out except on solemn occasions.§

There were titles or inscriptions written below them, pointing out the honours they had enjoyed and the exploits they had performed. Hence *imagines* is often put for *nobilitas*, || and *cereæ* for *imagines*.¶

Anciently this right of images was peculiar to the Patricians, but afterwards the Plebeians also acquired it when admitted to curule offices. Those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office were called *homines novi*,—new men, or upstarts.

Hence Cicero calls himself *homo per se cognitus*.* Those who had no images of their own or of their ancestors were called *ignobiles*.—Adams' *Roman Antiquities*.

The accompanying illustration is from a sepulchral basrelief which represents a wife bewailing the death of her husband, whose likeness is placed in a small cast against the wall of the apartment in which the scene is laid.



FIG. 1.

In addition to this custom amongst noble Roman families of preserving these wax effigies, Visconti discovers the origin of portrait busts in another usage common to both Greeks and Romans, viz., that of ornamenting with portraits the shields of honour or votive shields. As this learned author is one of the greatest authorities upon Iconography, I may ask leave to quote a few of his remarks (freely rendered) upon the subject. He says †—

Among all the methods which the arts of design have tried to use in the imitation of the human figure, either in its entirety or only in part, if one of the most ancient is certainly that which has formed only the image of the head, one can demonstrate, however, that the invention of busts has only followed the others, and after a long interval of time.

It is remarkable that Pausanias, "*le savant et exact voyageur*," amongst the many sculptures of all kinds which he counted in Greece, makes mention of but one or two busts.‡

After speaking of the usages referred to above as the origin of busts, Visconti goes on to observe, apropos of portraits of ancestors—

The word *vultus* is used to designate them. Pliny § shows us that these images did not represent the entire person. The information Polybius || gives us of the dress and ornaments with which they were clothed on solemn occasions shows us clearly that they were not simple heads or *herms* like the *vultus* of Epicurus which his Roman followers would carry from apartment to apartment; or of Titus, in the Provinces; or, again, of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, concerning which Capitolinus says, ¶ "One would regard it as sacrilege if you had not them in the house," "Qui per fortunam vel potuit habere vel debuit."

* Hilliard's *Six Months in Italy*.

† *Sat.*, viii., Dryden's translation.

‡ *Plin.*, xxxv. 2.

§ *Polyb.*, vi. 51.

|| *Sall.*, *Jug.*, 85; *Liv.*, iii. 58.

¶ *Ovid*, *A.* 1-8, 65.

* *Cat.*, i. 11.

† *Musée Pie-Clémentin*, Milan, 1821, Tom. vi.

‡ *Ceres* at Thebes and Hercules in Aulis.

§ *Liv.*, xxxv. 11.

|| *Liv.*, vi. 51.

¶ *In M. Aurel* 18.

There were then probably—(a) Wax busts painted after nature (from whence came the busts in reliefso general amongst the Romans), and the images of celebrated men and benefactors, which were preserved in private houses; (b) those which citizens dedicated in temples; and, finally, (c) images placed upon tombs.*

Having thus said something on the probable origin of busts, let us briefly examine a few of those we possess. Channing has said that "every man is a volume if you know how to read him," and truly in these marble presentments, many of which must be re-

phrenologist may be able to read the virtues and the crimes of the originals. Apropos of the trustworthiness of the portraiture in these and similar works, I may cite an anonymous critic upon the Holkham bust of Thucydides,* who says:—

We are most of us in the habit of taking for granted, until we have been taught better, that all the busts and statues of antiquity are mere fancy portraits, and that the ancient sculptors no more thought of handing down a faithful delineation of Nero or Hadrian than they did of presenting us with a true portrait of Cupid or Hercules. We forget that sculpture was to the ancients what portrait painting is to ourselves; and that there is almost as good reason for believing that hundreds of works of art in marble which have come



FIG. 2.—ANTONINUS PIUS (bust from Cyrene).

garded as authentic portraits, corroborated as they are by other examples, and also by coins and medals,† the physiognomist and

* It may not be out of place to notice here how genuine a ring there is about many of the inscriptions, both in the catacombs of Rome and upon sepulchral monuments in this country: e.g., from the former, "To Aurelius Felix, who lived with his wife 18 years in sweetest wedlock." Wright instances a slab found at Carvoran, in Northumberland, which bears the following: "To Aurelia Faia, Aurelius Marcus, the centurion, out of affection for his most holy wife, who lived 33 years without any stain;" and Gruter has recorded an inscription by one M. A. Paulus, "Conjugi incomparabili cum qua vixit xxvii. sine ulla querela."

† The value of Numismatics in this, as in so many

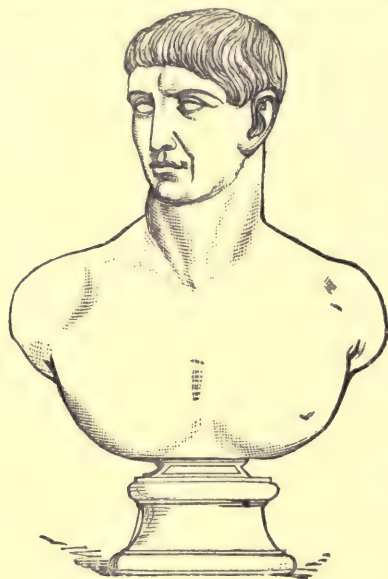


FIG. 3.—TRAJAN.

down to us are as much to be relied on for depicting the features of great men at Athens or Rome as many a picture of Titian or Tintoretto is to be trusted for presenting us with the face of a Venetian merchant prince or a Roman noble. Copies of original portraits were multiplied by professional sculptors much in the same way as they are multiplied by engravers, and there are experts who, by long study, have acquired such familiarity with ancient art as to be able to recognize at a glance the faces of Greek and Roman celebrities as easily as expert collectors of engravings can recognize the features of the courtiers and statesmen of the Elizabethan era.

other respects, is obvious; it is equally clear that within the limits of this paper one cannot touch upon so large a subject.

* *Athenæum*, No. 2,660.

The series in the British Museum commences with the Augustan age, and extends to the middle of the third century A.D., and thus embraces periods whose annals are indeed

Graved in characters of flame.

I shall not attempt to go seriatim through the collection, I must merely touch upon a few of the most interesting.

By the courtesy of the proprietors of Nichols' *Handbook of the British Museum* we are able to show one or two blocks. Antoninus (No. 2) is noteworthy, not only



FIG. 4.—HADRIAN (discovered on the site of his villa near Tivoli).

as a fine head of a great man, but, technically, for its beautiful surface. Trajan (No. 3) is distinguished by lowness of forehead and massive projection of the skull above the brows. This bust was excavated in the Campagna in 1766. Hadrian (No. 4) shows the beard which he was the first among the emperors to wear.

Striking nearly all these busts are, more so, I cannot help thinking, than an equal number of contemporary portraits would be; but this is a matter of opinion, to be tested by any one who cares to do so, going straight from Bloomsbury to Burlington House when the

Royal Academy is open, and judging for himself. If this be so, it is not to be wondered at, for if they are portraits they must bear stamped indelibly upon them those characteristics which, according to Gibbon,

made the annals of the emperors exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue, the most exalted perfection and the meanest degeneracy of our own species. The unparalleled vices of the unworthy successors of Augustus, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion.

The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel



FIG. 5.—AUGUSTUS (from a cameo).

Nero, the beastly Vitellius (who consumed in mere eating at least £6,000,000 of our money in about seven months), and the timid, inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy.

One of the best representations of Augustus is from a cameo in the Blaceas collection at the British Museum, and though outside our immediate scope, we cannot forbear giving the illustration here (No. 5). Mr. Newton draws attention to its fine execution, and the fine quality of the stone.

That acute critic and charming writer, Mons. H. Taine, speaking of the busts in the Capitol, affirms that "they tell us more of the time than the indifferent chroniclers re-

maining to us." This is a striking testimony to the value of a study of our subject, and truly, when one looks at the superb head of Cæsar, the authenticity of which is evidenced by numbers of coins in the Museum, one realizes what Mommsen calls "the flexible steel" of Cæsar's nature; one sees before him clearly "that bodily vigour, that elasticity of mind and heart, that cool sobriety" which characterized that "orator, author, general, and consummate statesman." What a contrast does not this bust present to one close by, that of the "gloomy voluptuary" Tiberius, which, found at Capri, seems to bear the impress of the man, and, so to say, is eloquent of the mysterious and sanguinary legends which still haunt that lovely island, and come crowding over the visitor as he steps ashore and looks up its vine-clad slopes and rugged heights.*

We have already seen that it was accounted sacrilege at Rome, amongst those who could afford it, not to have a bust of M. Aurelius; hence portraits of this emperor are very numerous. Our collection possesses three of this most philosophic of philosophers, as Justinian calls him; his gravity must indeed have been beyond his years, since at eight he was associated with the college of Sallines, and at twelve he adopted the costume of the Stoics. That representing him when young is very beautiful; another represents him as one of the *Fratres Arvales*. In the third he wears the *paludamentum*: in each one cannot fail to see the same patient, gentle soul "struggling through the stone." Excepting, perhaps, Cæsar's, there is no Roman whose lineaments excite greater interest than those of M. Aurelius. Even if one were ignorant of his character, I venture to assert that one has only to study these portraits attentively to fully realize the truth of Gibbon's description†:—

The mildness of Marcus . . . formed at the same time the most amiable and the only defective part of his character. His excellent understanding was often deceived by the unsuspecting goodness of his heart.

We can boast of nothing approaching a

* There is a fine bust of this emperor in the Capitul, of which M. Taine remarks that "it is not a noble head, but for character and capacity well qualified to carry the affairs of an empire."

† *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. iv.

complete collection of Roman emperors (and this leads one, by the way, to remark how valuable a series of casts, say from the iconographic treasures of Rome, would be: the Germans are wiser in many educational matters than we, and realize the use of such aids in illustrating history): still there are quite enough to whet one's appetite for more, and to call forth those emotions which a study of such instructiveness cannot fail to excite.*

I think it is the author of *Transformations* who has said, speaking of sculpture, that there are men who should have been represented in snow rather than marble; but if Seneca's dictum, that "images of great men incite the mind" (presumably to emulation of their virtue), be allowed, so it must also be conceded that a study of their lives, whether good or bad, to which I contend these busts are an incitement, is full of instruction. When one thinks of the career of many of these masters of the world here represented, how true one feels Bacon's remark to be, that "it is a miserable State of Mind to have few Things to desire and many Things to fear."

In contemplating the striking bust of Nero, of Caracalla in his close yellow wig, and of Commodus, how easily one recalls the record of lust, of shameless depravity, of cruelty and of blood-guiltiness with which Roman history is so deeply stained! how vivid become the pages of Gibbon or Suetonius! When one marvels at the elaborate plaited structure of hair which surmounts Sabina, how true seems Juvenal's picture of the mysteries of a Roman lady's toilet! We can well believe how

She hurries all her handmaids to the task,
Her head, alone, will twenty dressers ask.
Psecas, the chief, with breast and shoulders bare,
Trembling considers every sacred hair,
With curls on curls they build her head before,
And mount it with a formidable tower.

There are several examples of headdresses fearfully and wonderfully made, e.g., the Stephané on the bust of Sabinia Tranquillina, and others. The mention of the softer sex leads one, and with a sense of

* Since the above was written, there has been a most valuable selection of casts of antique sculpture opened at the South Kensington Museum, which in a measure supplies the want referred to. It is at present far from complete, but contains many good examples well worthy of study, and of especial interest in connection with our subject.

relief, to dwell upon the thought that there was a calmer, purer side of Roman life, an atmosphere in which domestic virtues could flourish, and in which were reared not only the innocent boys and girls, some of whose portraits one may see in the British Museum, but the Gracchi, the Scipios, and the Antonines, and not merely they, but a host of unnumbered dead who "the rod of Empire never swayed," but who lived pure lives and did their duty, at home upon some Sabine farm, or, it may be, abroad amongst the marshes of the Danube, or in some lone outpost of the Empire amongst the fierce Silures. Of this there is abundant evidence in ancient literature; to quote one author alone, who can read those beautiful love-letters (for such they are) of Pliny, which he addressed to his wife Calpurnia,* or his touching letter on the death of the younger daughter of Fundanus,† and not feel that he comes very near, as has been said, to the modern ideal of a blameless gentleman?

Even a cursory examination of these examples of Roman portraiture will reveal that they have a many-sided interest: they claim our attention not merely as antiquities, nor for their artistic qualities alone, but as having, above and beyond their importance in these respects, an abiding, deep, *human* interest.



Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England.

III.

"I prophesy thy death, my living sorrow,
If thou encounter with the boar to-morrow.
But if thou needs wilt hunt, be ruled by me:

Uncouple at the timorous flying hare,
Or at the fox, which lives by subtilty,
Or at the roe, which no encounter dare:
Pursue these fearful creatures o'er the downs,
And on thy well-breath'd horse keep with thy hounds."
SHAKSPEARE, *Venus and Adonis*.



THE generic difference between beasts of forest and beasts of chase was said to be this—that the former frequented the woods, while the latter frequented the open country. In a

picturesque passage in *Manwood* (not printed in all the editions) this supposed difference is dwelt on in the following quaint fashion:—

The beasts of the Forest, they are, *tantum sylvestres*: and the beasts of the Chase are, *Campestris tantum*. For, the beasts of the Forest doe make their abode, all the day time, in the great couerts and secret places in the woods: And in the night season, they doe repaire into the lawnes, medowes, pastures, and pleasant feedings, for their food and reliefe. And therefore they are called *Sylvestres*, that is to say, beasts of the wood, or beastes that doe haunt the woods, more than the plaines, according as the Prophet *David* saith in his 104 Psalme. *Thou makest darknesse that it may bee night, wherein all the beasts of the Forest doe mooue, The Lyons roaring after their pray, doe seeke their meate at God, The sonne ariseth and they get them away together, and lay them downe in their dennes.* . . . The beasts of Chase, they doe make their abode, all the daie time, in the fields, and upon the hills, or high mountaines, where they may see round about them a farre off, who doth stirre or come neare them: and, in the night season, when euey body is at rest, and all is quiet, then they doe repaire unto the corne fields and vallies below, where the lawnes, meadowes, and pleasant feedings are for their food and reliefe, and therefore they are called *Campestris*, that is to say, beasts of the field, or beastes that doe haunt the fields, more than the woods.

And *Manwood* proceeds to show how in Psalm 1, vers. 9-11, David distinguishes between the beasts of the forest on the one hand, and the beasts of the field (which *Budæus* says are the beasts of chase) on the other. When, however, we say that, according to the best authorities, the beasts of chase were the buck, the doe, the fox, the marten, and the roe,—all of them, even the first two,* intimately connected with woods and forests—our readers will probably feel inclined to doubt the soundness of the distinction drawn by *Manwood*.

The most remarkable thing in connection with bucks and does—the male and female fallow-deer—is that, though there is no precise evidence of their first introduction into this country, they are almost certainly not an indigenous species. "It is douted of manie," says *Holinshed* (or rather *Harrison*), "whether

* In an article contained in the *National Review* for January 1884, and entitled "Fallow Deer at Home," the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy says that "fallow-deer are naturally frequenters of woods, only leaving the cover to feed in the early gloaming and in the evening just before twilight." London visitors to the northern parts of Epping Forest have a good opportunity of seeing these beautiful creatures "at home."

* Epis. vi. 4; vi. 7, vii. 5.

† Epis. v. 16.

our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not." The question is perhaps not yet absolutely settled. For example, so trustworthy a writer as Mr. Grant Allen says of fallow deer that he "can hardly doubt that they are a part of our old indigenous fauna, which now survives only in a few inclosed preserves" (*Vignettes from Nature*, p. 3). But the fallow-deer's well-known intolerance of cold, and the fact that no fossil remains of this species have been discovered in England,* go far to show that they must at some time or another have been imported from warmer countries.

The seasons for hunting bucks and does were, according to Manwood, the same as those for hunting harts and hinds—that is to say, from Midsummer till Holy-Rood Day and from Holy-Rood Day till Candlemas respectively.† We have already‡ seen what were the "true seasons and times in the year" for killing bucks and does on crown property, as prescribed by Charles I. But it is only fair to add that the king's father, who is said to have killed deer in April at Widdrington in Northumberland, and again at Worksop, on his journey southwards to take possession of the throne of England,§ set his new subjects a very bad example of killing deer "at unseasonable times."

In the present day, at any rate, whatever may have been the fact once, fallow-deer can scarcely be said to exist in a wild state in this country. But Mr. Shirley tells us|| that in 1867 there were 334 parks stocked with them in the different counties of England. Of these parks Lord Abergavenny's at Eridge in Sussex is probably the oldest, Lord Egerton of Tatton's at Tatton in Cheshire the largest, and the paddocks at Magdalen College, Oxford, and Prideaux-place in Cornwall the smallest. There are several varieties of fallow-deer, as the black and very dark, the spotted or Manilla, the white and cream-coloured, the yellow or fallow, the skew or

blue, the bald-faced, and the golden dun and sooty dun.*

The fox is mentioned in the *Charta Canuti* along with the wolf as a creature *nec forestæ nec veneris*; but it has long been accounted a beast of venery, though not, indeed, a beast of forest. Its "great plentie of policie and deuices" made it at an early date a favourite object of pursuit. But the taste for fox-hunting does not seem to have developed into a popular mania until a comparatively recent period. We are surprised to read in Holinshed about foxes that

such is the scantitye of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be seene in other countryes, and so earnestly are the inhabitants bent to root the out: that except it had bene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiors, it could not otherwise haue bene chosen, but that they should haue bene utterlie destroyed by manie yeares agone.

And in another place he (that is, Harrison) says that "of Foxes we haue some but no great store." And Gervase Markham, who wrote and fought during parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, classes fox-hunting with badger-hunting, saying that these are of minor importance as compared with the chase of the deer and the hare. How great was the change of feeling which afterwards arose among sportsmen in this matter is shown by the following extract from a book which in its day was regarded as a first-rate authority on sporting affairs†:—

No small number of our staunchest and mightiest Hunters before the Lord, have all other except Fox Hunting in supreme contempt, styling Coursing and Hare Hunting, *child's play*, and the Chase of the Deer *Calf-Hunting*.

And, as a writer on fox-hunting lately said in the *Pall Mall Gazette*,‡ "It is quite unnecessary to quote any authority as to the extraordinary development of the sport during the last quarter of a century."

The fox-hunting season began, Manwood says, at Christmas, and lasted until Lady Day. This arrangement would hardly commend itself to some of our modern Nimrods.

Of the marten, martern, or martrou, we read in the 1615 edition of Manwood that there was "no great store in these Forests on this side Trent," but that in Marten-

* See Shirley, *Deer Parks*, p. 6.

† In a Hunting Agreement of the thirteenth century, given in an English translation by Mr. Shirley (pp. 16 foll.), the seasons are said to be from August 1st to September 14th for bucks, and from November 11th to February 2nd for does.

‡ *Acta de Rymer*, xx., p. 186.

§ See Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*, i. 68, 85.

|| *Deer Parks*, p. ix.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243.

† Scott's *British Field Sports*, p. 296 (Lond. 1818).

‡ December 21st, 1883.

dale (or Martindale), Westmoreland, there were many. In the 1717 edition we are told of martens as well as of roes that "there are none now in *England*." And Harrison, after just naming the marten, adds, "for number I worthily doubt whether that of our Beuers or Marternes may be thought to be the lesse." The mere fact that it seems to be a moot point whether there are three species of martens or only one, is sufficient to show the scarcity of these animals, or at least their power of "making themselves scarce." It seems, indeed, probable that martens have often inhabited districts where their presence was but little suspected. In former days, when foxes were less abundant than they are now in many parts of the country, marten-hunting took the place of cub-hunting. And, apart from economical considerations, the practice appears to have been a good one. Thus Beckford writes* :—

If you have marten cats within your reach, as all hounds are fond of their scent, you will do well to enter your young hounds in covers which they frequent. The marten cat being a small animal, by running the thickest breaks it can find, teaches hounds to run cover, and is therefore of the greatest use. I do not much approve of hunting them with the old hounds; they shew but little sport, are continually climbing trees; and as the cover they run seldom fails to scratch and tear hounds considerably, I think you would be sorry to see your whole pack disfigured by it. The agility of this little animal is really wonderful; and though it falls frequently from a tree, in the midst of a whole pack of hounds, all intent on catching it, there are but few instances, I believe, of a marten's being caught by them in that situation.

Even in the present day martens may be found in England by those who know how, when, and where to look for them. The late Captain Mayne Reid devoted to this subject part of a natural history article which he contributed to the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* of May 20th, 1882. He there says :—

In many of the fastnesses around the Forest of Dean, I know that Martens, if not plentiful, are yet in goodly numbers. One of the Forest keepers tells me that, five or six years ago, he used to see many, and shoot many, too, in the High Meadow Woods—a tract of the Forest which overhangs the river Wye; and there is the skin of one stuffed and mounted in the house of a farmer in that neighbourhood, which very recently fell to a gamekeeper's gun. Again, a

gipsy of my cognizance, who tents in all parts of the Forest, tells me that he and his tribe often meet with "marten-cats." . . . He says they vary much in colour and markings.

If the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, or other the authorities in the Forest of Dean, were to give orders that no more martens should be shot by the keepers, they would confer an appreciable boon on naturalists at no great cost to themselves or to the public service.

Roe deer, which are mentioned in the *Charla Canuti*, and of which Harrison says there was "indifferent store" in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were formerly abundant in all the wooded parts of this island. We read in Percy's *Reliques*,* in the ballad on the Battle of Otterbourne, that—

The roo full rekeles ther sche rinnes,
To make the game and glee :
The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
Amonge on the holtes on hee.

In a note on this passage we learn that roes were to be found upon the wastes near Hexham in George I.'s reign, and that Mr. Whitfield, of Whitfield, is said to have killed the last of them. At the beginning of this century Lord Dorchester turned out some roes in his woods near Milton Abbey, in Dorset; and Mr. Pleydell, of Whatcombe, a neighbour of his lordship's, assisted him in their preservation, and, in course of time, as the animals increased in number, took to hunting them with harriers, and is said† to have had excellent sport. At the present time, as Mr. Harting tells us in an interesting article which appeared in *The Field* of the 5th of April in this year, the Milton, Whatcombe, and Houghton woods hold perhaps a hundred and fifty head of roe. About half-a-dozen of these were in February last—thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of Mr. Harting himself, and to the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Mansell Pleydell and Mr. Hambro (of Milton Abbey)—caught in nets and removed to Epping Forest, where we trust they will thrive and multiply. Genuine wild roes, however, were, as far back as in Pennant's time, unknown south of Perthshire; and though the growth and increase of coverts has induced them to

* *Thoughts on Hunting*, p. 92.

* Vol. i., p. 24 (5th ed.).

† Scott's *British Field Sports*, p. 383.

wander further south since that period, they certainly cannot now be regarded as one of the wild animals of England.

Roes were apparently (like red-legged partridges in modern times) not altogether an acquisition in a sporting district. For in 1339 it was resolved by the justices and the king's counsel that *capreoli, id est roes, non sunt bestię de foresta, eo quod fugant alias feras*. Perhaps their scent, which is said to be very attractive to hounds, offends the nostrils of the beasts of forest.

The season for hunting the roebuck lasted from Easter to Michaelmas, and that for the female roe from Michaelmas to Candlemas.

Beasts of forest and chase, whether edible or not, Manwood tells us were properly called *venison*; but he adds that the word was sometimes used in an extended sense to denote any animal killed by hunting, and sometimes also in a restricted sense to denote the flesh of red and fallow deer alone. Lord Coke, however, who deals with the subject in his usual learned fashion,* maintains that, while no animal could be venison which (like the roe) was not a beast of forest, beasts of forest which were not fit for food (as wolves) were not venison. The point is, of course, of no sort of importance, except as supplying a good illustration of the way in which doctors disagree about trifles.

The beasts of warren are generally said to be the hare and the coney, and the fowls of warren to be the pheasant and the partridge. Here again we have an instance of the protection of the forest laws being extended to a creature which is not indigenous to England. When pheasants were first introduced into this country is, as one might expect, a doubtful question. Mr. Harting† says that pheasants were included in a bill of fare prescribed by Harold in 1059 for the canons' household at Waltham Abbey. If, however, we may trust the well-known metrical grant by Edward the Confessor of the office of keeper of a forest in Essex, wherein we read of

Hart and Hynde, Doe and Bucke,
Hare and Foxe, Cat and Brocke,
Wyldfowle with his stocke,
Partridge, Fesant Hen, and Fesant Cocke,

we may perhaps assign a yet earlier date to the

introduction and preservation of pheasants in this country.

Warrens are said to have been set apart originally for the purpose of the king's hawking; and beasts and fowls of warren, the old books tell us, are such as may be taken by long-winged hawks.* This was brought forward in argument in the case of the Duke of Devonshire v. Lodge,† where the duke, as free-warrener, brought an action, in 1826, against the defendant for shooting grouse—a bird unsuitable for hawking—within the warren without the leave of the owner of the land. The duke obtained a verdict at the trial, but was afterwards nonsuited on the ground that grouse were not fowls of warren. Another argument adduced on behalf of the defendant was, that the forest laws, being of Norman origin, were inapplicable to such birds as red grouse, which are unknown in Normandy, and, indeed, are peculiar to the British Islands. The Court, under the presidency of Lord Chief Justice Tenterden (who delivered judgment), seem to have felt little hesitation in disallowing the plaintiff's claim; and as grouse are not mentioned as fowls of warren by any one of the old writers, it is hard to see how the decision could have been other than it was. Indeed, but for some random writing of Lord Coke's,‡ in which he says that fowls of warren are

of two sorts, *Silvestres* and *Campestris*: *Campestris*, as partridge, quail, rail, etc. *Silvestres*, as pheasant, woodcock, etc. *Aquaticiles*, as mallard, heron, etc., the case on behalf of the duke would have been scarcely arguable. The old commentator, if he was in any way conscious of what was going on, must have felt a sort of sinister satisfaction in the thought that six very eminent counsel were retained in this trumpety case, and all because of his use of that dangerous little "etc.," which he was always so fond of. It is now practically certain that Manwood's enumeration of the beasts and fowls of warren will never be overruled or modified by any English court of law.

F.

* Partridges and rabbits can, indeed, be taken by short-winged hawks, such as goshawks and even sparrow-hawks. But there is said to be very little sport in this form of hawking.

† Reported in the 7th vol. of Barnewall and Cresswell's *Reports*, p. 36 foll.

‡ I. Inst. 233a.

* 4 Inst., c. 73.

† *Extinct British Animals*, p. 17, n.

The Miracles of Æsculapius.

BY WARWICK WROTH.

IN Aristophanes' play the *Plutus*, an Athenian worthy named Chremylus has the good fortune to capture the blind God of Riches. Chremylus being a poor but deserving man, ventures to entertain a hope that the god would distribute his favours more equally, if only his eyesight could be restored. It was in Athens, and in the age of Hippocrates; but Chremylus scorns to consult a regular physician, and, after making some satirical remarks on the medical profession and its emoluments, decides that he cannot do better than take his blind divinity and lay him on a bed in the temple of Æsculapius. To the Athenian temple of Æsculapius Plutus is accordingly taken. And here, when it has grown dark, and the lamp has gone out in the sanctuary of the god, a strange scene presents itself. All around are the recumbent forms of men and women, afflicted with various diseases; each one awaiting the midnight Vision of Healing which the God of Medicine is to send. The malady of Plutus is shared by at least one other patient in this bizarre assembly, by a certain politician named Neoclides, who is blind, but who, we are told, outdoes in stealing even those who can see. When all is quiet, the priest of the temple comes in, and goes from altar to altar collecting the figs and cakes which have been offered by the faithful—offerings which he proceeds to consecrate by depositing in a sack for his own eating. Last of all appears the God of Medicine himself; and he, after going the round of his patients, and making a gum and vinegar plaster for Neoclides, restores the eyesight of Plutus.

This is not a scene in Cloud Cuckoo-Town, but (due allowance being made for caricature) one from actual Athenian life in the fourth century before our era. That the ancient Greek slept in the temples of Æsculapius in order to obtain a cure is well known to us from several sources, and, in fact, the remains of the Athenian temple itself have been discovered in our own day on the southern slope of the Acropolis. On this spot the spade of the excavator has brought

to light not only the temple and its adjoining buildings, but also some of the objects once actually offered to the god by grateful patients—votive tablets, for instance, on which may still be seen depicted processions of men, women, and children approaching to the God of Healing and his family. Even documents of the temple, such as the inventories of the votive offerings, have been unearthed. From these we may learn how the blind man dedicated a model—sometimes in gold or silver—of an eye; the lame man, the model of a leg; and the long list of votive ears and mouths and noses and fingers furnishes an index, only too complete, to all the ills which flesh is heir to. Mingled with the models of human limbs are other thank-offerings of the most varied nature—mirrors, and vases, and coins, and gems, and even cheap jewellery, under which head it is curious to find the mention of an iron ring: the reader of Theophrastus will remember that it was a ring of bronze which the Fussy Man dedicated in the temple of Æsculapius, and which he was always coming to visit and rubbing bright with oil.

Excavations of a still more recent date than the Athenian ones—those conducted by M. Kavvadias at Epidaurus in the Peloponnese—have thrown much light, during the last two or three years, on another great centre of Æsculapian worship. Not even the temple of Æsculapius at Athens in the fourth century B.C., nor that at Pergamon in the days of Aurelius and Caracalla, could vie for fame and sanctity with the temple at Epidaurus. Epidaurus was the metropolis of Æsculapian worship, and even the Athenian and Pergamene cults confessed that they were offshoots of her parent stem. About Epidaurus there clustered legends of the infancy of the God of Healing, and in its temple stood a famous statue of the god, by the artist Thrasymedes, probably a follower of Phidias. That statue—made of gold and ivory—has long since disappeared; but coins of Epidaurus, preserved in the museums of London and Berlin, still convey some notion of its original form. A great theatre constructed by the sculptor Polycleitus gave further *éclat* to the place; and even when Greece had lost her autonomy, the Emperor Antoninus constructed at Epi-

daurus new buildings for the God of Medicine and his patients.

It was in the second century A.D. that the Greek traveller Pausanias visited Epidaurus, and wrote a full description of it, which we now possess. One curious circumstance he especially noted—the presence within the sacred enclosure of six stone pillars (*stelæ*) inscribed in the Doric dialect with the names of sick persons of both sexes who had come as suppliants to Epidaurus: in addition to the names were recorded the nature of the disease and the manner of the cure. An unsuccessful attempt has lately been made to prove that Pausanias did not always see with his own eyes the things which he professes to have seen. Certainly the theory of compilation “from an old guide-book” will not hold good for Epidaurus, as may be judged from the following interesting little detail. In one passage of his *Periegesis* our author takes occasion to mention a town named Halike, which in his own time was deserted, but which, he tells us, was certainly once inhabited, because on the *stelæ* at Epidaurus, which recorded the cures (*ιάματα*) of Æsculapius, he had noticed the name of an inhabitant of Halike. It is strange that after the lapse of centuries the Epidaurian excavations should have revealed not only the buildings within the sacred precincts of Æsculapius, but also one of those very six *stelæ* bearing an inscription in the Doric dialect, and headed “The Cures (*ιάματα*) of Æsculapius,” and that among those cures should appear the name of “Halketas, an inhabitant of Halike.”

The inscription on this *stèle* forms a record of twenty miracles of healing performed by Æsculapius at Epidaurus. The writing, which is extremely clear, is of the fourth century B.C., or of the early part of the third century. The details of the cures themselves may, however, have been handed down by tradition from a still earlier period.* Each miracle has a heading

* The original text of this inscription has been published by M. Kavvadias in the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, p. 199, ff., with a commentary in modern Greek. M. Salomon Reinach has recently printed a translation of it in the *Revue Archéologique*, with which I have compared some parts of my own version. Another similar *stèle* was also found by M. Kavvadias in his excavations, but it is still unpublished. I need hardly apologize, perhaps, for calling the god Asklepios in this article by his more familiar Roman name Æsculapius.

or short title, such as “Nicanor, a lame man,” “Hermodicus of Lampsacus, an impotent man,” “Thyson of Hermione, a blind boy;” and it was probably well known under that name to the worshippers of Æsculapius. Each entry furnishes—as Pausanias had already noticed—the name of the suppliant, and states briefly the nature of his malady, relating in greater detail the *modus operandi* of the god in effecting the cure. It appears that the suppliant slept the night, not within the temple, but in a kind of dormitory in the sacred precincts, where he was favoured by a vision, in which he beheld the God of Healing. It is usually during the progress of this vision that the miracle takes place; and in the morning the patient wakes up to find himself cured. Of course only the successes are recorded; and many of the narratives conclude with a regular hieratic formula: “And when it was day he went forth whole.” Of the most important of these miracles I will now give a translation, or a paraphrase; but before proceeding we may notice that they furnish additional evidence of the fame of the Epidaurian god; for though among the cured are natives of the place, yet many of them come from a distance—from Athens, northern Greece, and even from the western coast of Asia Minor. The patients, it would appear, made no prolonged stay in the sacred precincts, but slept there only for a single night; and this sufficiently shows that the temples of Æsculapius differed in the most essential point from modern hospitals. Our inscription further shows that, at any rate at this period, the Epidaurian temple had hardly even the character of a dispensary. There are grounds for supposing that the priests of Æsculapius were not by any means always chosen from the ranks of the medical profession; and though they probably had some tincture of medical knowledge, and were able to, and did occasionally, prescribe a rational treatment for the suppliants, it is plain that the God of Healing disdained the vulgar aid of liniments and potions:—

Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξῃ· οὐδὲν, οὔτε βρώσιμον,
Οὐ χρυστὸν, οὔτε πιστόν—

and it was to the faith and to the imagination of his patients that he trusted for the accomplishment of his cures.

We will begin our account of the miracles by selecting one of the most curious and elaborate. It is called the miracle of "Pandarus of Thessaly, the man who had marks (*στίγματα*) upon his forehead." This man, having lain down to sleep in the *abaton* (or dormitory), had a vision. It seemed to him that the God of Healing tied a bandage over the marks, and commanded him when he had gone forth from the building to take off the bandage and dedicate it as an offering in the temple. When it was day, Pandarus got up and took off the bandage; he then saw that the marks were removed from his face, and dedicated the bandage in the temple. This miracle has a sequel. A man named Echedorus, probably a neighbour of Pandarus, was visited with the same misfortune, and likewise came to Epidaurus for a cure. Pandarus, who had not forgotten the favours of the god, had given his friend money to dedicate in the temple. This money, I may remark, was not merely to be dropped into the Æsculapian offertory-bag, but was to be solemnly placed as an *anathema* in the temple. Such dedicated coins were marked in a particular way, and were kept among the other votive offerings, often with a record of the donor's name. This man Echedorus slept in the *abaton*, and had a vision. It seemed to him that the god appeared and demanded of him whether he had received any money from Pandarus for dedication. Echedorus replied that he had not—he had received nothing of the kind from Pandarus, but if the god would heal him he would dedicate to him a statue. The god then proceeded to bind over his marks the bandage that had been worn by Pandarus, and commanded him on leaving the *abaton* to take off the bandage, to wash his face in the sacred spring, and to look at himself in the water. When it was day, Echedorus went out from the building and took off the bandage. Now the bandage had had impressed upon it the marks which had come off from the forehead of Pandarus, and when Echedorus looked in the water he saw that he had the marks of Pandarus in addition to his own, which he still retained.

A man named Æschines wishing to see into the building where the suppliants were

lying climbed up into a tree. It was now dark, and probably Æschines began to doze; at any rate, he managed to fall from his tree right into the quickset hedge of the place,—a fence of stakes,—and, literally, scratched out both his eyes. Blind, and suffering great pain, he went as a suppliant to the god, slept in the *abaton*, and was healed.

Euippos had had for six years a spear-head in his jaw; while he was sleeping in the *abaton* the god drew out the spear-head and placed it in his hands. When it was day Euippos went forth, carrying the spear-head in his hand.

Heraieus, a man of Mytilene, had no hairs on his head, though he had a great many on his cheeks; or, to state his case in the language of the modern hair-dresser, he was bald, but had luxuriant whiskers. Being annoyed at the jests of which his appearance was made the subject by other people, he went and slept in the *abaton*, and the god, by anointing his head with a certain remedy, made his hair to grow.

Euphanes, a boy of Epidaurus, being afflicted with a grievous malady, slept in the *abaton*. It seemed to him that the god appeared and said to him, "What will you give me if I cure you?" "Ten knuckle-bones," answered the child. The god laughed, but said he would heal him; and when it was day he went forth whole.

Another boy, who was dumb, came as a suppliant to the god, and made the usual preliminary sacrifice. One of the temple-servants, turning to the boy's father, inquired of him if he would promise to offer a sacrifice within a year in return for a cure. But the boy, suddenly finding his voice, exclaimed, "I promise." His father in astonishment bade him speak again, and the boy spake again, and from that moment he was cured.

Hermodicus of Lampsacus, an impotent man, was cured by the god while sleeping in the *abaton*, and was ordered on going out to carry into the sacred precincts the largest stone that he could lift; in fact (adds the inscription), he brought in that big stone which still lies before the *abaton*.

The next miracle to be related is that of "a man of Torone who swallowed leeches." This man, while sleeping in the *abaton*, saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god cut

open his breast with a knife, took out the leeches, gave them into his hands, and then sewed up his breast again. When it was day the man went forth cured, having the leeches in his hands. He had been led into swallowing the leeches by the perfidious conduct of his step-mother, who threw them into a beverage that he was drinking.

But the healing powers of Æsculapius found scope for their exercise even in the case of *inanimate* objects, as witness the following story:—A certain youth was going down to the temple of Epidaurus, carrying in a bag some of his master's property, among which was a *kothon* or cup of earthenware. When he was about ten furlongs from the temple he had the misfortune to fall, his burden with him. For this constant servant of the antique world, the breakage of his master's china seems to have had in it an element of seriousness which it has no longer for the modern domestic, and it was with real grief that he perceived that the *kothon*, the very cup from which his master was accustomed to drink, was broken. He sat down and began to try in a hopeless manner to put the pieces together. At this juncture there came by a certain wayfarer, who, on seeing him, addressed him thus:—"Wherefore, O miserable creature, are you vainly endeavouring to put together the pieces of that cup? why, not even Æsculapius, the god of Epidaurus, could mend its broken limbs!" Having heard this, the lad put up the fragments in his bag, and proceeded on his way. On reaching the temple, he once more opened the bag, and, behold, took out from thence the cup, made whole. The servant told his master all that had been said and done, and the master dedicated the cup to the God of Healing. This is called the miracle of the "*Kothon*."

The god does not necessarily effect his cures by means of a vision, and we find that a blind boy named Thyson was cured by one of the dogs belonging to the temple licking his eyes. Another suppliant had a painful ulcer similarly healed by one of the sacred serpents of the temple. It is worth noticing that in Aristophanes the blind god Plutus recovers his eyesight through two serpents of Æsculapius licking his eyelids.

Among the other miracles, which need

only a brief mention, are two curious cases of women who receive the obstetric aid of the god after the birth of their children has been abnormally delayed. The offspring of Cleo, one of these ladies, proves himself to be an infant of no ordinary spirit, for immediately on seeing the light of day he walks to the sacred spring and gives himself a bath. The story of Nicanor looks as if it might be an incident borrowed from the every-day life of the temple precincts. Nicanor, a lame man, was one day quietly seated, when a boy stole his walking stick, and made off with it; the lame man got up, ran after the boy, and from that moment was healed.

I will conclude this account of the Epidaurian cures by referring to two which, in some respects, are the most interesting of all, because they show us, what otherwise we should hardly have suspected, that even by the ordinary Greek the temple-records of the Æsculapian miracles were sometimes called in question. That such scepticism was widespread among the people there is no reason for believing, but its occasional presence should certainly be noted, partly because it is curious to find that even the humble layman of antiquity had his "difficulties of belief," and partly lest we should form an exaggerated notion of the piety of the ancient Greek. In one of these instances, a man with paralyzed fingers comes as a suppliant to the god, but before lying down in the *abaton*, he sets to work to examine the votive tablets in the sacred precincts, expressing his mistrust as to the cures, and depreciating the inscriptions. Still more curious is the appearance of a "female Atheist," an Athenian lady rejoicing in the pleasant name of Ambrosia, but having only one eye. She, too, came as a suppliant to the god, but before proceeding to rest began to walk about the sacred precincts, and mocked at some of the cures as "all fudge and quite impossible," (*ὡς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδυνάτα εἶναι*); "for how," she asked, "could lame men walk and blind men see, merely through having beheld a vision?" It is needless to add that both she and her companion sceptic were convinced by the god of the powerful medicinal qualities of the Æsculapian vision; and of both it is recorded that when day came they went forth whole.

One very odd detail is added about Ambrosia. She is ordered by Æsculapius to dedicate in his temple a silver model of a pig. This animal, whether as a votive offering in stone, terra-cotta, or metal, or as an actual sacrificial victim, is often met with in connection with Greek worship; but here the familiar offering is specially "applied" to a particular suppliant, for Ambrosia is told to dedicate the pig "because she had displayed such stupidity," or, as we should say, had shown so much pig-headedness.

Such are the miracles of Æsculapius. And it is difficult to part from them and all their quaintness and old-world simplicity in any very critical or serious spirit. Yet the student of ancient medicine, and, still more, the student of comparative religion, will regard these wonders as being something more than the mere curiosities of old Greek life. For they will recognize in them (and hardly without a sigh for human weakness), yet one more page added to the long catalogue of wonders which are no wonders, of miracles wrought without conscious imposture, related without conscious exaggeration, and believed by the multitude, *quia impossibilia*.



Notes from Cornwall.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

THE very interesting and important work of Dr. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, is capable of expansion and support in many places besides the Highlands of Scotland, where Dr. Mitchell mainly founded his theories.

I would briefly, in this paper, catalogue a few of the primitive usages surviving in Cornwall, which seem to bear on the Past in the Present, and of which I can find illustrations on the European Continent.

1. The clan theory of society. This tribal or clan idea, the next stage after the primitive family, Sir H. Maine and others have proved to be a characteristic of primitive Aryan society. The clan preceded the nation. Now, though, in most civilized countries, *e.g.*, in our midland or home counties, the clan idea is extinct, or nearly so

it is not so either in the Scottish Highlands or in Cornwall. Researches into the vestiges of clans in Cornwall, the noticing of characteristics in physical aspect, in habits, in customs among the populations of certain villages or hamlets, would, I am certain, show the traces of common descent, the family having developed into the gens or clan. The custom of intermarriages in the village tend to confirm and fix these local peculiarities. In this matter the Cornish is very like the Slavonic village.

A curious point in the Cornish clans is, that, like the American clans, they retain often a nickname, and that is usually the name of an animal. Thus we have the Mullion "gulls" for the inhabitants of Mullion near the Lizard, the Zennor "goats" for the people of the Zennor region on the north coast of the Land's End peninsula, the St. Ives "hakes," the Sancreed "hogs;" just as among, say, the Wyandots of America we have the deer gens, the bear gens, the turtle gens, the wolf gens, etc. This represents a survival of a very primitive instinct of mankind, quite extinct in most parts of Europe. The fact that many of these nicknames may be modern does not affect the interesting point of the survival of the instinct.

2. Then the nature worship which had so prominent a part in ancient Europe is not extinct in Cornwall. The greeting of May or Spring with horn-blowing exists in Oxfordshire, and was once probably common in England, but nowhere is it so lively as in Cornwall. In fact, the custom, like many others, has degenerated into a nuisance, or something like it. The boys blow horns and the girls sing, crowning themselves often with flowers and garlands. May customs, however, have a great persistence throughout Europe, probably from their beauty.

The midsummer fires, in honour of the summer solstice, which are so common in out-of-the-way parts of Europe, in Russian forests, on the Carpathians, on the Apennines, on the hills of Brittany, and by the fiords of Norway, but which have nearly died out in England, are common enough in the Land's End district, nay, perhaps in no town in Europe are they better kept up than in Penzance, where the Midsummer revels—the dancing with fire-torches, and the bonfires in the

streets—bring one back to the scenes of mediæval or ancient Europe, in a way that few scenes in England can do.

But this is not all. In Cornwall we have the variant on the primitive custom which arose in the Middle Ages of renewing the midsummer fires on the eve of the great feast of the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter. The Peter-tide fires still, as five centuries ago, illumine on St. Peter's Eve the shores of Mount's Bay.

3. On this occasion, also, another primitive custom (which has more vitality than others in many parts of England) is sometimes followed, of burning in effigy in the Peter-tide fires those who have been marked out for clan disapprobation. (A case occurred not long ago, not a hundred yards from where I write these words, of a man's effigy being burnt as a punishment for an offence.)

The enforcement of tribal justice as distinct from the law of England is another survival, and one which often makes the duties of recorders and judges in Cornwall very light, as, in fact, this tribal justice, a mild, but not less feared, representation of Judge Lynch, has a salutary effect on public morals. The fact is, the population (or, if we may so say, the clan) punish offenders, and practically make the place too hot to hold them. It would seem that exclusion from tribal privileges was a much dreaded punishment among the Ancient Britons, and probably the Cornish inherit the feeling as the Irish do.

4. It might be supposed that in England all memory of the heathen gods (save such as school boys and girls get out of books) would have passed away; yet I have known children afraid to go by night near a certain carn, *i.e.* Tolcarn, for fear of the Bucca-boo (the Cornish Neptune or sea and storm-god), who was, in the Middle Ages, like most heathen gods, described as a devil. Also at St. Just, in spite of Chaucer's dictum in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* as to the extinction of fairies, I have heard of two men who assert that they have been troubled by Cornish piskies on the moors. We are here brought into contact with very primitive ideas—the last vestiges of the beliefs of Ancient Britain in the ages of Julius Cæsar or Suetonius.

5. Some domestic customs, also, are primitive. The usage of the farmer or the master

dining with his servants survives in many places. Just as the baron dined in his hall with his retainers, so some Cornish farmers dine with the farm servants, the men sitting on one side, the women on the other. Even the custom of sitting above and below the salt is, as I understand, retained by a few.



Reviews.

Records of the Borough of Nottingham, being a series of extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham. Vol. ii. (London and Nottingham, 1883: Quaritch; and Forman & Sons.) 8vo. pp. xx., 509.



SINCE the publication of the *Remembrancia* of the City of London, we know of nothing that has appeared from municipal archives of so much value as these volumes from Nottingham. And in one sense they are even more valuable than the London volume. Nottingham is one of those boroughs whose history has a peculiar place in the history of towns, and Mr. Freeman has more than once set this forth and explained it. Up to the present we have had very little information about municipal Nottingham, except what would be gleaned from local histories, and, accordingly, these valuable publications come upon us somewhat in the light of a revelation. In our review of the first volume (see *ante* vol. vii., p. 148) we spoke of the peculiar value of these archives for municipal history, and although the second volume is equally valuable, we think it would be best to draw attention to its interest for social and domestic history. We must express our regret that our notice of it has been so long delayed.

Among the most interesting documents are the appraising of the goods of certain individuals for legal purposes. These papers give us some kind of idea as to the domestic utensils and furniture of the age. In 1403-4, January 30th, the goods of Robert de Burton, glover, are appraised. They consist of a great chest, another chest, a screen, a small meat board, a form, a trestle, two old vats, two empty barrels, five fish-panniers, three pairs of scissors, a fish knife, four saucers of tin, six dishes of wood, a brass ladle, a powder box, two platters, and a pot-lid of wood, an old candlestick of wood, a pair of bellows, two surcungles, two forks, a halter, a cover, two canvas bags, an old canvas, a chair, a cage with a throstle, a flask, a pepper quern, an old cushion, and a cheese beck. If these make up the domestic furniture of those days, it does not appear that the luxury of Nottingham was excessive. Another description of goods in 1441-2, February 8th, is more interesting perhaps, and it introduces a curious female Christian name, Emmota, which we do not remember

to have seen before. This individual took the goods "with force of arms, to wit, with fists." Repairs to the churches at Nottingham are frequently the subject of dispute, by which documents concerning them have been preserved. In 1443, June 12th, Robert Shakesper brings an action for materials for making arrows. This interesting name is worth more than a passing note. Many of the documents relate to grants of land, whereby the ancient topography of the town is curiously illustrated, as, for instance, the enrolment of grant to John Dorham in 1446, December 8th. Abusive tongues were rife even in those days, as the presentment of the Decennaries attests, and the ladies seem also to have made war upon each other. An agreement for the building of a house in 1470, July 20th, is extremely curious, as it gives the measurements and price. The house was to be eighteen feet in breadth, and the width according to the ground. For "makyng of the seid house vj lbs. of lawfulle money of England at serten tymes" was to be paid. This document is followed by a curious bill, dated 1482-3, January 28th, for reparation of the Crown Inn, when all the details of prices are set forth. A deed recording an interview with the prior of Shelford of a deputation from the Mickletorn Jury regarding a close called "Cornar Wong" is extremely curious. It is dated "x dey of Apryle in ye fyrst yere of ye reygne of Kyng Edward ye Fyft;" one of the few documents dated in this reign; and besides much valuable information on municipal landholding, it describes how the jury "leyd theyr hedes to geder" about the matter.

It will be gathered from these few extracts that the volume abounds with interesting matter of every description incidental to the government of towns in those days. Every right was no chartered right, as it is supposed to be now, and boroughs took upon themselves the rightful duties of managing their own domestic concerns, without asking Parliament for power to do so. And it may surely be asked whether this right has ever been taken away by law. A study of municipal history would, we think, decide this question in the negative. We cannot close our notice without recording our high appreciation of the patient and correct labours of Mr. Johnson, the town clerk, and of the public spirit and enlightened mind shown by the Town Council. Why does not every borough in England follow the example of Nottingham?

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. Collected by RICHARD HAKLUYT, and edited by EDMUND GOLDSMID. *Northern Europe.* (Edinburgh, 1884: E. & G. Goldsmid.) 8vo, pp. 56.

In an age when old recorded facts are being dug up again for scientific use, and when the early descriptions of travellers are of value to the new science of anthropology, it is well that a new edition of Hakluyt should be undertaken. Let us say at once that Mr. Goldsmid's edition promises to be in every way acceptable. Well printed, good paper, and in excellent taste, this first part is a sample of what is to come. It does not yet afford us any opportunity of saying much about the work itself, because it gives only a few pages of

the text, being for the most part occupied with the original prefaces, etc., all good and worth having with the book. We shall look forward to some of the later numbers with pleasure, and will take care to inform our readers of the progress of this useful undertaking. The first portion commences with "certeine testimonies concerning Arthur and his conquest of the North Regions, taken out of the Historie of the Kings of Britaine."

Cornish Worthies: Sketches of some eminent Cornish Men and Families. By WALTER H. TREGELLAS. In two volumes. (London: Elliot Stock, 1884.) 8vo.

Mr. Tregellas opens his preface with a question which he says has often been asked before—viz., "Why is there for Cornwall no companion book to Prince's *Worthies of Devon*?" Perhaps the Devonshire men might reply that if the Cornish men had such a book in addition to Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, the balance between the two counties would be too heavily depressed in favour of Cornwall. We know that a *Bibliotheca Devoniensis* is anxiously hoped for, but it may be found easier to rival the work of the Devonshire biographer than that of the Cornish bibliographers. We do not know what Devon may produce, but we do know that in the greater world there are few Boases and Courtneys, and their book is one to be looked at by bibliographers with mingled feelings of amazement and gratitude.

Truly Cornwall has reason to be proud of her sons, and Mr. Tregellas's selection of the worthiest in arms, in arts and in song, presents us with a fine list of famous names. One special feature is the number of families who have been famous and have given a succession of worthies to the service of their country. The families Mr. Tregellas selects are the Arundells, the Bassets, the Boscauens, the Godolphins, the Grenvilles of Stow, the Killigrews, and the St. Aubyns. Among the worthies in arms are such brilliant names as those of Admiral Bligh, the famous commander of the *Bounty*, who transplanted the breadfruit tree from Otaheite to the West Indies, the brave Boscawen, Lord Exmouth, the gallant capturer of Algiers, and Lord Vivian, the distinguished soldier. The worthiest in arts range from Davy, the man of science, and Trevethick, the engineer, to Opie and Bone, the painters. These last two celebrated men were the only Cornish men who have attained to the honour of being Royal Academicians. The worthy in song was Incedon, who must have possessed one of the most wonderful voices ever bestowed upon man. Rauzzini, an Italian music teacher, who would not allow that any other Englishman could sing, said, after one of Incedon's famous roulades, "Coot Cott! it was vere lucky dere was some roof dere, or dat fellow woud be hear by de ainsels in hev'n." Another anecdote related by Mr. Tregellas is worth quoting. At the great dinner to John Kemble on his retirement from the stage, Incedon sang his magnificent song "The Storm." We are told that "the effect was sublime, the silence holy, the feeling intense; and, while Talma was recovering from his astonishment, Kemble placed his hand on the arm of the great French actor, and said, in an agitated, emphatic, and proud tone, 'That is an English singer.'"

Munden adds that Talma jumped from his seat and embraced Incledon *à la Française*." Authors do not figure among the worthies Mr. Tregellas has honoured, so much as the followers of the more active pursuits of life, for the famous name of Borlase stands almost alone—although, perhaps, we ought to add the names of Richard Lander, the explorer, and the Rev. Henry Martyn, the missionary, as they were in a secondary sense writers. Samuel Foote is so completely associated with the stage, and is remembered for his never-failing wit, that one may easily forget that he wrote anything. Other famous men, such as Ralph Allen, the earliest post-office reformer and friend of Pope, who "did good by stealth and blushed to find it fame," and John Anstis, the herald, are recorded here; and all who love biography—and who does not?—will find much instruction and entertainment in these pages. To Cornish men who are proud of the good name and wide fame of the southernmost and westernmost county, these volumes should be especially welcome. We may add that the type and the appearance of the book are all that can be desired.

Doctor Johnson: his Life, Works, and Table Talk. Centenary edition. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1884.) 12mo, pp. viii, 156.

This is one of the prettiest little souvenirs of this great man which we have seen, and to those who like to possess choice little volumes which, in course of time, will certainly become rare and among the curiosities, we cannot do better than recommend it. It affords a pleasant hour or two in the company of a man who had good things to say and said them. Let Londoners note Johnson's sayings about London.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Books for sale by Henry Gray. (Manchester, October, 1884.) 8vo, pp. 112.

We gladly welcome and draw attention to Mr. Gray's catalogue, because it contains not only sale bargains, but really useful information to the local antiquary and bibliographer.

The Midland Garner; a Quarterly Journal containing a selection of Local Notes and Queries from the "Banbury Guardian." Edited by JOHN R. WODHAMS. (Banbury, 1884.) 4to, 2 parts, pp. 28, 32.

This is a new friend, and we heartily welcome it. More than once we have drawn attention to the great utility of these local notes and queries, and the specimen before us is fully up to the standard. It is particularly noteworthy as giving the fullest references to authorities. The Rev. Hilderic Friend has some very useful notes; and there are other writers well known to our readers.

The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Popular Superstitions. Edited by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1884.) 8vo, pp. xvi, 333.

Mr. Gomme's third volume is now issued. It contains the articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*

which are devoted to superstitions connected with the festival days and seasons, customs and beliefs, and witchcraft. Some curious papers are reprinted now for the first time, and it was not known that they ever found a place in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. A lengthy introduction, notes, and index are added to the text.

Some Observations upon the Law of Ancient Demesne. By PYM YEATMAN. (London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1884.) 8vo, pp. 73.

This little book deals with a subject that is very interesting just now, and the records quoted by the author from documents relating to the borough courts of Chesterfield are exceedingly curious. Mr. Yeatman gives some curious facts from manor records and elsewhere, and his essay appears to us to contain some important facts, which are well worth close attention from those whose especial study it is to reconsider the history of landholding in England.

A History of Aylesbury with its Hundreds and Hamlet of Walton. By ROBERT GIBBS. Parts viii., ix., x. (Aylesbury, 1883-4: R. Gibbs.)

We are glad to welcome three more parts of this interesting local history since we last noticed the work in these pages. The value of the contents is considerable, as will be seen by an enumeration of the headings of the chapters. Chapter 33 refers to the parish registers, which commence in 1564; 34, to the overseers' accounts, which date back to 1656; and 35, to the churchwardens' accounts, which do not go further back than 1749-50, the previous books having been lost. Chapter 36 is devoted to the ancient houses and buildings; 37, to the streets, derivation of names, etc.; 38, to nonconformist places of worship; 39, to Aylesbury charities; and 40, to the free and endowed schools. The account of the old inns is specially interesting, and we learn in the account of the streets that one thoroughfare, which was originally called Water Street, then Waterhouse Street, and Brewer Street, obtains its present derivation of Bourbon Street from the residence of Louis XVIII, at Hartwell House. Aylesbury residents should be proud of this history of their town, and those who only know the town by repute will find much to interest them in the pages of a thoroughly conscientiously-written book.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Oct. 20th.—Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A. (President), in the chair.—Mr. A. G. Wright, of Newmarket, exhibited (from his own collection) five billon denarii of Postumus, with the legends FELICITAS . AVG . IOVI . STATORI . NEPTVNO . REDVCI . SAECVLI . FELICITAS :

SARAPI . COMITI . AVG, from the Baconsthorpe hoard (1878) ; also a Roman bronze ear-ring and a mediæval bronze signet-ring, both found at Stony Hill, Lakenheath, early in this present year.—Mr. Lewis exhibited a well-preserved *first brass* of Marcus Aurelius, *rev.* HONOS with portrait of the young prince erect, olive-branch and cornucopiæ (141 A.D.), which had been found in 1883 on land occupied by Mr. T. Russell at Litlington in this county.—Mr. Browne exhibited an outlined rubbing of the Wilne fount, a very intricate and elaborate piece of early work, with twelve bold characters round the base, supposed to be runic or Oriental, and in the latter case probably Palmyrene.—Mr. Browne showed next a rubbing of the cross at Hawkswell, near Catterick, with the inscription on a small panel *Hæc est crux sancti Jacobi*, "This is the Cross of the holy James."—Mr. O. C. Pell, after stating the strong grounds for supposing that there were many "libere tenentes" in existence at the time of Domesday Survey, and that they appear in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* as *villani* holding acres of demesne land, argued—from (among other examples) an entry in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* respecting Chatteris Manor—that the *carucæ* of the "lords" and the associated *carucæ* of the "homines" were of one and the same uniform standard for rating purposes and for measuring areas of *terre ad carucam*, and showed thereby that this standard was the capacity of a plough drawn by eight oxen. The necessary consequence appeared to be that there must have been at least 1,600 (which Mr. Pell subsequently corrected to 324) "homines" holding virgates in villenage in the Isle of Ely alone. This theory was proved to be correct by a comparison of Domesday Survey with the surveys of certain manors contained in old MSS. of 1221 and 1277, the former having been hitherto unnoticed and the latter only casually referred to by Agard 300 years ago. Mr. Pell proceeded to state the probability that the "sex villani" of the Juratores of Domesday are the "Hundredarii" and "libere tenentes" of these surveys, and noted the payment of "sixtepani" by them. In some of the fifty-five manors surveyed in the above MSS. the acreage of the "Libere tenentes" and "Operarii" is recorded in acres of *Wara*, and that in such cases an acre of *Wara* means twice the quantity (but not an acre of twice the size of one acre, but one acre in one place and one in another) is proved by the Wilburton Court and Compotus Rolls and by entries in another MS. (Additional MSS. 6165 in the British Museum) in regard to the Manors of Ely, Lyndon, Stretham, Wilburton, etc. The word "Wara" is probably derived from some old Celtic root meaning scrub or uncultivated land, and from it was also derived the term "ad Warectum," or fallow ground. Names of places such as Waresley, Wrating, etc., in England and on the Continent were referred to as likely to have had their origin in a prefix of some form of the word "Wara." A schedule was added containing a statement of the size of the "plene terre" and "virgate" of fifty-five manors taken from the MSS. of 1221 and 1277 A.D., with another of the like kind in regard to seven other manors taken from a MS. of Edward II.'s reign, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Ely and called "extenta manerii."

Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society.—The annual cryptogamic excursion of the above Society took place on October 16th, the place of meeting being in Abbey Wood, Dr. Spurrell being the guide of the party. A visit was paid to the ruins of Lessness Abbey. There were on view a collection of old Abbey counters or jettons and an ancient Venetian coin, which were exhibited by Mr. H. W. Smith. This coin is one of the Venetian Republic, and it has some local interest attaching to it, as it was discovered some time back in mud which had been thrown from the small river Cray, at Crayford. The coin is a Bezzo or half Soldino, of the coinage of Augustino Barberigo, who was Doge of Venice from A.D. 1486 to 1501. On the obverse is the figure of Saint Mark with a halo or nimbus about the head, and he is represented as presenting the sacred banner of the Republic to the Doge who is kneeling to receive it. There is also the inscription AV. BAR. DVX. S.M.V. This means Augustino Barberigo, Duke or Doge of St. Marcus Venice. On the reverse is the figure of Christ with the nimbus around the head, and holding a cross in the left hand, and there are also these words or abbreviations, SOLI. TIBI. LAVS. A number of copper and brass jettons or counters, as they are called, were found at Crayford; but the majority of them came at one time and another from close proximity to the old Priory at Dartford. Some of them are doubtless of the fourteenth century; but for the most part they belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of them bear on the obverse the lion of St. Mark holding the Gospel in one of the forepaws. Mr. Smith was not quite certain of the nationality of these particular counters, but from the fact that they also bear the inscription, SANT. MARCVS, he was inclined to think that they were Venetian. From the fact of their being so frequently found in the neighbourhood of our old abbeys, priories, etc., they are commonly called abbeycounters. One of these counters possesses features of singular interest, as it portrays a man in mediæval attire seated at a table and employed in the receipt or use of money; and some numismatists are of opinion that this counter is an especial illustration of a person employed in the arithmetical process with counters or jettons. Possibly this opinion may be a correct one. On the reverse of the counter are the letters of the alphabet within a square. These counters were mostly of copper or brass; although a few of silver and gold are known, and some were struck in England up to the time of Henry VIII. or a little later.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.—Oct. 1st.—Between forty and fifty members spent a most interesting day in Ipswich. The rendezvous was at St. Peter's Church. In a paper on the church and parish, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White stated that St. Peter's had an historical importance, causing it to stand prominently forward in the annals of Ipswich. That part of St. Peter's lying on the south side of the Gipping, anciently marsh and plantation, at one time formed an entirely distinct parish, known as St. Augustine's, having its own church and green, and other parochial surroundings. It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that this ancient parish was thrown into St. Peter's;

it has now become so thoroughly absorbed that not a trace remains.—Mr. Sterling Westhorp read some notes made on his visit to Oxford in the year 1879, when he went to the University with a view of obtaining the copy of the portrait of Wolsey, by *Holbein*, now in the museum. When he asked permission of the Dean of Christchurch, the Dean informed him that he would find in the Chapter-house, then under repair, an interesting stone. Upon inspecting this stone, which was inserted in the wall on the right hand of the entrance to the Chapter-house of Christchurch, Mr. Westhorp found it to be the foundation stone of Wolsey's College at Ipswich.—Leaving the Key Church, the next object attracting attention was the Half Moon Inn, remarkable for the well-known corner-piece of "the fox and geese."—The remains of the Dominican or Black Friars' Refectory, at the rear of Christ's Hospital School, were next visited. The remains comprise a number of curious arches, and give but a feeble idea of the buildings which formerly occupied so much space between Shirehall and Lower Orwell Street. The materials of the old buildings were evidently worked into those now standing in the locality. In an upper room on the premises of the Maltster's Arms, Quay Street, the archaeologists found, in a most dilapidated state, an ancient carved mantelpiece, which has been purchased by Mr. Felix Cobbold, and will be removed to his residence at Felixstowe. Mr. Binyon stated that a portion of the material was deal; the lower part is of stone.—Arrived at St. Stephen's Church, the archaeologists inspected the curious niche opposite the principal entrance. At St. Lawrence's the handsome and elaborate carving on the outer door of the tower, and similar work on a second door on the left of the entrance, attracted notice.—The archaeologists commenced their afternoon's work by inspecting the borough archives and regalia, which were displayed in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall. The objects inspected included "the loving cup," the silver oar, and the valuable records frequently referred to.—Proceeding next to the New Museum, the party assembled in the curator's room, where a small collection of antiquities was displayed.—Mr. Westhorp first read a paper descriptive of the ancient library.—The Rev. C. H. E. White exhibited an ancient steel-yard weight (thirteenth century) found in the grounds of Mr. Hale, at Claydon. He described it as a weight or equipoise formerly used at the end of a beam in the mode of weighing called *ancel* weight, practised in the time of Edward III. The weight had an outer coat of bronze, very thin apparently, and filled with lead. At the base the outer metal was worn away, and the rough lead appeared. It weighed 2lb. 3oz. The rev. gentleman described at length the purposes for which the weight would be used.—Mr. White also exhibited a fine copy of the old *Sarum Hours* and an illuminated Latin *Psalter*.—Mr. Chas. Golding contributed a collection of ancient Suffolk prints and manuscripts.—The Rev. J. Leck exhibited and described a very interesting collection of antiquities. The principal feature was a set of ten curious Elizabethan fruit platters or trenchers, purchased for 2s. at a sale at Clare. A runic calendar, commonly called a "clog almanack," the rev. gentleman stated that he purchased in Sweden in 1866. It was made

of reindeer horn, and was unique, owing to the fact that it extended only to 364 days. He mentioned a legend on the point, and said this was one of the few calendars supporting it. The date of the calendar was believed to be between 1220 and 1250. Gaffles, or cock-fighting spears, a Persian inkhorn, and some remarkable specimens of flint weapons from Narbonne, in France, were included in the case. Dr. Taylor mentioned that a flint weapon had during the summer been found in the gravel valley at Sproughton.—Dr. Taylor read a paper on "The Results of some Excavations in the Streets of Ipswich." He said:—"Excavations have been made in Tavern Street, Westgate Street, and St. Matthew's Street, Ipswich, for the purpose of sewerage that part of the town. The trench dug for the sewer pipes went down to the previously undisturbed beds of the lower drift, so that a section could thus be seen of all the materials which had been collected and arranged since the settlement of mankind in this part of the world. In many places the trench was dug to the depth of ten feet. The first feature observed was a bed of virgin soil, covering a stratum of irregular-sized pebbles and sand, at the end of Tavern Street, and in front of the Cornhill. This bed of undisturbed soil contained much vegetable matter, and occasional trunks of trees. Passing the Cornhill is the commencement of Westgate Street, and in tracing the bed of virgin soil it was found to undergo a remarkable change. The stratum on which it rested became more clayey and impervious to moisture, so that it was evident a kind of marsh had thus been formed. It should be stated that the progress of all the sewerage excavations is along the base of the high and suddenly rising ground which forms this side of the valley of the Orwell and Gipping. Many springs flowed from along this steep side, and the moisture would naturally collect at the bottom, especially if it happened to be capable of holding it. The virgin soil which covered the drier parts was changed to peaty matter under these circumstances. In some places this peaty soil was five feet in thickness. A "corduroy" road had evidently been carried through this marsh, for the logs of wood were piled on each other in alternate fashion, as if to bridge the marshy places. Near the opening of Providence Street into Westgate Street the section showed this corduroy road very plainly, and I had a piece dug out, when the logs were seen to be secured to each other by wooden pegs. In this part was found a bone-needle and a portion of a comb, also formed of bone. A similar portion had been met with in the virgin soil bed near the Cornhill about a hundred yards lower down. From the ornamentations I judge them to be of rude Saxon workmanship. This black soil was in places abounding in oyster and mussel shells. Bones of animals were also plentiful, especially of swine, deer, sheep, and oxen. In one place the skull of a horse was dug out. The quantity of red deer's antlers (all with the burs attached, showing they were the antlers of slain animals) was surprisingly great. Many of these antlers had had the main shaft cut off, no doubt to serve as handles for whittles or knives. The great number of deer give evidence of the wild state of the surrounding country where they abounded. The bed of virgin soil, as well as what I may call its continuation into a bed of

muddy peat, contained quantities of rude pottery, all broken into shreds. From the character of this pottery I judge it to be of Saxon workmanship. The bed of peat was very full also of trunks and branches of such trees as love to grow in swampy spots, such as alder, birch, and hazel. Five or six feet of "made" earth, and accretions from road mending overlaid the two beds just mentioned. From this accumulated and overlying material I obtained, first, some very broad-headed nails, used for tying waggon wheels, and also pieces of the iron tyres, both indicating that the wheels must have been very large and broad. An iron stirrup turned up, remarkable for its rude workmanship. In the uppermost part of the road material, a steel "strike-a-light" brought us up to the date of tinder-boxes. No coins whatever were met with in the older beds, and only a few of Anne and the Georges in the later road material. After passing the site of the ancient Westgate, on the outer part of it, in St. Matthew's, we came upon five human skeletons, at a depth of six feet from the surface. The skull of one was broken into, as though its owner had died a violent death. No metal or coins of any kind were associated with these remains. Continuing the sewerage cutting up to the top of St. Matthew's (where for the present it terminates) we find it ascending higher ground. In the section, the place previously occupied by the virgin soil, and the peat bed, was now taken by a layer of wiry peat, very dry, of about eighteen inches in thickness. This I found to be almost entirely composed of roots and branches of the common heather. The absence of Roman remains is very remarkable. The ancient history of the town of Ipswich is very poor in incident, and this chapter in its early physical history may in some measure help us to realize its first beginnings as a group of rude huts, inhabited by as rude inhabitants."—Mr. T. N. Fonnereau kindly granted permission to visit the Christchurch Elizabethan mansion.—The Rev. C. H. E. White read from copious notes in the hall, stating that the mansion occupied the site of the old Christchurch or Holy Trinity Priory, established in 1172—one of the earliest monasteries in the town. It was inhabited by the Augustine Canons, but was not large.—The Rev. C. H. E. White also read a paper on Ipswich taverns.

Shropshire Archaeological Society.—Sept. 14th.—At the annual meeting Mr. F. Goyné, the secretary, read the following report:—"I have the pleasure to report to the committee that a large addition has been made to the numismatical department during the past twelve months, an addition which goes very far to make the entire collection of coins and medals a very valuable one to the student of numismatics, especially to those who find in that science a never-failing and trustworthy helpmate to the history, mythology, palæography, and metrology of past ages. I refer to the very fine collection which was purchased by private subscriptions of members of the committee and other friends from the representatives of the late Mr. James Spence, the nucleus of which collection was formed by Mr. Henry Pidgeon, at a time when the treasures of Uriconium were less valued by the general public than they have been of late, when consequently the rustic finders were more ready to dispose of them at a fair price, and when, in fact,

they were more abundant than they are now. To the rough classification of this hoard I have devoted only time sufficient to make me acquainted with its particulars in a general way. It is contained in a cabinet and a small, shallow, mahogany box. The latter is divided into about a dozen compartments, seven of which are filled with several hundred Roman coins and medals in various stages of preservation—large, middle, and small brass. Among these may be seen many fine and choice specimens, which cannot fail to satisfy the most exacting requirements. There are also over two hundred coins of a less perfect character, which will supply duplicates and fill up the gaps in the other hoards already possessed by the Society. In this box are also a fine series of those tokens called after the name of the city where they were issued—Nuremberg tokens—with many copper coins of the present and preceding English sovereigns, and foreign current and uncurrent coins. A very interesting group of tokens, issued by Shrewsbury tradesmen in the seventeenth century, fills one compartment of this box, several of which have not been hitherto described or noticed. In the large cabinet are a number of trays filling three drawers, which I have been enabled to classify in a general way without disturbing materially the work of Mr. Pidgeon or Mr. Spence. In the first drawer and tray thereof are the Shrewsbury and Shropshire tokens of the seventeenth century, together with those of adjoining counties. In the second, third, and fourth trays, English halfpence and farthings of the last three centuries. In the fifth and sixth, foreign medals and coins, principally copper. The seventh tray is now empty, but affords room for more particular classification. The second drawer contains three paper boxes and seven trays. The boxes contain tokens, Oriental coins, coronation medals, American, Mexican, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and other silver coins, with the very fine and rare Dutch medal, commemorating the brothers De Witt. The first and second trays, the large, middle, and small currency of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and succeeding English monarchs down to the present time, being crowns, half-crowns, and shillings. The third and fourth, shillings, sixpences, smaller coins, and Maundy money. The fifth and sixth, silver pennies, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, while the sixth and seventh are now empty. The third drawer has nine trays, which contain Roman denarii (the penny of Holy Writ), large, middle, and small brass of the Roman emperors and others, amongst which are found some very interesting specimens found at Llanymynech and places in the neighbourhood other than Uriconium."—Mr. R. Jasper More moved the adoption of the report, and said he wished to say a word about Edward I. and Lord Chancellor Burnell. Last year was, he believed, the sixth centenary of the first parliament held at Shrewsbury to which borough members were first legally invited. He wished the attention of the Society to be directed to this fact, to see whether it would not be worth while to erect a memorial to that very important historical event. That morning he had received a letter from the Bishop of Chester on this subject.—The chairman expressed an opinion that some memorial should be raised to the memory of Lord Chancellor Burnell, who presided over the first parliament to which

borough members were legally called. No memorial of the event existed, and the question arose, Would it be worth the while of this Society to take some steps in the matter? It was probably held in a building at Acton Burnell, and it is said by some that the Lords and Commons sat together, but it had been suggested to him by Sir Travers Twiss that the Lords probably sat at the hall and the Commons in a building a portion of which was still standing. These were things that might be gone into by the Society. He had seen all the writs that were sent out for this parliament, copies of which were in Shrewsbury, and he found the representatives of twenty-one towns were summoned to Shrewsbury, and there were about ninety-nine peers. They were probably entertained at the old buildings of the Abbey, and the parliamentary sittings were so important that Edward I. stayed for six weeks at Acton Burnell with his chancellors. Lord Chancellor Campbell in his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, said the story of Burnell had only been considered by dry antiquaries unable to appreciate his merits.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

—Sept. 18th.—Between forty and fifty members left Manchester by train and arrived at Nantwich for the purpose of visiting various objects of antiquarian interest in the locality. The party, which had become separated, rejoined in the parish church, where the Rev. T. W. Norwood, in describing it, said he proposed to do so in the order in which it was constructed—namely, from west to east. He pointed out that it was not the first church at Nantwich—namely, that which is recorded as having been given to the Abbey of Combermere soon after its foundation, along with the mother church of Acton. The present church of Nantwich is a building mostly of the fourteenth century, with some few additions of the first years of the fifteenth. The nave is a very graceful specimen of Early Decorated work, with clustered columns, bell-shaped bases, and isosceles arches, all covered with the *Wave* moulding. The abaci of the capitals are slightly under-cut, which looks Early and Transitional. Just above one of them is a bracket with the embattled moulding which came into use again as an ornament about the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, having been disused from Norman times. The nave of Nantwich owes its beauty much more to elegance of form than to detail of decoration, of which, indeed, there is singularly little, considering in what an age of ornament it was built. Mr. Norwood pointed out particularly that the chief architectural puzzle of the church is the mixture of styles in the western arch supporting the tower, where the concave basement mouldings and the stiff-leaved foliage on the caps are associated with Decorated jamb mouldings, the scroll-moulding abacus, and a continuous series of wave mouldings on the arch. This is a mixture of Late Norman forms with Decorated. There is a library over the church porch with no books of great value, and off the east side of the porch a little apartment, as if for a custodian priest, part of whose duty it may have been to celebrate marriages in the church porch, as Chaucer says of the "Wife of Bath": "*Huslondes at the chyrche dor, hadde she had fyve.*"—After leaving Nantwich church the visitors drove to Dorfold Hall, situate about a mile from Nantwich. —Mr. James Hall read a paper:—"Dorfold, or as it

was called prior to the eighteenth century, Deerfold, Derfold, or Darford—the last being an old pronunciation of the word, which local vernacular has corrupted into Darfoot—is the name of an ancient manor in the parish of Acton, about a mile from the town of Nantwich. Acton, or oak-town, doubtless received its name from a primeval forest, described in the Domesday Survey as 'six leagues long and one broad.' The same record mentions, not however by name, 'a manor' and 'a mill' in Acton, which in Saxon times belonged to Edwin, Earl of Mercia; and two resident 'priests,' implying the existence of a church. Deerfold occurs in a deed *temp.* Hen. III. as 'Deerfold park pool, and mill opposite the gate of the Manor,' then the property of John de Wetenhale. When a murderous warfare was kept up between the people of Cheshire and the Welsh borderers, and when lawless bands of robbers infested woods and lonely places, the lords of manors found it necessary for their own personal safety and for the protection of their deer, or, as we should now say, their cattle (the Saxon word *deor* signifying animals in general), to build their manor-houses and farms, as places of defence; and when they took the form of enclosures having only a single entrance, or gateway, such places were commonly called 'folds.' From the time of Henry III. to the end of Elizabeth's reign, a period of about four hundred years, Deerfold was held by the families of Wetenhale, Arderne, Davenport, and Bromley, in succession; until it was sold in or about 1602 by William Bromley, brother of the Lord-Chancellor Bromley, to Sir Roger Wilbraham, Kt., Solicitor-General of Ireland, Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth, Surveyor of the Court of Wards to James I. and son of Richard Wilbraham, gentleman, of Nantwich. Sir Roger Wilbraham, who was married and lived in London, shortly after the purchase of Deerfold, handed over the estate as a gift to his youngest brother, Ralph Wilbraham, who held the office of Feodary for the counties of Chester and Flint."—The visitors spent some time in examining the magnificent dining hall, in which is a portrait of Ralph Wilbraham (who built the mansion in 1616), together with many other family portraits and paintings by some of the great masters. King James's room also attracted a share of notice, from the circumstance that it was said to have been especially prepared in view of His Majesty's expected visit when he came to Nantwich in 1617, "and went to see the Bryne pit." On the table in the drawing-room was a Bible in good preservation printed in the year 1541, and a curious old MS. book containing the pedigrees and coats of arms of most of the local and county families.—After leaving Dorfold Hall the party drove to Acton church, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. James White.—The Rev. T. W. Norwood said the church of Acton was the mother church of the neighbourhood; it had two priests at the time of the Domesday Book Survey. Their residence may have been in the square-moated enclosure west of the church, which is now in the vicar's paddock, though some have thought that that was the site of a Saxon house of Edwin, Earl of Mercia. The lower portion of the tower is of fine Pointed Norman age and masonry, with three Norman lancets in the thick west wall. It rests on three arches, north, south, and

east, of which the two former are lower and rather earlier than the latter, being of Transition from Norman character pointed, with a nave-head ornament. The eastern tower arch is Transitional from Norman to Early English, with the Dog-tooth on its north capital, and the Trowel-point on its south, by which it is seen that the church was carried eastward from the tower with but little interval of time. The nave, too, is Early English, with Pointed arches on octagon piers, and some remains of Dog-tooth on the much-mutilated capitals, which were probably injured into their present condition when the church was held as a fortress, first by one party and then by the other, in the wars of Charles and the Parliament. All the ancient records and registers of the church are said to have perished at that time. The north aisle of the nave is a chantry of the great neighbouring family of Mainwaring, of Baddiley; and in the north wall, towards the east end of it, there remains a very elaborate canopied tomb of William Mainwaring, who died in the year 1399, which, therefore, is about the date of this chantry. His arms, which are "two bars," are upon the buttresses of its exterior from east to west.—A pleasant drive brought the party to Bunbury Church. The Rev. T. W. Norwood said of Bunbury that the plan of the church is west tower, nave, and two aisles, a chancel, south chapel, and south porch. The lower part of the tower is handsome Early Decorated work, with a very graceful west window in the *façade*, of about the same age as the nave of Nantwich. The north drip termination of this window is a lady's head wearing the wimple of Edward II., and the scroll-moulding occurs as a string on the same front. There are two buttresses, rectangular to the wall, of several stages. The upper part of the tower is rather poor Perpendicular. Within the tower, as at Acton, rests on three arches, but all of one character—namely, Early Decorated, with roll and fillet and wave mouldings as at Nantwich, with which this work is therefore coeval; the same masons may have carved both. Proceeding eastward, it is seen that the nave, aisles, and clerestory have been rebuilt from the ground, in the Last Perpendicular age, as is shown by the Lady Margaret's chevron head-dress in the interior of the north aisle, and by the generally shallow character and mouldings of the whole work, which, though so slight and comparatively poor, is yet spacious, and not inelegant. The chancel is said to have been founded in 1385, by Sir Hugh Calveley, a great knight errant of that time. The south porch is Decorated, like the west front, near which, in the churchyard, lie many monumental stones of great interest and curiosity, which are carelessly suffered to perish under exposure to the weather, as if there were no vicar and no rural dean. It is a unique collection of monuments for Cheshire, so far as is known. The stones are thirteen in number, ranging from a rudely incised coffin stone with an ill-drawn wheel cross, probably Early Norman, to two female effigies of the beautiful work of Edward II. style, as the dresses and wimples show. There are a stone coffin and mutilated figures of men in armour of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but most beautiful are the much-worn decorated female effigies. Many of these stones are made precious by the legends upon them in large Lombardic letters and Norman-French inscriptions of

the Edwardian time.—After leaving Bunbury Church a quarter of an hour's drive brought the party to the entrance lodge at Beeston Castle.

Russian Archæological Congress.—Aug. 27th.—The sixth Russian Archæological Congress was held at Odessa. The proceedings were opened by Professor I. S. Nekrassof, the dean of the historico-philological faculty of the University of Odessa, who stated that excavations which had been recently undertaken had brought to light a whole necropolis upon the island of Berezani, and an expedition to Constantinople had lately been undertaken by some members of the rising school of "Byzantinists."—August 28th commenced with a paper, by Prince Poutyagin, upon the ornamentation of primitive pottery, and another, by M. Orloff, upon the history of Odessa from 1794 to 1804, chiefly based upon archives preserved at the Ministry of Justice.—The afternoon of the same day was devoted to classic interests. Professor Modestof read a paper upon the introduction of uniformity in the Russian pronunciation and orthography of Greek names.—The discussion which ensued resulted in a proposal that M. Modestof should draw up a list of the Greek names in the locality with their correct spelling. The most valuable paper of the afternoon was that of Professor Latyshev, whom the Archæological Society of St. Petersburg has commissioned to collect and edit all the Greek inscriptions of Southern Russia. Six sheets of this important collection of inscriptions, which are elucidated with a Latin text, have already appeared.—On the following day papers were read on early judicial forms, by Professor M. M. Kovalevsky, of Moscow, and on the caves in the basin of the Dnieper, by Professor V. B. Antonovich. The afternoon was again devoted to classic subjects. The first paper, by M. Yourgeovich, was an essay upon the situation of several ancient Greek settlements, the sites of which have not hitherto been satisfactorily ascertained. The Tyra, Eupatoria, and Tanais of the ancients are identified by Professor Yourgeovich with the sites respectively of Akerman, Inkerman, in the Crimea, and Azof. A paper was next read upon the Kallindi, one of the numerous Scythian tribes, by Professor Lioupersolsky, who shows that this people was not derived from an amalgamation of the Greeks with the barbarians, but was a race of pure barbarians who had gained some acquaintance with Hellenic culture.—August 30th was largely taken up with matters coming within the range of Byzantine archæology. Professor Ouspensky, of Odessa, contributed an account of an inédit Greek text relating to Sviatoslav and Vladimir. The Caucasus supplied M. Leontovich with the subject of his paper on the "Kavdassardi," and furnished the materials for Professor M. M. Kovalevsky's remarks upon the oaths in use among the Ossetini. Among other papers which were read on the same day, and which deserve particular notice, was one upon Little Russian antiquities, by M. Ivanitzky.

York Field Naturalists' and Scientific Society.—Oct. 23rd.—Mr. H. G. Spencer, the president, occupied the chair.—Mr. R. B. Cook exhibited twenty-six silver pennies of William the Conqueror, found at York some years ago. These coins were beautifully mounted between glass, and had been struck by nineteen different moneyers, at the following places of

mintage:—Chichester, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Sandwich, Shaftesbury, Thetford, Wareham, Winchester, and York.—After the usual business, Mr. A. R. Waller read an essay on the "Crimes of Plants," dealing chiefly with vegetable parasites.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—Oct. 8th.—Annual meeting.—The retiring president, Captain F. Norman, R.N., read his address, more especially referring to Darwinism and its growth in the estimation of the scientific world.—Some time was spent in looking at the excellent collection which the members of the Berwick Museum have been able to exhibit during the comparatively short period of their existence—viz., thirteen years. Mr. Walby, of Berwick, brought for inspection a beautifully-preserved collection of algæ from the Northumbrian coast, and the Rev. D. Paul, of Roxburgh, exhibited an absolutely perfect stone celt, about seven inches in length, turned up by a ploughman on the farm of Marfield, about twelve years ago.

British Archæological Association.—Oct. 25th.—The Society visited Whitgift's Hospital, the old palace, and the fine parish church of Croydon. The history and associations of the two former buildings were fully described by Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw, while Mr. E. P. Brock commented on their architecture, and Dr. Carpenter, J.P., read an exhaustive paper on the "Etymology of Croydon." A strong feeling was expressed by the archæologists on the preservation of the ancient Archbishopal Palace—a feeling which was further seconded by Mr. Leveson-Gower, the vicar of Croydon, and several others.—The monuments in the parish church to Archbishops Warham and Sheldon, which suffered so much in the fire of 1867, were also examined, and it is believed these effigies will shortly be repaired.

Essex Field Club.—Oct. 25th.—Professor Boulger (the president) occupied the "chair."—Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a collection of twelve palæolithic implements from India.—Mr. W. Cole exhibited, on behalf of Mr. James English, a curiously-formed neolithic implement found at Loughton.—A paper was read, prepared by Mr. English, entitled "Entomological notes taken from an old pocket-book."—Mr. W. H. Smith read a highly-interesting paper on "River-drift man in South-west Essex."

Hull Literary Club.—September 20th.—A large number of members had a trip into Holderness. The ancient church of St. Germain, Winestead, was first visited. The vicar (the Rev. Mr. Mellish) received the party, and gave a short address on the Hilyard family, and pointed out the interesting monuments in the church, placed to their memory. He exhibited the old parish register, containing the entry of the baptism of the patriot, Andrew Marvell, who was born at Winestead Old Hall. The Rev. J. R. Boyle (of Newcastle-on-Tyne) directed attention to the architecture of the church.—Patrington was next visited. Here Mr. T. Tindall Wildridge conducted the party over the church. We have no account of the earlier structure or structures which, under the patronage of the "Saint of the Shamrock," existed at Patrington. The tower, the landmark of the district for centuries, rouses afar off the curiosity and admiration of the student. Elegant in design, it affords little for comment except that its flying buttresses and encircling

arcade have passed almost into a canon of architectural law. The rest of the church offers more of what may be termed the human interest of decorative work, being exceedingly rich in emblematic and caricature representations. The western part of the nave of the church seems to be of earlier date than the choir. The large early Perpendicular window of the east end is the only piece in the church of work not of the Decorated style. Part of the old Decorated window remains, with an inserted carving of the Virgin and Child, and angels with shields. Over this single east window, as over the windows of the transept and the west end, small square recesses will be noticed. These are connected with a provision for quickly gaining access to these openings from the interior. Fine windows of flowing tracery, separated into bays by buttresses, surmounted by pinnacles, the pinnacles of the nave and transept shorter and plainer than those of the choir. Two entrances on this side—a low doorway in the centre of the transept end, and a porch near the west end. Over the slab-roofed doorway of the transept is a small figure of our Lord in the act of blessing (in the Latin form of benediction). In the north-west corner of the transept is seen the turret-roof of the wood stairs; it has access both inside and outside of the church, while a similar turret on the south side has only access from the interior. This on the north side is the present and only way to the bell chamber. The plain little niches on both sides of the transept are noteworthy, as also the higher elevation of the transept walls as compared with those of the nave and choir; the corners fit ungracefully. The east side of the transept has three bays, while the west side has only two, the space being occupied on each side of the church by the nave aisles. The north porch has inside two rib-arches, resting upon floral corbel brackets, of fine character. At the sides of the doorway are the heads of a king and queen, apparently Edward III. and his Queen. The west window probably shows the ancient character of the east window. Heads of a king and queen at each sides; also curious figures of fiends. There is no west door. The west looks upon land which was anciently church property, and yet bears the name of "Bishop's Close." The south side has a porch immediately opposite that of the north side. It is plainer, and has over it a Parvis chamber with a window and an unglazed side slit. Here, in the seventeenth century, the town's records of Patrington were kept. The windows of the north transept are different from those of the south; in the centre is a rose window, now filled with cement. On the east side of the transept will be observed the projecting apse of the Lady Chapel. The gargoyles everywhere are good. The interior of Patrington Church is in an extremely unfinished state. Both the nave and the two wings of the transept have centre and side aisles, the side aisles of the transept being a specially rare feature. One aisle only of the whole church has been completed. This is the south transept aisle, consisting mainly of the beautiful apsidal Lady Chapel, with its three niches and recess for a retable or altar-piece. Here is a fragment of the original stained glass. The position of the rood-screen and its accesss are particularly noteworthy. The east window, like the west, is half blocked up—

probably at some time when the floor of the church was raised to place it on the more equal level with the overcrowded churchyard. The ceiling arches, as observed, are throughout (excepting near the Lady Chapel) unfinished; building operations have been suspended where the arches have reached everywhere the height of about three feet. The choir, which has traces of later handling than the rest of the church, and, in addition, has been comparatively recently restored, contains a fine sedilia, the usual three canopied stone seats for the celebrant of mass and his assistants. This is, as always, on the south side. On the north side, immediately opposite, is the far-famed Easter sepulchre—one of the comparatively few in England. Here on Maunday Thursday the Host was laid, as typical of the dead body of our Lord; or sometimes a crucifix or effigy, which was taken out on Easter morning with great rejoicing to signify the Resurrection. The custom came to an end on account of actual personation of our Lord, to add to the attractive nature of what at best is a spectacle. Armed men surrounded the sepulchres during Easter-eve, in token of the watching of the Roman soldiers; upon the Patrinton sepulchre we see three soldiers, in fourteenth-century armour, not watching, but sleeping. In the unfinished wooden ceiling of the transept are numerous stone heads, which are almost classic in a certain noble massiveness of character. The early pews are carved: their date appears to be in some cases the same as that of the pulpit—1612.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lord Beaconsfield's Description of an Eighteenth-Century Dinner in "Venetia."—A distinguished amateur in gastronomy has directed my attention to a remarkable eighteenth-century dinner described in the fourth chapter of Lord Beaconsfield's delightful romance *Venetia*, and is anxious to know whether the dishes enumerated are really "historical" in a culinary sense, or whether the accomplished novelist allowed his fancy to run riot in picturing a Sunday dinner at an English country house about 1768. "Before him (the Rev. Dr. Masham) still scowled in death the countenance of a huge roast pike, flanked on one side by a leg of mutton *à la daube*, and on the other by the tempting delicacies of bombarded veal. To these succeeded that masterpiece of the culinary art, a grand battalia pie, in which the bodies of chickens, pigeons, and rabbits, were embalmed in spices, cocks' combs, and savoury balls, and well bedewed with one of those rich sauces of claret, anchovy, and sweet herbs, in which our great-grandfathers delighted, and which was technically termed a Lear. But the grand essay of skill was the cover of this pastry, whereon the curious cook had contrived to represent all the once-living forms that were now entombed in that gorgeous sepulchre." There is no case of fancy running riot here. Chapter and

verse could be given from old cookery books for all the dainty dishes described in *Venetia*. But of the "historical" accuracy of the grand battalia pie, a curious proof occurs in that delightful book, *The Life of William Hutton, and the History of the Hutton Family*. In his biography of his maternal grandmother W. H. relates:—"She was a careful yet liberal housekeeper, and well skilled in cookery, pastry, and confectionery. I have heard of a pie she raised in the form of a goose trussed for the spit; the real goose was boned; a duck was boned and laid within it; a fowl was boned and laid within the duck; a boned partridge within the fowl; and a boned pigeon within the partridge. The whole having been properly seasoned, the interstices were filled with rich gravy; and I have had pieces of writing paper, cut in various figures throughout, that were the patterns by which she made her Florendines." There is nothing new under the sun; and analogues of the "great battalia pie" were plentiful in Roman cookery. See the banquet scene in Professor Becker's *Gallus*, and some very curious passages in Soyer's *Pantrophean*.—From G. A. S. in *Illustrated News* of March 15th, 1884. The "great battalia pie" is the great raised game pie known as the Yorkshire pie.—RICHARD S. FERGUSON.

Curious Style of the Language of Official Documents.—Readers of official documents would not be prepared to find an objection to an important commercial treaty founded upon the too poetical language employed in the drafting; yet such was the case with reference to the "Projet de Traité définitif envoyé par le cour de Londres." The French ministers objected to the poetical language of the preamble, which, in their opinion, recalls the line of Corneille (*Rodogune*, act i., sc. 1.), "Enfin ce jour pompeux cet heureux jour nous luit," a style which they consider altogether out of keeping with the matter in hand.—See *Third Report Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 132.

Berwickshire Dialect.—The most marked peculiarity in the dialect of Berwickshire is in the pronunciation of the *ch*, which is usually softened into *sh*, as a *shire* for a chair. Yet the sound of *sh* is sometimes hardened by the prefixion of a *t*, as *tshop* for shop, *tchaise* for chaise. In male sheep the ram is called *tup*; and tup lamb, ewe hog, gimmer and ewe express their different ages. Of black cattle, a young ox and heifer are usually named *steer* and *stirk*; the latter is often called a *quay*, or *quey*. A young gelding is often called a *staig*, and a stallion is sometimes called a *cussoor*. Formerly, in speaking to their horses, carters employed *hap* and *wind* in ordering them to either side, now mostly *high-wo* and *jee*; and in calling to stop used the incommunicable sound of *prroo*, now *wo* or *woy*. In calling a cow to be milked, *hove hove*, often repeated, is the ordinary expression; anciently in the Lowlands this was *prrutchy*, and *prrutchy lady*. A ridge of land, and the furrow, are called respectively *rig* and *fur*; and an oblique furrow for carrying off surface-water is a *gaw-fur*. A horse-collar is a *brecham*; a back-band is a *rig-woody*; horse trees for ploughs and harrows, *swingie trees*. Oats are *aits* and *yits*; barley, *bar*; big is *rough-bear*; peas, *piz*. A set of farm buildings is called a *stead*, or *steading*; the strawyard is the *courtin*; and sheds

are named *hemmels*. The cowhouse is called *byre*; and the farmhouse is often named the *ha*, or hall.—*General View of the Agriculture of Berwick*, by R. Kerr (1813), pp. 502-3.



Antiquarian News.

A series of excavations have been carried out at intervals during the last twelve months on the site of an old Roman castle, near Rottenburg, in the Black Forest. During the latest operations some extensive remains without the lines of the castle have been discovered, all the ground plan and foundations being perfectly preserved. Among them is a hypocaustum, or subterranean calefactory, which is in a state of completeness almost unprecedented.

In the course of carrying out large dredging and other works for the improvement of the Trent navigation, which connects Hull, Grimsby, and Goole by water with Birmingham and the Midland Canal system, a most interesting discovery has been made. The works in progress between the villages of Collingham and Cromwell, north of Newark, include a large amount of dredging, and it was during this operation that the workmen came across the pier of an old wooden bridge. About forty feet or so closer to the north bank another of similar appearance was found, and it is presumed there are six or seven of these piers forming the whole bridge. Mr. Rolfe, C.E., the engineer-in-chief, had the two piers which obstructed the navigable channel blown up with dynamite. A portion of the wood and stonework was afterwards recovered, and excavations are to be made with a view to finding and preserving another of the remaining piers. From observations made previous to the blasting, it appeared that the foundations were formed of wood set in ancaster, or a somewhat similar stone; the oak walings and balks were black and hard, but mostly in good condition; the mortar was still quite hard and adhesive; the walings were tied across through a large centre balk by tie-pieces of wood, having octagonal heads, through which wedges had evidently been driven to keep the structure together. There is room for doubt whether any similar structure of wood now remains in such complete preservation, although in Rome itself some traces of a wooden bridge, supposed to be either the Pons Æmilii or the Pons Subicius, have been seen in the Tiber, but they do not appear to have been distinctly recognisable.

The late Lord Mayor has written to the *Daily Telegraph*, stating that his distinguished friend, Sir John Lubbock, Bart, M.P., long before he succeeded in protecting ancient monuments as a legislator, personally secured the preservation of Avebury, Wiltshire. Many years ago the property came into the market, and to prevent its falling into the hands of those who would not respect such interesting remains, Sir John Lubbock purchased it, and thus showed his practical interest in the subject with which his name is identified.

The *Athenæum* states that Mr. James Greenstreet has discovered a document which throws light upon the internal history of the stage in London at and shortly before the time of Shakespeare's death. It concerns disputes about money matters between Thomas Greene's widow and others forming the company of Royal Players ("of the late Queene's Majestie, Queene Anne"), who, it says, had recently removed from the Red Bull, Clerkenwell, to the Cockpit, Drury Lane.

A letter purporting to give a description of an eye-witness of the execution of Queen Mary will be published at the end of the present year. It has been found in a manuscript book among the papers of Lord Eliock, the judge who died in 1793. The book is all written in one hand, apparently in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the account of the execution is a copy of a letter sent by special desire. Lord Eliock's father managed the affairs of the Duke of Perth and of other families devoted to the Stuart cause, and it is conjectured that the document now discovered is a copy of a letter written by a member of one of them.

A remarkable relic of James Ward, R.A., has been picked up at an old bookstall by Mr. Nicholls, of the British Museum. It is an octavo volume of 156 pages, including a collection of sacred songs written from beginning to end in a quaint system of shorthand, which, unknown to the Shorthand Society, may have been invented by Ward.

The parish church of St. Andrew, Aveton Gifford, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting, as it certainly is one of the oldest, of our South Devon churches. Walter de Stapledon was rector of this very church ere he became Bishop of Exon's See in A.D. 1307. The church was generally restored under the direction of Mr. Elliott, architect, of Plymouth, in 1869; until then the remains of a pair of fine old carved oak Parclose screens occupied the two most eastward bays of the south arcade in the chancel. These were so sadly decayed, however, that they were removed, and have ever since been stowed away in the depths of the rectory cellar. It is very much to the credit of the vicar that he has resolved to have these most interesting specimens of mediæval art workmanship carefully renovated, and once again placed *in situ*. The two screens will each be about twelve feet long and about the same height. The old work exhibits much delicate manipulation of an unusually clever character. It is all late fifteenth-century handiwork, the carving is crisp and vigorous, and although very much decayed is by no means past making good.

The Museum of Science and Art at Edinburgh has recently acquired by purchase a collection of rubbings of English monumental brasses, about five hundred in number, which was formed by the late Miss Anne Newell Hill, of Southampton.

The church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey has been reopened after restoration. The original church, destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666, had been previously rebuilt in 1377, and was again completely re-edified by Sir C. Wren in 1677. Although his graceful fancy is apparent in the tower, with its quaint steeple, the

interior can scarcely be described as a favourable specimen of the renowned master's skill. The body of the church is a plain parallelogram without aisles, with a flat plaster ceiling divided into fifteen panels by plaster trabiations, and lighted by five large circular-headed windows on the north side, two small ones at the south-west, and three in the east, the centre one being circular. The interior was singularly flat and uninteresting, the fittings of carved oak being almost its only feature of beauty.

The *Chicago Tribune* says there is on exhibition at the jewellery store of Giles Brothers, at the corner of State and Washington Streets, a massive tankard of silver that once belonged to John Bunyan, who wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is of solid metal, weighing over twenty-two ounces avoirdupois, and holds more than a quart. The handle is of solid silver, and the lid opens on a hinge. On the front of the vessel is engraved in capitals interlaced, "The Pilgrim's Progress," and on the bottom, in a circle of script, "The Gift of Nathaniel Ponder to Elizabeth, Wife of John Bunyan, of Bedford." The date, "1671," is also engraved on the bottom. The workmanship is quaint and rare. The history of the tankard is a curious one. At the death of John Bunyan it was given to the Rev. Andrew Gifford, pastor of the Baptist Church in Bedford, who used it during his lifetime as a piece of communion plate. When the latter died it fell into the hands of his heirs, and they, becoming very poor, pawned it at the shop of a London broker. It was finally redeemed by Isaac Maynard, of Brandon Street, Walworth, London, who, when he died, left it to his wife. By her it was willed to Mrs. Charlotte M. Bach, and from Mrs. Bach it was bought by a gentleman of Chicago, who possesses the fullest documentary proof of its authenticity.

An auction of more than usual interest took place a short time ago at Wallasey. The "Old Cheshire Cheese Inn" was the scene of the same, the ancient portion of which has been in existence for more than 800 years. It now has been closed for extensive alterations, the old portion having become so defective as to warrant this being done. The inn is one of the old-fashioned thatched houses, with its spacious kitchen and fireplace, and its massive beams of "heart of oak," so emblematical of the stoutness of the brave old defenders of this our tight little island. It is stated to be the oldest licensed house in Cheshire, and is situated within a stone's throw of Wallasey church. Up to the present time the bedchamber, in which it is said Kings Charles II. and William III. slept, is in a comparatively good state of preservation. The room in which King William slept was at that time approached by a recess in the wall near the fireplace, but recently a staircase has been made to it. It is said that the king's troops, previous to their embarkation for Ireland from Wallasey Leasowes, were encamped on the meadows adjacent to the inn. This is corroborated by the annals of "Gore's Directory," which state that in the year 1690 (the date of the king's occupation of the hostelry), King William was accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, Manchester, and others. They left London on the 4th June in that

year, visited Liverpool on the 11th, embarked the army, then encamped on Leasowes, and on the 14th of the same month arrived at Carrickfergus in Ireland.

The parish church of Bishop's Cannings has been restored. The church, which was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, is a cruciform building consisting of a nave of four bays, with north and south aisles, and south porch with room over the latter; north and south transepts of two bays each, a very deep chancel, and vestry, having over it a priest's room reached by a very narrow winding staircase. The original building is of thirteenth-century construction, and the noble tower of that date is carried on massive piers at the crossing, and is surmounted by a stone spire of a later (fifteenth-century) date, 135 feet high from the ground to the top of the cross. From the south transept a chantry chapel (now known as the Ernle chapel) projects eastwards, and there are three other recessed chapels, all with richly-moulded arches, coeval with the main building. The church appears to have been commenced at the end of the twelfth century, and completed to the full present dimensions (excepting as regards height) by the latter part of the next century. The aisles were built, the clerestory raised, and a new roof constructed to the nave in the fifteenth century, a modern roof being substituted for the latter in the year 1670. The chancel, vestry, and porch are finely vaulted in stone. There are the remains of the original "stoups" at three doorways—the one at the north entrance being perfect—and other archaeological features of great interest. The restoration has been carried out on strictly conservative lines. No sound stone has been interfered with nor any surface injured. There were found traces of the ancient clerestory windows, the door leading to an outside staircase to the rood loft, with traces of a gallery over the end of the aisle, and the clearing of the doorway itself; the uncovering of a doorway opening from the belfry into the end of the wall of nave, close to the roof; and, most interesting of all, the discovery of a "low window" at the west end of the north aisle, with a square orifice in the wall high overhead, the latter supposed to have been used for the "reserved host," and the former, the window to which the lepers came to receive the sacrament at the hands of the priest inside. Another low window was found on the south side of the chancel, and a curious niche in the wall of the vestry. The original weathercock, which was discovered in the vicarage garden many years ago, has been re-gilded and restored to its place on the cross surmounting the spire. Another interesting fact, as fixing the date of the later portion of the building, was the discovery of oyster shells embedded in the mortar; these are distinctly visible in many places in the joints of the west wall and the tower, and are a sure indication of fifteenth-century work.

Shirwell church, dedicated to St. Peter, is being restored. It possesses some interesting features. Probably there was a double aisle to the original church, with Early English arches, as at Atherington, of local stone. Above the first floor and on the north side of the tower may be seen the remains of a very ancient outer oak doorway, which undoubtedly formed

the only means of ingress and exit to the belfry, as there is no *inner* stairway leading up, and the present means of ascent is a perpendicular ladder placed in a corner. The tower, which contains six good bells, has, perhaps, seen as many changes as any part of the church. No doubt it was once simply a turret, in which the vesper bell was hung, and finished off with a saddle-backed roof. At that time the tiny church nestled against its east and north sides. Clearly the upper portion above the first floor was built long after the tower part; then, when the south aisle was built, the tower was raised and battlemented the same as the aisle. Another curious and very striking point is that the vestry before spoken of contained an upper chamber. Although blocked up when the church was taken in hand, many were aware of this upper room, which, on examination, was found to have been used at some distant date. It is about twelve feet square, and lit with one narrow window, in the north side, and was, perhaps, used as a sleeping chamber for the recluse or priest, or whoever was its occupant.

After restoration the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Staverton, has been reopened. The present church consists of a fine and lofty tower, with a nave, north aisle, and chancel, erected probably about 1350—1370.

The *Athenaeum* states that Lord Archibald Campbell will publish next January his *Records of Argyll*. It will be a quarto, and will be adorned with eighteen etchings of pictures, interiors, and external views of castles, weapons, etc., in Argyllshire. It contains folk-lore tales, traditionary tales, and historical notes of Argyllshire.

The church of Birtley, North Tynedale, has been reopened recently after restoration. The whole building, consisting of a well-proportioned nave and chancel, has, it is said, been very carefully repaired and restored, so as to retain the ancient characteristics, either of the original Early Norman work, dating from A.D. 1100 or even before it, or of the later Early English alterations, several traces of which remained. The church has suffered from partial destructions through Scottish raids in mediæval times, and it has undergone the debased renovation of a past generation in modern days, with its square sashed windows and house-chimney at the east gable, giving it a barn-like aspect. Its Early Norman chancel arch, with the hatchet-wrought voussoirs, is now restored, all the plaster having been removed from the walls. The church is thought to have been erected in the days of William Rufus or Henry Beauclerc, probably by the great family of the De Umfrevilles, Lords of Prudhoe, the ruins of whose ancient castle still stand in the vicarage garden.

It is rumoured that Lord Dysart contemplates restoring the fine old mansion which was erected by Sir Thomas Vavasour in the early part of the seventeenth century. The first Countess of Dysart made considerable alterations and additions to Ham House, and many curious old specimens of furniture once belonging to the Countess are still preserved there.

A very interesting discovery was made a short time ago by the workmen engaged on the sewerage operations now being carried out at the top of Phoenix Bank, Drayton. At a depth of between ten and twelve feet from the surface, they came upon a flight of steps, which ran from Great Hales Street, near the corner of Ryland House, diagonally in the direction of the steps leading into the Grammar School and the churchyard. The whole of the ground in the immediate neighbourhood is "made," thus pointing to the fact that at some time or other a kind of dingle existed at this place. It is extremely probable that at one time the hill on which the church is built extended further east than it does at the present time, and sloped down towards the situation of the recently discovered steps. The steps would lead out of the dingle on to the pathway down the side of the hill in the direction of the river, in the same way as those which now lead up out of the Drumble. The dingle seems to have been filled up with ashes, bones of animals, and other *débris*, and originally was, no doubt, on the same level as what is known as "The Hollow" in Great Hales Street. There is no evidence as to when the filling-in process took place, but it is likely it was at the time when Sir Rowland Hill was lord of the manor—i.e., in the reign of Queen Mary. A fine boulder was unearthed near to the steps.

The Library Committee of the Corporation of London have in the press a *précis* of letters addressed by the Mayor, etc., of London to various municipalities at home and abroad, *temp.* Edward III.

The Council of the Essex Field Club has resolved to attempt a thorough investigation of the Deneholes in Hangman's Wood, Little Thurrock, and those at East Tilbury and near Purfleet, and in other parts of Essex.

The skeleton of an Irish elk is said to have been found at the bottom of a pond on the farm of a man named Edward Mara, near Fethard, county Tipperary. The farmer refused a price for the find, which he wished to send to the British Museum.

Saltwood Castle, the restoration of which has now been completed, was, a few days since, thrown open for inspection.

A curious dispute is now going on between the executors of the late rector of Dunstable and Canon Macaulay, the present rector, with regard to the disappearance from the town of an ancient relic known as the "Fayrey Pall," an article of great intrinsic value. The pall was the gift of Henry Fayrey and Agnes, his wife, to a house of Friars of the Brotherhood of St. John the Baptist, which existed at Dunstable during the sixteenth century. The late rector carried out certain improvements at the Old Priory Church, relying upon promises of support that were never realized. On this ground chiefly the family look upon the pall as the deceased gentleman's own property, whereas the parish people allege that, inasmuch as the article has been used for public purposes so many years, whoever appropriates it as his own is guilty of sacrilege.

A tunnel, measuring about 5,000 feet in length, and constructed at least nine centuries before the

Christian era, has just been discovered by the Governor of the island of Samos. Herodotus mentions this tunnel, which served for providing the old seaport with drinking water.

A part of the old city moat at Hereford has been discovered during the progress of the excavations for the foundation of some new offices now being erected.

The first of what will undoubtedly prove a most interesting series of lake dwellings has recently been brought to light in Yorkshire. The site of these dwellings is in the low levels of Holderness, on the eastern coast of that great county. One of these is on the farm of Mr. Thomas Boynton, at Ulrome.

Among the new books of antiquarian interest which are now in progress may be mentioned *The History of the Church of Manchester*, by the Rev. E. Letts; *A History of Accrington*, by the Rev. J. R. Boyle; *Quaint Old Norwich*, by Edw. P. Willins. This latter book especially promises to be very good, as it will contain illustrations from pen-and-ink sketches.

Our next issue will contain, *inter alia*, articles by Mr. Wheatley on "The Story of Johnson's Dictionary;" Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on "Venice before the Stones;" Mr. J. J. Foster on "The Birthplace of John Evelyn." This latter will be illustrated by a facsimile drawing from one made by the celebrated diarist.



Correspondence.

PROPERTY AT KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES, A.D. 1342-8.

The subjoined items from Wake of Derby's Catalogue, No. 89, August 1884, are curious, more especially as the records for this period are unusually scanty. The Edward Toly mentioned below was, doubtless, related to John Toly, who sat as one of the burgesses for the town in the fifth parliament of Edward II. and the twenty-sixth of Edward III. (Brayley and Britton, iii., 21), and who can say that he may not have been the godfather of Tooley Street? Of Walter de Combe or Cumbe I know nothing further. A John de Combe was Prior of Reigate from 1397 to 1415 (Brayley and Britton, iv., 232).

Barnes Common, W. CAREW HAZLITT.
August 29th, 1884.

Surrey, Kingston. Charter relating to Property at Kingston from Walter de Cumbe to Peter the Potter ("Petrus le Poter") of Kyngeston for 60s. at John Atte Brug's. "Given on the first Monday before the feast of St. Luke, 16 of Edward 3," A.D. 1342. Witnesses John Scot, Peter Baldewyn, Edw^d. Toly, Hugh Bakere, John Clerk, and others, 9s. 6d.

Do. Kingston. Feoffment of Property at Kingston from Walter de Cumbe to Peter Poter of Kyngeston, for 40s. "Given at Kyngeston, on Wednesday, the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 19 of Edw^d. 3," A.D. 1345.

Witnessed by John Scot, John de Ocstede, Hugh Baker, Roger Farndon, Simon the Wodewesone, Hugh Postel, John Clerk, and others, Portion of Seal, 9s. 6d.

Do. "Kyngeston." Feoffment of Land from Walter de Cumbe to Peter Chaungere, for 50s., a house, &c., now in the occupation of John atte Brug, adjoining the Borough in Middlefurlong. "Given at Kingston the 1st Wednesday after the feast of St. Lucia the virgin, 22 of Edward 3. A.D. 1348. Witnessed by John de Ocstede, Hugh Bakere, Roger Farndon, Hugh Postel, John Clerk, and others. Part of Seal remains. 12s.

SILCHESTER—CALLEVA.

(*Ante*, viii., 39, 85, 134; x., 86, 183.)

The Caer Segont (Segont not Segout) of the Britons is undoubtedly Segontium, the present Carnarvon. Foundations of a large Roman settlement have been found there, as well as numerous inscriptions and coins. The names of Constans, Helena, and Constantine are recorded in various localities in the district, and most of the incidents mentioned in the article in your issue are stated to have occurred at Segontium.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Athenæum, Liverpool.

DUPLICATE BOOKS IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

May I make a suggestion that the many duplicates in the British Museum Library might be utilized by the trustees either for exchange or sale? I only mean of course those whose departure from the Library would not be of great loss, and whose acquisition by other libraries, say the Bodleian, would be of great use. Surely some plan of exchange between the great libraries might be established. G. B. LEATHOM.

QUEEN ANNE'S PORTRAITS BY "KNELLER."

[*Ante*, ix., 191, 239, 287.]

I am much indebted to Mr. Bullard and to Mr. Kelly, and I beg to thank them very heartily for their information in the matter of Queen Anne's Portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and in the matter of John Smith, the engraver. When my first letter on the subject appeared in *THE ANTIQUARY* (April last) I ought perhaps to have stated that I possessed a portrait of Queen Anne by Kneller, exactly as I described. But I was anxious to find out, if possible, whether other bust portraits of the Queen by Kneller were in existence. As yet, I have not heard of one. I have seen the portrait at Rochester Guildhall, which is full length, the Queen holding the sceptre in the right hand, and in her left the orb, which rests against the hip, exactly as stated by Mr. Kelly in describing the three-quarter length portrait in his possession. The portrait I possess, being only a bust, from the waist upwards, does not show the arms and hands. Compared with the Rochester portrait, I think I may say that mine appears somewhat superior

in execution. Now for John Smith, the engraver. He and Kneller seem to have been companions in art, each in his own particular sphere, Kneller even painting his friend John Smith's portrait. John Smith produced a mezzotint engraving, 14 inches \times 10½ inches, of the Queen from a painting by Kneller, and I have a copy of this engraving in my possession. The inscription on the engraving runs thus—"Serenissima et Potentissima Anna D. G. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina &c. Inaugurata XXIII die Aprilis. Anno 1702." In the left-hand corner is the following—"G. Kneller S.R. Imp. et Angl. Eques. aur. pinx." In the centre of the base is "J. Smith fecit," and in the right corner there is the following—"Sold by J. Smith at ye Lyon and Crown in Russell Street, Covent Garden." This engraving is almost a perfect *facsimile* of the painting by Kneller of the Queen which I possess. Alas! there is one exception in the engraving, and it is this. By some strange freak of the engraver, or carelessness in details (I can call it nothing else), the "George" which the Queen is wearing shows St. George with a curved sword or scimitar in his right hand instead of the spear, which is raised in the act of striking the dragon. I cannot think for one moment that Kneller ever painted the "George" with the Saint holding a sword, but that in the case of this engraving it is the engraver who is at fault.

In the Rochester portraits of the Queen and William III., and in the portraits of William III. and Mary at Hampton Court, all by Kneller, St. George is shown holding the spear. I have never yet seen the "George" with the sword in place of the spear in pictures painted by Kneller.

I also possess a finely-executed mezzotint portrait, 14 inches \times 10½, of John Smith, engraved by himself from his portrait by Kneller. He appears holding in his left hand a good-sized portrait of his friend Kneller.

This is held as a partly unrolled picture, and being slightly inclined shows the right shoulder and chest and the long sweeping curls of Sir Godfrey's hair or wig, his face, and particularly his eyes, beaming with apparent good humour. An inscription on the base of the picture reads "Johannes Smith." In the left-hand corner there is "G. Kneller pinx., 1696," and in the right-hand corner "J. Smith fecit, 1716." Can anyone tell me aught of the existence, at the present time, of this original portrait of John Smith, by Kneller?

My portrait of Queen Anne has been known in my family, on my father's side, for about 120 years; but whether it came into the family in any way from John Smith the engraver, or whether he was a relative at all, I am unable to say.

As a matter of antiquarian interest I have looked through the very carefully kept Registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden (in which parish all but about six or seven houses, I believe, of Russell Street are situated), from 1719 to 1728, and seen all the wills of the John Smiths in Somerset House, which were proved in London and Middlesex from 1720 to 1728, but can find nothing of John Smith, Engraver. Since Mr. Kelly so kindly gave me the information which he did, I have seen the following in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, 1842, Vol. XXII. (Chas. Knight & Co., Lud-

gate Street):—"John Smith, a contemporary of Kneller, after whom he engraved many portraits, was by far the best mezzotinto engraver of his time. His works are very numerous, and comprise not only portraits, but historical and miscellaneous subjects also. The *Biog. Univ.* gives 1654 as the date of his birth, and 1719 as that of his death. Several other works state that he died in 1720. There are prints, however, with his name, bearing date 1721. From Dallaway's edition of Vertue's *Catalogue of Engravers*, it would appear that there were two engravers of this name, father and son; but this statement rests, so far as we know, on no other authority. A note in the work referred to mentions 574 engravings by these artists. Of the more eminent John Smith (if there were really two) there is a portrait by Kneller."

I should indeed be thankful to receive further information on the foregoing subject.

H. W. SMITH.

Belvedere, Kent.

CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.

[*Ante*, pp. 33, 86, 230.]

I must beg to say a word in reply to Mr. Hudd's letter in your November number respecting the St. Loe monument in Chew Magna Church.

Rutter must not be quoted as an authority; his book was published in 1829, and he generally copies his antiquarian notices from Collinson.

Now with respect to the latter author, too much reliance must not be placed upon his descriptions of monuments, several of which, incorrectly given, have come under my own knowledge. After perusing Mr. Hudd's letter, I wrote at once to my friend, Sir Edward Strachey, to whom the St. Loe chapel belongs, and who lived at Sutton Court in his early youth, and must have been familiar with the monument in question for a great many years. In his reply Sir Edward says, "The legs of Sir John St. Loe's effigy have been straight ever since I can recollect, nor have I ever heard of any repair or alteration of them. I had new hands and nose put by one of the carvers employed on your house (about twenty years ago), as they had been broken off. I was at Chew after I got your letter, and made a careful examination of the monument yesterday. The legs are of the same stone (apparently fine Caen) as the rest of the effigy; indeed, they seem to be one piece with the body, though the carving is less injured on them than on the body. If the legs were ever renewed, so must the lion at the feet have been, as they plainly go together, and the feet of crossed legs could not have rested on the existing lion. I should say it is far more probable that Collinson, who is (as you say) oftentimes inaccurate, made a mistake. John Strachey's *History of Somerset* was ready for printing in 1736 (Collinson's *History* was published in 1791). In Strachey's MS. account of Chew Magna (printed in the *Archæological Society's Transactions* for 1867) he describes the monument in detail, but says nothing about crossed legs." His words are, "Sir John lyes in armour, his headpiece under his head, a lyon at his feet, a broad collar of S S round his neck," etc. In his account of the

Hautville effigy he says, "It is crossed legged." I think it will be allowed that the balance of evidence is in favour of the opinion that the present are the original legs of the effigy of Sir John St. Loe. Collinson says his legs were crossed to denote his having been at Jerusalem, although the last crusade was in 1270, nearly two hundred years before his time!

Boutell remarks that "military effigies of our own country are, until about 1320, very generally represented with the legs crossed—" "With the disuse of mail armour, the crossed-legged attitude ceased to be employed."

Mr. Pope has very obligingly sent me what has been called a sketch of the "handsome hammered iron screen," which formerly surrounded the Baber monument; but I find it represents the finial only, which was at the corner of the railing, and was rather good, but, with this exception, I must hold to my former opinion as to the want of beauty and interest of the railing.

WM. ADLAM.

Larkstone, Ilfracombe,
Oct. 11th, 1884.

ON THE NAME OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the interesting discussions in *THE ANTIQUARY* on the origin and constitution of the House of Lords, the origin of its name does not appear to have been considered. This is, however, an extremely important point, in its bearing on the historical development of the institution itself.

The question arises, whether there is any trace of the employment of that name before the House of Commons came into existence. It seems on the face of it highly improbable, and, indeed, scarcely possible, that it should have been so. The name of the "House of Lords" is contrasted with the name of the "House of Commons"; and the existence of the two names proves the existence also of the two Houses. If, therefore, they always bore these names, they must always have been distinct institutions; and this fact would show, in corroboration of the other evidence on the subject, that the members of the two institutions never sat and voted together as one body.

The Witena-gemot was a single chamber, and the Great Council which succeeded it was likewise a single chamber; but when the House of Commons came into existence, there were two chambers, one of which was the House of Lords. It is obvious that even if the House of Lords, as regards its constitution, was the successor of the Great Council, it must have been widely different from that Council as regards its powers and position, when, instead of being the sole authority, it was only one of two co-ordinate authorities.

Whatever may have been the motives which prevented the union of the three Estates of the Realm in one body, the practical effect was to establish and maintain the separate action of two distinct authorities, one of which comprised two of those Estates,—the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal,—while the other consisted of the third Estate,—the Commons.

It may further be asked whether the use of the

word House instead of Chamber does not imply that the two bodies met from the first in different buildings, and not merely in different apartments of the same building. Mr. Wheatley, in his valuable article on the "Place of Meeting of the House of Lords," does not touch this point, because he was not considering the place of meeting of the House of Commons (*ante*, p. 41). If the two bodies had met in different rooms in the same building, the designation of House would scarcely have been appropriate, and the word Chamber would probably have been adopted; but it may perhaps be admitted that House would have been a suitable expression for each body if the meetings had been held in the same building—such, for instance, as Westminster Hall—on different days or at different times.

If the three Estates of the Realm were now to be combined for common and united action as one body, this would be simply a reversion to the original state of things—the state of things that existed in the days of the Great Council and of the Witena-gemot.

October, 1884.

D. P. F.

PONIATOWSKI GEMS.

(x. 39.)

I am surprised that no reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* has come forward as yet, to answer the questions asked by Mr. Barclay, because the history of the Poniatowski gems is a commonplace in the history of precious stones. Prince Poniatowski (who died at Florence, in 1833) inherited from his uncle Stanislaus, the last King of Poland, a collection of about 154 true antique gems. This number was raised to about 3,000 by the foisting in among the true gems of a series of forgeries. These forgeries were masterpieces of skill, engraved by the best Roman artists upon stones of fine quality. When, however, the collection was sold in London, in 1839, the gems realized small sums. The head of Io, stated to have been engraved by Dioscorides, which a few years before was valued at £1,000, sold for £17. This was greatly below its real value, and the late Dr. Billing made some sensible remarks, in his valuable *Science of Gems* (1875), on this depreciation in value. "A beautiful intaglio of Pichler's, with a Greek name of an ancient artist forged upon it, which was originally made for Poniatowski for perhaps twenty or thirty pounds, will not now fetch more than as many shillings, because it is not really antique; though a work of the same Pichler, genuine, with his name on it, will fetch, as it deserves, the price in pounds sterling, although no better than the other, which, though depreciated by the forged name, is quite as good, and if bought for its real merit, worth quite as much."

H. B. WHEATLEY.

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J. O. PHILLIPS.—We have made inquiries, and cannot, we are sorry to say, give you any information respecting your curious objects of antiquity.

H. KIRKHAM.—You may refer to Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, and some of the well-known Peerage books. Also books on surnames should be consulted.

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—o—

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

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Carl Werner's Views in the Holy Land, a good copy wanted, and a fair price offered.—Reports by Letter only to M. W., care of Manager.

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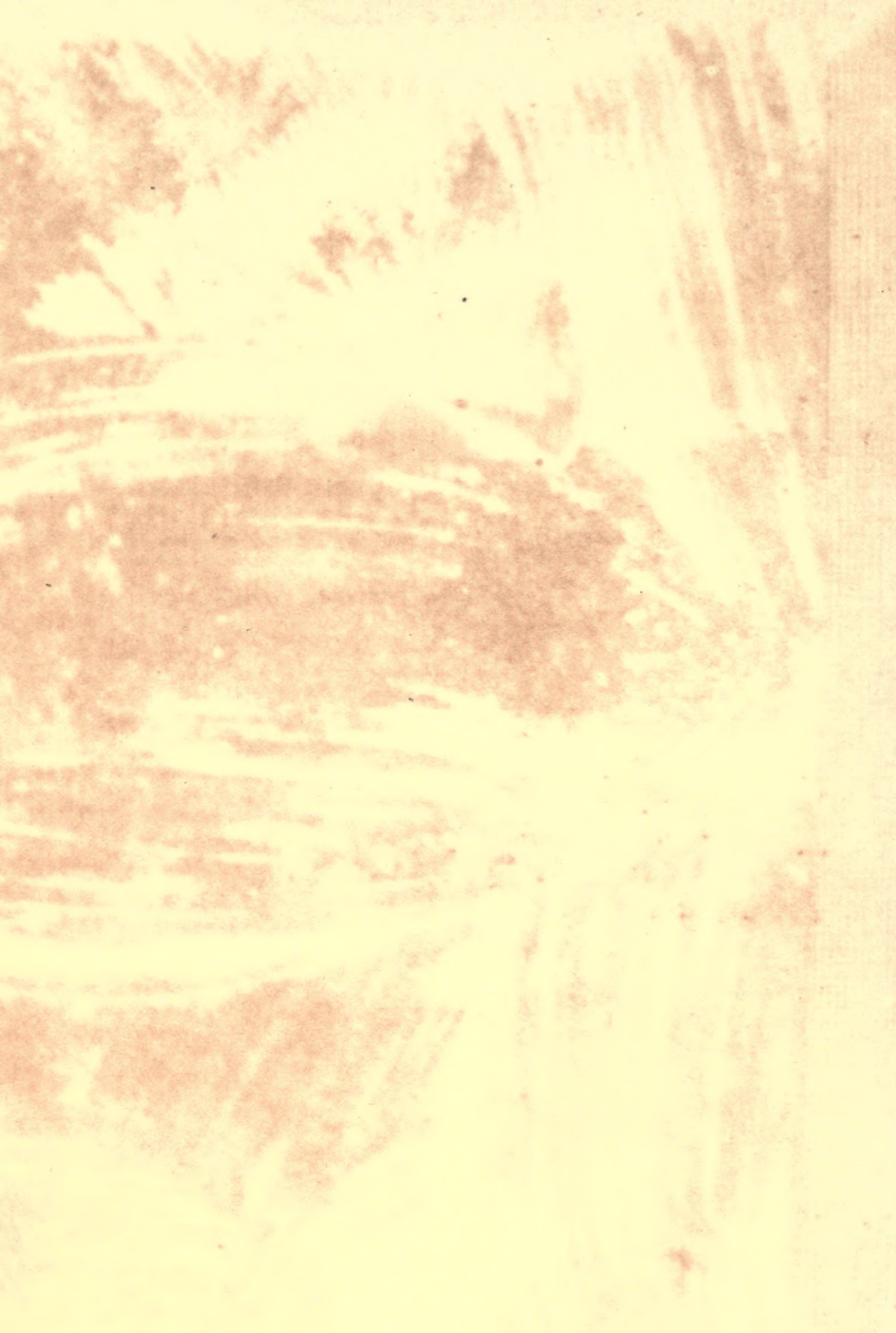
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